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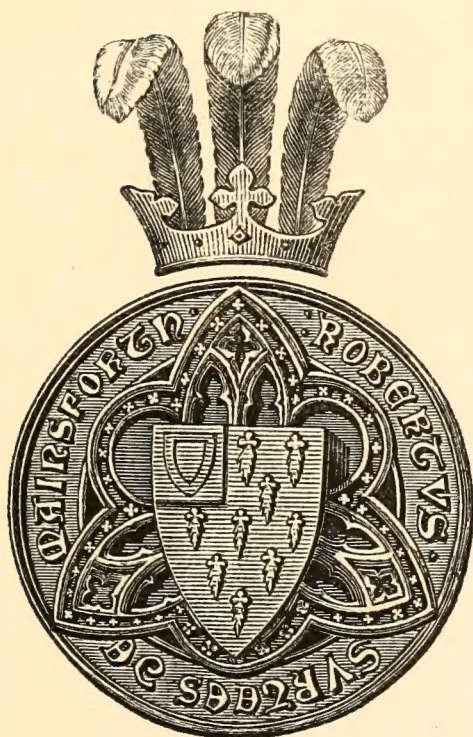


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THE
PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SURTEES SOCIETY.

ESTABLISHED IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XXXIV.



VOL. XLIV.

FOR THE YEAR M.DCCC.LXIII.



T. Allom.

HEXHAM, FROM THE WEST, NORTHUMBERLAND.

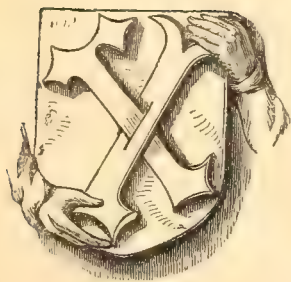
R. Sands.

THE
PRIORY OF HEXHAM,

ITS

CHRONICLERS, ENDOWMENTS, AND ANNALS.

VOL. I.



Published for the Society

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1864.

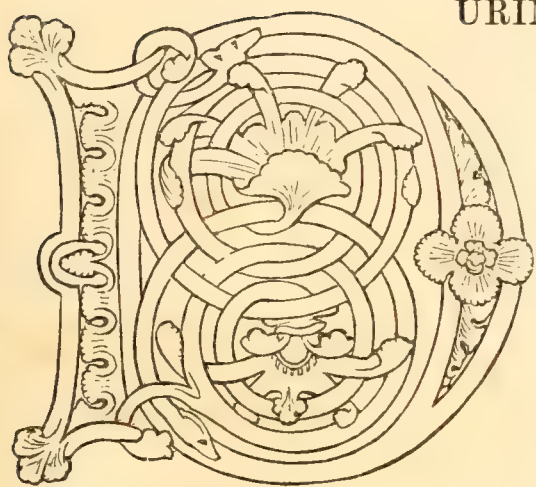
At a Meeting of the Council of the SURTEES SOCIETY, held in the Castle of Durham, on Friday, the 14th of March, 1862, JOHN HODGSON HINDE, Esq., being in the chair,

It was ordered “that a volume relating to Hexham should form one of the publications of the Society for 1863, and that the Secretary should be the editor.”

JAMES RAINE,
Secretary.

THE PREFACE.

PART I.



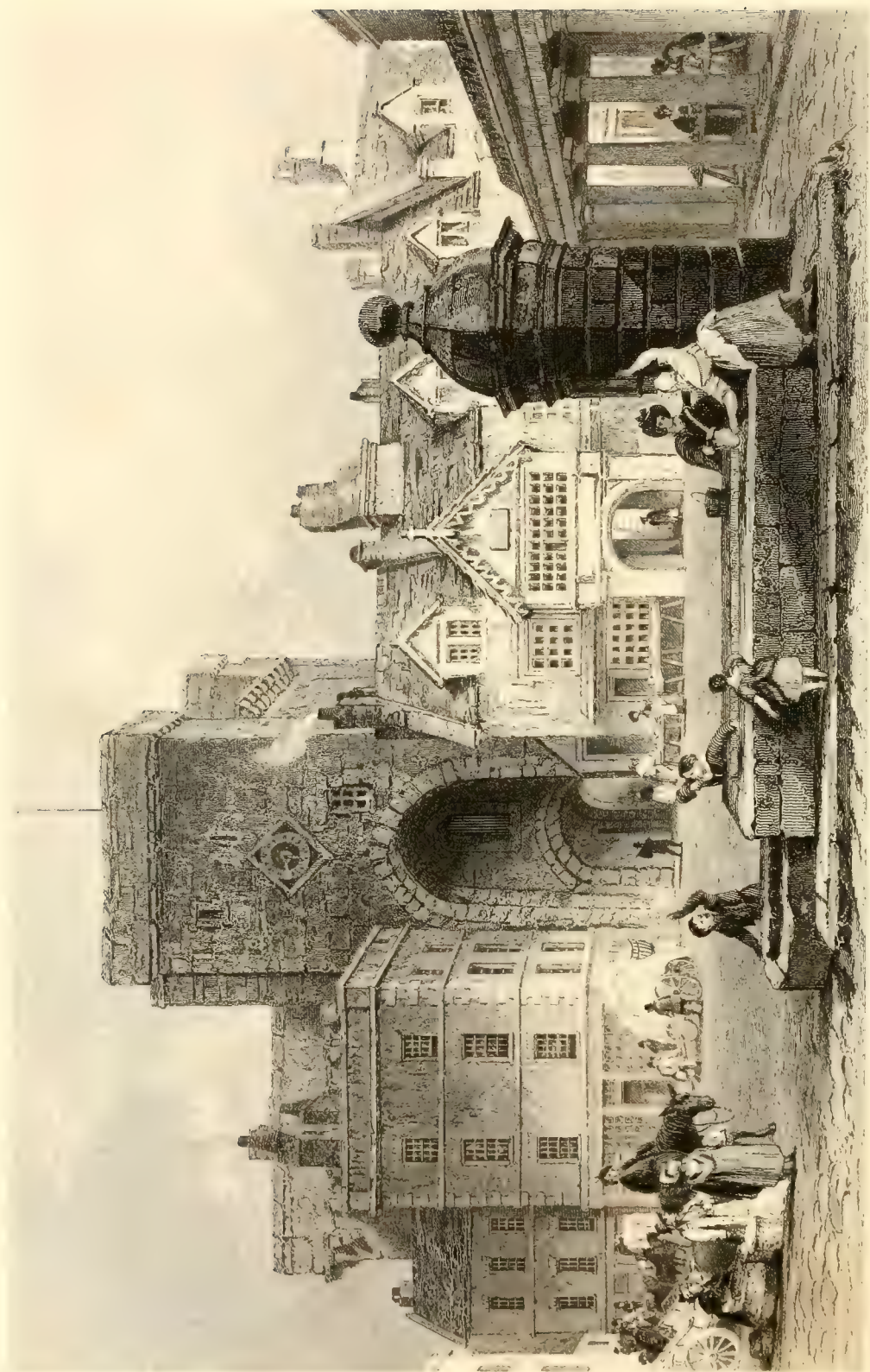
URING the progress of the traveller up the Tyne on his way to Carlisle, about twenty miles from Newcastle, he sees before him, on the southern bank of the river, the little town of Hexham. The smoke and the dust, in which the emporium of northern commerce and enterprize is enveloped, have been de-

serted long before he reaches a place which was at its highest point of prosperity when the name of Newcastle was unknown; and he breathes the pure fresh air streaming down from moor and upland, and gazes on the water beneath him as silvery as it was when Cowley spoke of it.^a The journey of the traveller up the Tyne has not been an uninteresting one. The view from the bridge of Scotswood is one that he will not easily forget, for the river at that place is unusually broad and striking; and there are the King's Meadows to remind him of the martial enterprize of a Danish chieftain. He passes by the village of Newburn, the scene of a conflict during the civil wars; and leaves on the left the picturesque church of Ryton with its leaden spire rising far above the trees which crown the knoll on which it stands. On the other side of the river is the cottage

^a See Cowley's poem, "On his majestie's return out of Scotland."

in which Stephenson, the great engineer, drew his first breath, not far from the equally humble abode which was the birthplace of Thomas Bewick. Farther onwards, after stealing through the smoke of Wylam, he sees the remains of Prudhoe castle looking down upon the vicarage of Ovingham, which is across the river, and the old grey tower of the church, which carries you back, perhaps, to Saxon times. The valley now opens out and broadens for a while, for it has been somewhat narrow before, but it is contracted again as you near the village of Bywell with its ancient tower and its two more ancient churches. The rich pasture land and the corn-fields seem to have deserted you, and you go through a narrow gorge, with the rock cropping out here and there, and glimpses of bleak uplands stretching far away into the distance on the northern bank of the river. This lasts only for a while, and you soon emerge into the widest and the richest basin that the Tyne runs through; flat and treeless in the centre, but heavy, when I saw it last, with grain and grass which that river-given soil produces. Towards the lower end of this plain a bridge of many arches spans the broad but shallow stream, and leads you into Corbridge; to hunt, if you choose, after Roman remains, for there was a station there; or to examine the church, the tower of which seems to prove, what you must have felt already, that about the time of the Conquest one architect was busy on the banks of the Tyne. Pass on, and, on your left, is Dilston with its trees and stream; and the ruins of the hall call forcibly to mind the Derwentwaters and their unhappy end. On a little farther, and at the head of the fertile plain, where it narrows as far as the river will permit it into a pass among the hills, there stands the town of Hexham, towering seemingly far above you.

Hexham is seated on a natural terrace, so elevated and so striking, that the stranger is tempted to imagine that it was a fortified town. Yet it was not so. Hexham was a colony for peace and not for war, and canon and serf fled at once for their lives as soon as the beacons on the neighbouring hills told them



that the Scots were near. From the north the ascent into the town is almost precipitous ; and the houses are of such an altitude, and are grouped together in so menacing a way, that they seem to be the outworks of a fortress, but it is not so. You see before you merely a peel-tower and a prison. Climb the hill, and you find a little, dirty, grim, old town, huddled together within a narrow circuit, and almost surrounding a stately but mutilated church. Low narrow streets are on three sides of this edifice, varying little in colour, but irregular and ugly. You seem to be in the middle of a Scottish town, which has been transported, like the shrine of Loretto, across the Border. And yet it is to the Scots that nearly all the misfortunes of Hexham are to be ascribed. The walls around you, battered and grey, recall at once the fires which Wallace and Bruce kindled against them more than five centuries ago. The nave of the church, which is said to have been destroyed by the Scots in 1296, has never been restored ; and although the hand of the renovator has been busy in recent times with the chancel, the older portion of the fabric bears traces of very rough usage. The mouldings are chipped and broken ; the surfaces are uneven ; and the peculiar redness of the stone is by no means pleasant to the eye. It is wonderful still, after all, that so much of the building is preserved. The mediæval chroniclers were wont to ascribe the occasional clemency of the Scots to an hereditary feeling of respect for the Saints who were the patrons of the church, and there was some truth in what they said. Carlisle, it must be remembered, was under the eye of a castle and a garrison, but Hexham was bleak and exposed ; and the marauders, if they had been so minded, might at any time have levelled it with the ground.

From the church itself an excellent view may be obtained of the adjacent country, and we can at once see the natural advantages of the situation which the ecclesiastical colonizers of the place, with a characteristic taste for beauty of position, would soon detect. Nothing can exceed the richness and the

fertility that are around you. There is no sign of barrenness, although you are in the immediate vicinity of moors and heather; but you cannot even discern the dark purple line on the verge of the distant hills. Hexham, although it stands high itself, is overlooked on every side by still loftier heights. From the south the country slopes downwards for considerably more than a mile till it reaches the platform on which the town is built, falling in gentle undulations, here and there with long rich sweeps of corn and pasture land, here sinking away into dells and boskey gills, or swelling into picturesque knolls. The ancient hedgerows, marking the tofts and crofts of other days, have happily been undisturbed; and there are no harsh and formal lines so suggestive of modern husbandry and planting. To the east you see the champaign country through which the river passes, fertilizing it with its rich alluvial soil; now and then with a double channel, and with a far wider bed than it requires. You look upon the white stones that mark its course, and the stream sparkling and bubbling among them, till you lose it when the hills converge in the distance; and yet they are wide enough apart to give you a peep into the steep country beyond, far away in the lower valley of the Tyne. Towards the north, the terrace on which you are sinks abruptly, and dies away in some level ground now filled with gardens, which lie between the river and the town; and across the stream, here deeper and wider than usual, there is the spire of St. John-Lee and the Hermitage on a lofty hill among the trees, standing on a rocky promontory of land covered with verdure and foliage. Turn towards the west, and the landscape has still more striking features than before. Seemingly at your feet lies all that remains of the old hospital of St. Giles, enshrouded among leaves, and half concealed from the eye by swelling hillocks which overhang the Tyne. Look beyond them, and the outlines of everything are bolder, but what they lose in softness they gain in grandeur. Traces of great natural convulsions are apparent, for the river-valley is narrower, and the ground above is more abrupt. There,

right in front of you, the streams of the North and South Tyne unite; and in the fork of land at a short distance from their confluence is the village of Warden nestling under a steep hill on which there are traces of an ancient fortification. It was from this eminence that, shortly before the battle of the Standard, the soldiers of William Fitz Duncan came straggling down towards Hexham. Such was the scene before me, one morning last autumn, when I gazed upon trees and water, green fields, and yellowing corn, from the tower of the Priory, until a cloud came sweeping over the hill toward the south, the heavy rain drops began to fall, and a mist crept slowly after them.

This is the appearance of Hexham at the present day. I must now carry my readers back to its infancy, and try to shew them what it was a thousand years since. A few words first upon the name of the town.

The place at one time had two names in general use; both of them connected with adjacent rivulets, *i. e.*, Halgulstadt, Halgutstadt, or Haugustald; and Hextildesham or Hextoldesham. Halgulstadt, the older of the two, is the town upon the Halgut, or Hallgarth burn as it is now called,^b which runs into the Tyne on the western side of the town. *Halig* and *gut* are Saxon words, and Halgutstadt signifies the town upon the holy stream. The Latin form of it is Augustandium, Haugustaldunum,^c or Augustaldia; and once or twice we meet with the English word Hagustalham.^d Halgulstadt, which is obviously of Christian origin, was probably the name given to the place by Wilfrid himself; it is in fact a German word, as also is Heugsteldeim, which occurs in William of Malmsbury.^e Simeon the chronicler uses on several occasions the name Hehstealdesige.^f From the beginning of

^b Or Cow-garth burn (Wright's Hexham, 11). "The name Seal-burn is common to both (brooks) from the Seal which spreads between them."

^c Aelred, pp. 183, 202. MSS. Cotton, Claudius, B, iii., 18 a.

^d Appendix, pp. viii, xxv.

^e De Pontiff. Angl., apud Savile, ed. 1596, 149, 151. At p. 152 *b*, it is called Hengesteldeim. The Latin form is made Haugustaldum.

^f Twysden, coll. 110, 114.

the fourteenth century to the sixteenth we lose sight of Halgultstadt; and Hextoldesham or Hextildesham, from which the modern Hexham springs, occupies its place. This means the farm or land on the Hextold or Hextild, another brook on the west side of the town now called the Cockshaw burn.

Dr. Bruce, a good authority on such points, is of opinion that Hexham was a Roman town, although there is no place in the Itineraries or the Notitia with which it can be identified. Camden thought that it was Axeldunum, and Horsley conjectured it to be Epiacum; but both these antiquaries are in error. A Roman town, however, Hexham seems to have been. It must be admitted that the Saxons generally availed themselves of Roman buildings when it was in their power to do so, and there is direct evidence that this was the case at Hexham. We know that Saxon Hexham was a place of repute: is the antiquity of the town still greater? I think it is. We can draw no strong inference from the somewhat vague statement of Aelred, that Hexham was founded by very ancient kings;^g but this is of more importance when we couple it with the fact which that writer and Prior Richard record, that there existed in the place, in their day, many vestiges of buildings of a very early date.^h Now the crypt of the Saxon church, which still remains, is built almost entirely of Roman stones, several of which have been inscribed, and many of which are carved and ornamented. Roman stones may also be detected in other parts of the town. It has been generally thought that these were brought from the station of Corbridge, which is at a distance of four miles; but, as Dr. Bruce very justly observes, there was no necessity for the builders to be at so much trouble when there were good quarries within a mile of their work. He then alludes to the situation of Hexham, and I take the liberty of quoting his words.ⁱ “The position of it is just such as the Romans would choose. It stands upon a plateau, naturally defended on its east and north

^g See page 175.

^h See page 8.

ⁱ See a paper by Dr. Bruce in the *Archæologia Eliana*, n. s., No. xvii., 115-9.

sides, and partially so on the west, whilst at no great distance it is enclosed in an amphitheatre of hills. The Halgarth burn and the Cockshaw burn give it increased strength on its western side. The fertility of the valley in which it lies would attract the attention of the ancient lords of the world; and the position of the camp near the junction of the two valleys permeated by these streams would render it peculiarly eligible." It seems very probable, therefore, that Hexham was a Roman town, planted at a little distance from that wonderful wall of theirs which ran from sea to sea, and close to the great highway called Deor-Street^j or Watling-Street.

Let us pass on from conjectures to real history. The first light that breaks upon Hexham comes from the pages of the Venerable Bede. We know that Hexham and the district around it were, in 674, the property of the royal family of Northumbria.^k This was perhaps one reason why the great and decisive battle of Hevenfelth was fought in 634 within a few miles of the town. I must speak of that struggle, which is so striking an event in the annals of Hexhamshire.^l

Cadwalla, and Penda his ally, threw the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira into great confusion in 633 and the following year, destroying or scattering the royal family, and doing much mischief. In 634, Oswald, who had been hiding in Scotland, left his retirement, and, eager to recover the throne that belonged to him, resolved to attack Cadwalla. It was necessary for the assailant to be extremely cautious, and on that account he drew up his forces in a position of great natural strength some seven or eight miles to the north of Hexham. Here there is a plateau of very considerable altitude, which, without any artificial appliances, presents the appearance and the advantages of a vast fortified camp. The ground on the summit is tolerably

^j This curious word occurs twice in Simeon (Twysden, coll. 70, 74). I find it in several places in the Black Book of Hexham, and it is also in the Melrose charters.

^k See page 23 and Appendix iv.

^l See Appendix, pp. i—iv.

even, and must in Oswald's time have been covered entirely with heather. The place, which, in honour of the vanquisher in the fight, has for many centuries been called St. Oswald's, bore, previous to the struggle, the name of Heavenfield, an allusion no doubt to its lofty and exposed position. Oswald could not have drawn up his forces in a better place. Along the whole of the western side the platform was unassailable, for it is protected by steep rocky banks which descend abruptly to the river of North Tyne, and overlook Walwick Grange, and Chesters with its Roman bridge and camp. Towards the south also, and on a portion of the eastern side, there are hills and fells of no mean altitude. Across the upper end of this great natural fortification ran the Roman wall, but between it and the northern side of the plateau there is a space left on which a small army might be drawn up in a most advantageous position for repelling any attack. A scanty force in the rear would be able to guard the western, southern and eastern sides so well, that no assailing body could carry those heights; and, if it could, the Roman wall, a stout barrier in many places at least six feet in height, would still protect the greater part of Oswald's troops. Oswald, therefore, never fearing any onset from the rear, took up a position at the north-west corner of the plateau, behind the wall. In that angle, protected in one way by the wall and in another by natural rocks, there is a clear space of nearly a hundred yards; and there, probably on the mound which the chapel now occupies, Oswald set up the famous wooden cross to be the standard of his men. With rocks in front and the wall behind, it would be difficult to capture it; and its defenders, who cannot have been very numerous, would be conscious of their security. We may be sure, also, that Cadwalla would make his great effort at this point, for the loss of the standard was considered equivalent to the ruin of an army. To the north-west there is a long stretch of pasture land, and the eye passes on to Swinburn and Humshaugh, and far up the river in the direction of the Cumbrian hills. Over this ground it is probable that

Cadwalla brought his men, and the opposing armies could see each other for miles before they closed. The troops of Cadwalla would break like a wave against the rock-bound corner in which the cross was standing, to be cast back again with little or no difficulty by its defenders. The assailants, foiled as they must have been at this point, would naturally move towards the east, where the ground is less steep and more open, and in that direction the battle seems to have been decided. The success of Oswald and his men would inspirit them so much that, when the enemy tried to attack them on more even terms, it could have no chance; the assailants, if they got so far, would be pushed back, and the fight, deserting the corner in which the cross was standing, would go roaring eastwards. "There is a fame," as Leland tells us, "that Oswald won the batelle at Halydene, a two myles est from St. Oswalde's asche!"^m There is a place called Hallington in the direction mentioned, and it was here probably that the battle was fully won. Cadwalla would be thus cut off from his retreat, and the defeated chieftain crossed, somehow or other, the Roman wall, and hastened towards the south across the wild moor with the pursuers after him. Over the heather he would go; down the green banks below it; through the Tyne; and, at a distance of eight or nine miles from the battle-field, he was caught and killed at a little beck called Denises burn, a tributary of the Rowley-water. He would be entangled in a network of woods and streams when he was slain.

The battle-field was of course the object of great veneration, for a great Christian victory was won there. This was the first occasion on which the sacred symbol had been erected in this part of the country, and the cross that Oswald set up stood in its place for many years, working miracles, as we are told, and attracting the steps of many a faithful pilgrim. In after times the monks of Hexham paid it a yearly visit on the fifth of August, the day on which Oswald himself met his death

^m Itin., ed. 1769, vii., 61.

in battle, and with solemn rites and ceremonies chanted a service for his soul. A church was soon reared by them, and still there is a chapel to mark the spot which they honoured.ⁿ In the thirteenth century we find that two hermits had their cell at the place.^o They were domiciled, no doubt, among the rocks which look down upon the Tyne, and a careful search might possibly discover some traces of their abode.

We might fairly expect that a religious triumph, such as the battle of Heavenfield undoubtedly was, would be commemorated sooner or later by the erection of a monastery. There is no evidence whatever to shew that Oswald founded one; but, some forty years after the battle, Etheldreda, the wife of king Ecgrith, gave the district that is known by the name of Hexhamshire to her favourite Wilfrid. The gift was a munificent one, as it comprises a reach of territory twelve miles in length and nearly six in breadth. It belonged to the queen as a portion of her dower, so that it had been the private property of the royal family of Northumbria.

Wilfrid's first thought would be the establishment of a monastery, and its site would probably be determined by the existence of a town at Hexham, and the remains of buildings which would be of great service to him in his work. The country up the North Tyne would shew many a sweet and tempting spot, such as Walwick and Chesters, in the immediate vicinity of Heavenfield; but Wilfrid had no part nor lot in that district; and, even if he had been so favoured, it is not probable that he could have chosen a place more fitted in every way for a religious colony than Hexham. It was seated in a fertile valley, near the confluence of two fine streams, in a position guaranteed to him by the queen herself, and where other builders had been at work before him. Under such auspices, and from such a centre, he would have every facility for civilizing by religion and the arts the whole of Tynedale. Hexham occupied

ⁿ See Appendix, i.—iv. The account of the battle-field is from personal inspection.

^o See Appendix, p. xxxii.

the same position on the Tyne that Melrose did on the Tweed. Near the mouths of these two streams were Tynemouth and Lindisfarne. When those religious colonies were founded upon their barren rocks, in choosing such sites their establishers would desire, and very prudently too, to set down the monks in places from which, in the case of violence and bloodshed, they could easily escape. Such was the object of men like Columba and Aidan, and such was Wilfrid's wish when he planted a monastery in Selsea in Sussex. As civilization and security became greater, religion advanced her borders and spread inland; and in Hexham and Melrose I seem to mark a friendly approach towards the great and untamed Cumbrian province from which so much mischief had come forth. The monastic principle that Wilfrid always advocated was characterized by confidence and peace, and every religious house that he established, save that at Selsea, is at some distance from the coast, in a position where civilization would be glad to plant it. So it was with Hexham, the town upon the holy stream. That place was intended to hold out the right hand of Christian fellowship towards Cumbria, and to deprecate the onslaught of another Cadwalla. Several centuries elapsed before the bond of union between East and West was fully tied; and then through the monasteries of Tynemouth, Hexham, Lanercost, Wetheral, and Carlisle, these two important districts were united by a chain of religious intercommunication, which ran, like the great Roman wall, from sea to sea.

The erection of the monastery at Hexham was one of the great triumphs of Wilfrid's life. The gift of Etheldreda was made rather to himself personally than to the see of York, and he would look upon the place as peculiarly his own. He regarded it throughout life with the affection which every one feels towards a work or an object on which much pains and anxiety have been lavished.^p He would value it, also, as a

^p "Præ cæteris quibus præfuit ecclesiis, hanc crebrius visitavit, devotius coluit." Aelred, 176.

signal proof of the regard of a great Christian lady whom he had loved and honoured. This, as well as the pardonable wish to attract the attention of the natives of an almost heathen district,^q would perhaps account for what we may call the somewhat feminine beauty of the church that Wilfrid reared at Hexham; for it was rich with sculpture and painting, which were previously unknown in England. For these decorations he had continental models. Eddi tells us that Wilfrid was usually accompanied by a staff of artists and artizans,^r who came, as William of Malmsbury says, from Italy and France;^s and the ancient chroniclers, generally, speak of the church of Hexham as an example of the Roman style of architecture. By the Roman style is meant of course that which was prevalent in Italy and France. Wilfrid had been at Rome in his youth, when he had neither the refined tastes of his after-life nor the means of gratifying them, but he had spent some time in France in 664-5. It was from France, therefore, we may infer, that Wilfrid derived, ten years afterwards, the workmen and the designs for his church at Hexham: and this probably is the reason why Eddi eulogistically observes of it that it could not be matched *on this side of the Alps*. In the later portion of his life Wilfrid would obtain his knowledge of art more directly from Rome.

Another cause for the erection of so striking a church at Hexham would be Etheldreda's wish that it should be the seat of a bishopric; but other hands than Wilfrid's carried out this desire, for it was scarcely in his power to do so.^t Wilfrid was bishop of York, and between 669 and 678 he was the only prelate in Deira and Bernicia. As he had not received the pall he could not have suffragans under him, so that the creation of

^q "Ad devotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam picturis et cælaturis multiphariam decoravit." (p. 175.)

^r Eddi, cap. xiv.

^s See pp. 10-13 for an account of the monastery.

^t Eddi and Bede are the authorities for most of my facts. See also Prior Richard, pp. 23-4. It is unnecessary to give too minute references here. They will be found in another part of this volume.

another see, under these circumstances, either in Bernicia or Deira, was the establishment of an ecclesiastical power, contrary to the recommendations of Gregory, over which he had no control. There is nothing to shew that Wilfrid was unwilling to have his diocese divided; but he cannot be blamed for taking no step in that direction until he obtained the pall, without which he could have no authority over the subdivided parts. When Hexham, therefore, was founded, Wilfrid, for it belonged to him, presided over it as abbat, as he did over the monastery of Ripon; but when he came there in an episcopal capacity, he came as bishop of York and not of Hexham. The absence of the pall, therefore, placed Wilfrid in a dangerous position. Although nominally the ecclesiastical chief of Northumbria, he was really inferior in grade to archbishop Theodore, as he would find if the king of Northumbria chose to invite the southern primate to visit his dominions.

The invitation was given by king Ecgfrith in 678, in the height of his wrath and bitterness against Wilfrid, for the old love between them had grown cold. Etheldreda had gone, against her husband's wish, to hide herself in a convent; and another queen stepped into her place who hated her predecessor's adviser. To humble him it was resolved to diminish his influence by dividing his diocese, and Theodore was called in to carry this project out. He entered upon the task readily enough, although he was taking a somewhat ungenerous advantage over another bishop, who, but for an accident, was his equal in position. As it was, Theodore was legally, although not equitably, right in what he did. Wilfrid, it is well known, regarded his conduct as an intrusion, and appealed to Rome against it. To press his cause he visited that city, and nearly eight years elapsed before he came again into the North.

In the meanwhile great changes were made in Wilfrid's old diocese. In 678 three new bishops were appointed, Eata, abbat of Lindisfarne, in Bernicia, with the seat of his episcopate at Lindisfarne *or* Hexham; Bosa for Deira at York; and Eadhaed

in the newly-acquired province of Lindsey. Of these three we may conjecture that Eata was intended to be the chief, and to have the pall, if the papal assent could be secured, as he is once or twice called archbishop of York.^s This arrangement of the northern sees was not a permanent one. In 681 the loss of Lindsey left Eadhaed without a charge; and this circumstance, perhaps more than anything else, brought about another division of Northumbria. Deira and Bernicia were now broken up, each into two ecclesiastical districts. In Deira bishops were placed at York and Ripon; in Bernicia, at Lindisfarne and Hexham; whilst another prelate had the charge of Galloway committed to him.

It is with Bernicia that we have to deal. In the first instance it constituted one vast ecclesiastical province stretching from the Tees to the Frith of Forth. In this district there were two churches worthy of being the cathedral of a bishop,—Lindisfarne and Hexham. Lindisfarne had already been governed by a succession of Scottish prelates, and policy would suggest to Ecgfrith the propriety of continuing it; whilst at Hexham the new monastery that had been built, and the express wish of his late queen Etheldreda, would move Ecgfrith to honour that place in a similar way. There is, however, no evidence to shew that any bishop took up his residence at Hexham before 681. The presumption is that Eata, during the three preceding years, would cling to Lindisfarne, of which he was the abbat; where his influence would be the strongest, and where from his connection with Aidan he would be much revered and honoured. In 681, however, this great unwieldy district was divided; the see of Lindisfarne was continued, but a bishop was also placed at Hexham. For the boundaries of the bishopric of Hexham we are indebted to the traditionary account of Richard, Prior of Hexham, who lived three centuries after it had come to an end. From him we gather that it embraced the southern portion of Bernicia, comprising the

^s See p. 215, and Walbran's Church of Ripon, 96 d.

modern county of Durham and three-fifths of that of Northumberland. The southern boundary was the Tees; the northern the river Alne; on the west it extended as far as Wetheral, which is close to Carlisle; and on the east it reached, probably, the German ocean.^t The boundaries of the see were conterminous, I believe, with those of the kingdom of Northumbria in this portion of Bernicia.

The bishopric of Hexham was ruled in succession by twelve prelates, of whom I propose to give a short account. In doing so I shall depart from the usual method of arranging them, and shall begin the series with

TRUMBRIHT. He is also called Tunbert or Tymberth. He was appointed to the see of Hexham in 681, and presided over it for three years. The only notice preserved of him is this, that for some act of disobedience or misconduct he was deposed."

EATA was one of the twelve youths, the Apostolical number,

^t In a paper by Mr. Longstaffe on "Durham before the Conquest," which appears in the proceedings of the Archaeological Institute (Newcastle volumes, i., 41 *et seqq.*), the writer observes, "The ocean limit of the see of Hexham did not, perhaps, extend further than between the Wear and Tees. Bede, dwelling between the Tyne and Wear, interested himself in the history of St. Cuthbert to the exclusion of the Hexham prelates, and mentions the journeyings of the Saint as far south as the latter river."

The letters which passed between Bede and Acca (pp. 33-4) seem to shew a close connection between Hexham and Jarrow. Bede also, it must be remembered, did not receive his orders at Lindisfarne, but at the hands of John, who seems to have been bishop of Hexham in 692, the year in which Bede is said to have been ordained (Life of Bede, in the appendix to Smith's edition). Herebald, *abbat of Tynemouth*, was also one of St. John's pupils (Bede, v., 6).

Bede could not write the lives of the prelates of Hexham, as Wilfrid had already found a biographer in his chaplain Eddi, and Acca was living when the Ecclesiastical History was finished. Bede has given an account of Eata in his Memoir of Cuthbert. About Trumbriht there was nothing to say. Cuthbert was a great traveller. We hear of him at Carlisle, and Crayke in Yorkshire was given to him by Ecgfrith that he might rest there as he was going to or returning from York.

" See pp. 24, 26, 42. A person of the name of Trumberct was one of the companions of Chadd, and taught Bede the knowledge of the Scriptures (Hist., iv., 3).

whom bishop Aidan instructed at Lindisfarne; and on that lonely island were sown those seeds of piety which bore such fruit in the after-life of Eata.^v He seems to have been especially distinguished for his docility, his gentle disposition, and his kindliness of heart. After passing through the usual course of study Eata became a monk, and, his character developing with his years, he was made, in course of time, the abbat of Melrose. In that position he had a larger sphere to work in, and he did not neglect it. Not only did he rule his monastery well, and make it a pattern to all other religious houses in zeal and holiness; but he won the regard of the great men around him, and obtained from them many gifts, which he devoted to the propagation of Christianity, and the building and extension of monasteries and churches.

Eata had two persons under his charge at Melrose who became famous in mediæval hagiology. One of them was Boisil, the Prior of the house,—a man to whom, as we are told, it was given to look into futurity and to reveal what was to come. One day he was standing at the door of his monastery, when he saw a youth springing from his horse; and throwing aside his spear, with which, no doubt, he had guarded his sheep from the wolves, the stranger came towards him. “Behold an Israelite indeed in whom there is no guile,” were Boisil’s words as he gazed on the lad before him, for this was Cuthbert of whom such great things are spoken. A vision in the night, as he was watching over his flock on the banks of the Leader, had given the youthful shepherd a glimpse into the true fold. The golden gates had been opened to him for a while; there was a rush of glorious light; and through it he saw some beatified Saint carried home to his rest amid the songs of exulting Angels. Earth had now no charms for the boy who had seen so much of heaven; he rode off at once down the haughs of the Leader to Melrose, and there was Boisil at the gate ready to

^v For this account of Eata the authorities are to be found at pp. 24-28, 201-3, 211-15.

receive him. Eata was from home when he arrived, but returned a few days afterwards. Cuthbert became an inmate of Melrose, and there was no one in that abode of holiness who walked with surer and more steadfast steps on the heavenly path.^w

About the year 651, prince Alcfrid, king Oswy's son, gave Ripon to Eata that he might establish a monastery in that place; and Eata, with several of his brethren, among whom Cuthbert was one, deserted Melrose for a while that he might set up the new tabernacle. Bede mentions one legend only in connection with their sojourn at Ripon. The snow was on the ground and the chilling winds were blowing, when Cuthbert found one day in the early morning a young man seated in the chamber that was set apart for strangers. He gave him water for his hands; he washed his feet himself, and warmed them in his bosom. Food the kind host had none to offer, but he entreated his guest to remain until the third hour of the day, and by that time a loaf could be baked for him. Cuthbert left the room to see that it was prepared, but on his return there was no stranger to be seen. What had become of him? There were no foot-marks in the virgin snow, and Cuthbert then knew that an angel had been with him. He had left behind him for his wondering entertainer three loaves, which in whiteness and odour passed the handiwork of man.^x

In 661 Eata and his party returned into the North from Ripon. Alcfrid, their benefactor, had become a convert to the Italian rules on discipline and order, and Eata, still true to Aidan's simple tenets, went home to Melrose rather than conform to them. Wilfrid, accordingly, stepped into his place at Ripon, whilst the old abbat and his friends returned to the banks of the Tweed.^y The care of Melrose during their absence had been in the hands of Boisil, whose life was now drawing to a close. Before the end came, he is said to have

^w Bede's Life of Cuthbert, cap. vi. Simeon, ed. Bedford, pp. 24-6.

^x Ibid., cap. vii.

^y Bede, iii., 25. Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. viii.

forewarned Eata of the advent of a pestilence at the end of three years, and to have mentioned the complaint which would afterwards carry him off.^z Upon Cuthbert, his own spiritual child, the greatest marks of the affection of the dying man were lavished; and when in future years the posthumous fame of the pupil surpassed that of his old master, the monks of Durham, in grateful recollection of his virtues, treasured up several memorials of Boisil. They had a book which had belonged to him; his skull in a richly-decorated case; a portion of his vestments and his hair; his *cilicium* in a turret of ivory decked with figures of gold and silver; and his comb.^a

Boisil's office at Melrose devolved upon Cuthbert, Eata continuing abbat. Three years after this, in 664, the great struggle took place at Whitby between the Scottish and the Italian systems, and the result was that Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, the leader of the Scottish party, gave up his see and country when he lost his cause. Before he went away, with the consent of king Oswy, he nominated his successor. The person whom he chose was Eata, one of the old pupils of Aidan, who would on that account be listened to and revered in the monastery in which he had been a pupil. Eata accepted the charge, and sent to Melrose for Cuthbert that he might come and work under him. Cuthbert came; but he and his patron had now given up the Scottish system, and Cuthbert, therefore, had the arduous and troublesome task of prevailing upon the inmates of the monastery to surrender their old traditions and to think as he thought. He was successful, for energy and piety such as he possessed and manifested would be sure to win the day.^b Greater honours, however, were in store for Cuthbert and his master than the care of a little family of monks on a desert rock, battered with unavailing fury by the winds and waves.

^z Vita S. Cuthberti, capp. viii., ix.

^a Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres; appendix, cccxxvii-xxix. Smith's Bede, 744.

^b Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. xvi. Simeon, ed. Bedford, 32 *et seqq.*

In 678 the kingdom of Northumbria was split up into two dioceses; one of which, comprising the whole of Bernicia, was placed under the rule of Eata. Hexhamshire, therefore, would be subject to him, and he would be abbat of Hexham, as he was of Melrose and Lindisfarne; but although the seat of his episcopate was at Hexham *or* Lindisfarne,^c I can scarcely regard him as the first bishop of Hexham. That honour belongs, I conceive, to Trumbriht. In 681 Eata's diocese was again divided, and Trumbriht went to Hexham, and relieved him of the charge of the southern portion of his district, Eata remaining at Lindisfarne.

Trumbriht was deposed for misconduct in 684, and there was some difficulty in filling up his place. A synod, to elect his successor, was held under the presidency of king Ecgfrith at Twyford on the banks of the Alne in that year, and the suffrages of those present fell upon Cuthbert, Prior of Lindisfarne. The difficulty was to prevail upon him to accept the responsibility. Cuthbert was at his solitary devotions on one of the barren islands of Farne when the messengers arrived, but nothing could tempt him from his retirement. It seemed cruel to persist in thrusting the honour upon one who shrank from it with such unaffected sincerity; but the modesty of the refuser only whetted the eagerness of the offerers. The king himself, accompanied by Trumwine, bishop of the Picts, and many other persons, among whom were the monks of Lindisfarne themselves, sailed to the island where Cuthbert was, and entreated him to return with them. Many tears were shed and many entreaties were made, till at last the recluse very sorrowfully yielded, and returned with the party to the synod, where he was chosen bishop of Hexham in Trumbriht's room. But what could he do at Hexham? he would think. He would lose Farne and the wild sea-coast: he would be pushed out of his retirement and his simple tastes, the cession of which would

^c Bede, iv., 27, 28. Simeon, col. 5.



mar his happiness, and spoil his work. This difficulty was solved by Eata with a readiness that no one but the truest friend could evince. He consented to go to Hexham himself, and leave his own see of Lindisfarne to Cuthbert; and thus everything was arranged. All honour to the affection and noble charity of friends like these! Before they were sundered they had one interview at Melrose;^d and soon

after that, probably, they would separate and go to their allotted duties, seldom, perhaps, if ever, to look again upon each other's face. Within three years they were both of them in their graves.

Eata went to Hexham in 684, returning to a place where he was well known, and where many would be glad to welcome him. His sojourn at Hexham was but a short one. In 685 he was seized with a dysentery, as Boisil had foretold, and died after an illness of several days. He was buried within his own church, in which his good deeds were affectionately remembered. A halo of sanctity surrounds his name, which stands in the calendar on the 26th of October. It was on that day, probably, that Eata was released from his pains and cares.

^d Vita S. Cuthb., cap. xxv.

ST. JOHN OF BEVERLEY succeeded Eata as bishop of Hexham. The life of this good man belongs so peculiarly to the see of York, that it will be merely necessary to bring forward in this place the history of his connection with Hexham.^e

John was a native of Harpham in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and became in early life the pupil of archbishop Theodore, who gave him his name and the benefit of his instruction. After a while he sat at the feet of the abbess Hilda, and through careful teaching and his own industry and genius he acquired a very considerable reputation for learning. Hence it was, probably, that in an after age, when the university of Oxford was desirous of carrying back as far as possible her own literary pedigree, she fixed upon John as her first graduate. John subsequently became an instructor of the young himself, and with much success; for he was well versed in general attainments, and he knew the Scriptures well. Among those who listened to him was the well-known Bede. This great scholar was also ordained by his master, in all probability whilst he was presiding over the see of Hexham.

We do not know at what time John's first acquaintance with Hexham commenced, but in a life of him which is now lost we are told that he was a hermit at a place called Harneshalg.^f This spot, otherwise known by the name of Erneshow, or the Eagle's Mount, I have tried to identify with the present village of St. John-Lee, which is not far from Hexham.^g On the same hill there was an oratory or chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael; and a cemetery, probably for the use of the inhabitants of Hexham, which would bear a strong similarity to the lonely graveyards that are seen at the present day among the Scottish mountains. Desolate in those times would be Erneshow on its hill looking down upon the Tyne, for neither the hermit nor the eagle would haunt a place where man was

^e This life of St. John is an abstract of one which I have printed elsewhere. See also pp. 28-30.

^f *Lel. Coll.*, iv., 100.

^g See pp. 15-17.

dominant. Like his namesake among the Apostolic brotherhood, who was well acquainted with a hermit's life, John would recognize a symbol as well as a companion in the "flying eagle." There would be little then to disturb the repose of either, save the sound of the feet and the voices of the mourners as they were carrying some bier up the green hill's side; and when the echoes awoke the king of birds in his eyrie, and the flap of his ascending wings was heard, the hermit would look out of his little cell to bid the passers-by God speed, and offer a prayer for the peace of the departed one whose body was now going for a little while to rest beside him. Another wanderer had fallen asleep whilst he was still watching, and he would long to hasten the time when his own spirit "should mount up with wings as eagles," and soar away.

It was in this retirement, probably, that John attracted the notice of Aldfrid king of Northumbria, so that when Eata died in 685, the hermit was taken away from his cell to wear the mitre; but even then, with the true spirit of the ascetic, he did not forget Erneshow. He very frequently retired to that place for contemplation and devotion, attended by a few companions. Bede describes a cure which John is said to have wrought at Erneshow on a dumb beggar-boy.^h

John became bishop of Hexham in 685, and lived there in that office for a year until Wilfrid returned to England.ⁱ The monastery of Hexham seems to have been surrendered to Wilfrid by the king as soon as he came back;^j and this concession involved, as we may infer, the resignation of his episcopate by John. Wilfrid retained Hexham till 692, a period of about six years, during which time it is more than probable that John was building and organizing his monastery at Inderawood, or Beverley, with which his name will be constantly connected. Wilfrid lost Hexham a second time, together with everything that he possessed, in 692, and went to sue for justice and de-

^h See pp. 16-17.

ⁱ See p. 28.

^j Eddi, cap. xliii.

mand his own again at Rome. This made an opening for John, who came back, I believe, to his old see, which he occupied till 705. The death of Bosa then made the bishopric of York vacant, and John was removed to it from his diocese in the North.

The subsequent history of John is connected altogether with York, and I have given it in another place. He died on the 7th of May, 721, and was interred at Beverley, to which minster he gave his name and its renown. Four years before his death he retired to that church to pass the remnant of his days in that solitary asceticism with which his religious career had commenced, and to muse upon the new world to which he was so near. Very great indeed was his posthumous fame, far greater than that of Eata, Acca and Alchmund collectively, of whom the church of Hexham was so proud; but the name of John belongs not to Hexham, but to Beverley. The prelate, however, who succeeds him, throws the other bishops of Hexham into the shade.

WILFRID, was born about the year 634, the child of honourable parents.^k Some little freak or incident in boyhood determines in many cases the fortunes and the profession of a life, and so it was with Wilfrid. The harshness of his stepmother tempted him to wish to desert the world almost before he could know what the world was. She sent him to the Northumbrian court, where the queen became his patroness, and at her instance the youth found himself ere long in the monastery of Lindisfarne. He was an apt and a willing scholar; but he soon longed to read men as well as books. Ambition fired him, and he could not gratify that at Lindisfarne. His heart was bent upon a visit to Rome, and to Rome he went, with the queen's aid, in 652, with Benedict Biscop for his companion.

From Rome Wilfrid returned in 658, a man in thought, ambition and character, although his years were few. His

^k This life of Wilfrid is also an abridgement.

residence at Rome had shaken off any leaning that he might have adopted at Lindisfarne towards the views of the Scottish party, and he returned to England a reformer in religious discipline. His career was most successful. Prince Alcfrid made him his adviser and friend, and gave him the monastery at Ripon, from which Eata and Cuthbert at once retreated northwards with their Scottish rules. A crisis was approaching in the struggle between the old system and the new ; and at Whitby, in 664, there was a set battle between the two, in which Wilfrid carried the day. As a reward for his triumph, Alcfrid pressed him into the see of York, and his favourite went to France to seek for consecration. Whilst he was away there was a reaction, and Chadd obtained the bishopric that had been set apart for Wilfrid ; but four years after this Theodore arrived in the North, and placed Wilfrid in Chadd's room. No one had any reason to be angry at his exaltation. Wilfrid's retirement had brought out the true grandeur of his character, and had shewn that he could be patient where many would have been angry and sullen, and that neglect had neither retarded nor embittered his honest endeavours to give to God his best service.

Wilfrid had his own again at last, but peace came not with it, nor was there anything but a temporary lull between the storms with which his life was distracted. A great mind was his ; ardent, refined and enthusiastic, sleepless in its energies and undaunted by any failure or disappointment. Many, and indeed the masses, would be attracted to him as the moths are to the taper ; but many, on the other side, would shrink from him in wounded pride or conscious inferiority. They would be as unwilling to do full justice to his merits, as he was to make a fair allowance for their prejudices and training. It is no easy matter at any time to be a successful reformer ; but Wilfrid would have been happier in his efforts and his life if he would have paused and waited, and poured a little oil and wine into the wounds that he inflicted. The mariner who enters carelessly into a dangerous sea must expect shoals and winds and disasters,

and Wilfrid found them. He became the owner of Hexham in 674, and ruled it and the rest of Northumbria in peace for four years; and then he left it for Rome, converting Friesland on his way, and giving the Gospel and civilization to the resourceless barbarians on the coast of Sussex. In 686 his favourite monastery came again into his possession, and he governed it as bishop and abbat until 692; and then there was another parting for thirteen long years. In 705 the aged prelate found himself again on the banks of the Tyne in the home which he had loved and sought from pope and king. To Wilfrid Hexham is indebted for everything, its grandeur in Saxon Christendom, its churches and their endowments. Everything that he did there was prompted by some event in his own life which it was intended to commemorate. The monastery of Hexham was dedicated to St. Andrew, because it was in the church of that Apostle at Rome that the prayers of the Saxon youth were heard, and he saw before him for the first time the clear path of duty which the mists of prejudice and inexperience had previously concealed.¹ The parish church of St. Peter at Hexham would owe its origin also to the feelings that he had imbibed at Rome. In 705, when he was returning from Italy for the last time, the worn-out bishop had a sudden seizure at Meaux near Paris, and lay motionless and almost lifeless for four nights and days. All at once his speech returned to him, and he described to Acca a wonderful vision which had filled the horrible vacancy in which he had been. The mighty Angel, who is to vanquish the dragon and its brood, stood before the sufferer in the early morning, arrayed in the light of another world, from which he had a message. The Virgin Mother, as he revealed to Wilfrid, had interceded in his behalf, and four years had been added to his sojourn upon earth. "Go home," said the Archangel, "and rear a church in her honour who has won for thee thy life. Andrew has one already, and let not Mary be forgotten." From this injunction, as Eddi tells us,^m the church of St. Mary at Hexham

¹ See p. 10.^m Ed. Gale, pp. 79-83, cap. liv. Bede, v., 20.

had its beginning; and, as a thank-offering to Michael himself, another temple in the same place, or near to it, was erected soon afterwards.

Between 705 and 709, the four allotted years, Wilfrid seems to have resided principally at Hexham. He was the ruler of the monastery, and the bishop of the diocese, and there was nothing now, save his church at Ripon and some old friends in Mercia, to tempt him into the South. Towards the close of the four years the Mercian king desired his presence for the settlement of some ecclesiastical matters within his province, and Wilfrid left Hexham for the last time. The old languor returned, and at Oundle, on the 12th of October, 709, it carried him off, regretted and beloved. Before his decease he entrusted to his priest and faithful attendant, Acca, the charge of the monastery of Hexham; and, in the will that he made at Ripon, his favourite abode was not out of his recollection. His estate was divided into four parts, of which a quarter was assigned to Hexham and Ripon.

Acca, the priest and companion of Wilfrid, was his successor at Hexham. We should have known but little of the history of this great Saxon prelate had it not been for the care of the Venerable Bede. Between these two there existed the greatest intimacy and affection, and Bede has told us many things about Acca, in whose diocese he lived, and in whose esteem he held a high place.

Acca began life in the household of Bosa, afterwards bishop of York, a person about whom there is very little known.* In Bosa's family Acca not only resided, but was educated. As time advanced the star of Wilfrid became more bright, and Acca, in whom there was some ambition, was drawn towards it; and, attaching himself to Wilfrid, he continued with him in his varied fortunes until he died. The exact period when they became acquainted cannot be ascertained, but they probably went

* Bede, v., 20, is the chief authority for the life of Acca. See also pp. 31-6, 184-5, 204-8, and Appendix, iv-v.

together to Rome in 678. Acca mentioned to Bede a miracle wrought by Oswald which was told to the wanderers by the famous Willibrord, and another that he had heard from the brethren of the monastery at Selsea.^o

When Wilfrid went again across the seas in 692, Acca was his companion, and for thirteen years they seem to have lived together at Rome. On their return, in 705, when Wilfrid was so ill at Meaux, he awoke as it were out of his trance, and called for Acca, revealing to him the wonder that he had seen,

“Tum sic expirans Accam ex æqualibus unum^p
Alloquitur :”—

But the sick man lived a while longer, and saw again the green banks of Tynedale and St. Andrew's monastery. Over it, before he died, he made Acca the abbat; and Acca became there the bishop likewise. To whom could Wilfrid more safely entrust the place of his affections than to one whose devotion and faithfulness no trial or disasters had destroyed?

Acca did great things for Hexham, for he knew Wilfrid's affection for that place, and he loved it himself. He inherited also his master's tastes, and had opportunities for indulging them that Wilfrid never enjoyed. What would he not have given for those long years of peace which fell to Acca's lot? Wilfrid made the sketch and coloured the more prominent features in the picture; but Acca put in the more delicate touches, and completed what his master had begun, for he was a person of a most refined mind. It was he who added to the monastery; erected altars within its walls in honour of the relics of the Saints that he had acquired; and gave vessels and lights to the decoration of the church. Activity seems to have been observable in everything that he did; and he put into practice in England many of the rules and practices that he had learned in Italy. He was also a great singer, and brought to Hexham and kept there for twelve years a musician of the name of Maban, who had acquired his art in Kent from the descendants of those

^o Bede, iii., 13; iv., 14.

^p Æn., xi., 820.

masters of song whom Gregory had sent over. The well-known tones, therefore, for which this great pope is renowned, would not be strange to the inhabitants of Tynedale. Upon Acca, also, devolved the charge of completing the three churches dedicated to SS. Mary, Peter, and Michael which his predecessor had begun.⁷

Acca is especially commemorated for his knowledge of letters, and for the patronage that he gave to learning. We are informed by Bede that he gathered together with the greatest pains, and placed within the walls of his monastery, a large and noble library. Of its contents we know but little, save that there were in it, as might be expected, divers Legends and Lives of the Saints. Like the other literary treasures in the North, it perished in the invasion of the Danes.⁷ The use of this collection of books would be of great aid to Bede; and between that great scholar and his diocesan there subsisted the warmest friendship and regard. As a zealot in the cause of discipline and order, Bede would look with love and reverence upon Acca; but in those days, when books were few in number and the readers of them still fewer, the two would be knit together most strongly by their literary tastes. I cannot help thinking that the Commentaries of Bede were intended to be the text-books for the Northumbrian province, and that it is principally to bishop Acca that we are indebted for their existence. Acca seems to have been the patron of Bede. It was to him that Bede addressed a poem in hexameter verse on the Day of Judgment.⁸ He inscribed also to him his Hexameron and his Commentary on St. Mark's Gospel. Here Bede wished to tarry in his commentatorial labour, for the modest reason that St. Ambrose had written upon St. Luke before him. This apology educed a letter from Acca, exhorting him to proceed, which is written in a very pleasing style. It proves him to have been a person who had seen much of the world; a scholar; and a kind-

⁷ See page 18.

⁸ Aelred, p. 190.

^{*} Simeon, coll. 95-8.

hearted man. He quotes, and not pedantically, both the sacred and profane writers, and pleads his cause successfully and pleasantly. A touch of humour is apparent here and there; in one place he says to his friend, *Beatum Lucam luculento sermone expone.*^t To assure him, he gives him permission to affix to his Commentary the letter that he sends. He could scarcely have done this with propriety unless he had been Bede's diocesan.

It is to Acca, also, and Tathbercht, the abbats of Hexham and Ripon, that we owe the Life of Wilfrid by his chaplain Eddi. He wrote it at their suggestion, and right welcome to them his work would be."

Bale, who is more eager as a general rule to people the middle ages with authors than to do justice to their virtues, assigns four works to Acca's pen:—*Passiones Sanctorum*: liber i. *Officiarium suæ ecclesiæ*: liber i. *Epistolæ ad amicos*: liber i. *Pro illustrandis Scripturis ad Bedam*, epistola i." About the last of the four there can be no doubt. The two first must be coined out of the description of Acca by Bede; and for the third there seems to be no more authority than the probable supposition that a scholar like Acca would have many friends and correspondents. So has any schoolboy now-a-days, and yet we do not regard him as an author. Acca's reputation as a man of letters rests upon better evidence than this.

There is a veil of mystery thrown over the latter years of Acca's life. When Bede finished his History in 731, he spoke of Acca as still living,^w and as exhibiting then the same good example that he had set throughout his career. In the following year, according to Prior Richard,^x he was banished or expelled from his see. Why this was no one knows. Acca's character and his posthumous reputation will not allow the supposition that he was guilty of any misconduct; and we have

^t See pp. 33-4.

^u Gale, p. 40.

^v Cent., i., 87.

^w Bede, v., 23.

^x Prior Richard, 34-5.

no record of any commotion in Northumbria, from which it may be inferred that his removal was due either to some freak of royalty, or to some insurrection. Prior Richard mentions a tradition that he went from Hexham to re-establish the see of Whitherne, which was restored about the time. I have suggested elsewhere, that Acca may have resigned or have been superseded on account of age; but, were this the case, it is not probable that a prelate who was unfit to moderate an old see would be called upon to organize a new one. That he did leave his bishopric is certain, as another prelate was appointed to it; and yet no disgrace whatever attached itself to Acca's memory. He was laid in the grave within the precincts of the church that he had ruled for more than twenty years, some eight years after he had ceased to be its bishop; dying on the 19th of September, 740.

Acca was interred in the cemetery at Hexham, near the wall at the east end. Two crosses of stone wondrously carved, one at his head and the other at his feet, marked his grave.^y The cross at his head had letters upon it to shew who was resting in that place. It is very probable that the stone of which I now give an engraving is a portion of one of those which commemorated Acca. It was found in the earth some years ago, whilst making the chancel of the present church, in the position that the memorial must have originally occupied. If beauty of design and execution would prove its identity, we may safely say that it is the same. Three of the sides are sculptured, and the fourth has borne an inscription which is completely obliterated. A vine throws its fruit and tendrils over the stone in beautiful and delicate luxuriance. A large portion of a similar cross, which may have been its companion, forms the lintel of a door at Dilston.

The name of Acca was entered in the calendar, and he was commemorated on the 19th of February. Divers miracles are

^y See pp. 35, 204.





CROSS AT DILSTON, NEAR HEXHAM

said to have been wrought by him. The Saint's remains were twice translated: the first time by Alured, son of Westou, sacrist of the church of Durham, in the eleventh century; the second time in 1154 by the whole body of canons in solemn ceremony. An account of both these translations has been duly recorded.^z On the first investigation of his place of sepulture, the examiners found his chasuble and the other vestments in which he had been wound uninjured and perfect; and they were raised from the tomb, and exhibited henceforward to the admiring gaze of numberless worshippers. Some portions of them and other relics of the Saint were preserved in the Priory of Durham.^a

FRETHBERT comes after Acca, having been consecrated in his room on Sept. 8, 744, and he was bishop until the day of his death, the 23rd of December, 766,—an unusually long period in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon episcopate. In 750 he had the charge for a year of the see of Lindisfarne in addition to his own, during the disgrace of bishop Cynewulf. In 1154, at the second translation of the relics of the Saints of Hexham, the searchers discovered a case of lead containing some of the remains of Frethbert. One of his teeth was preserved at Durham.^b

ALCHMUND succeeded Frethbert, and was consecrated on the 24th of April, 767. He ruled the bishopric for thirteen years, and, after a life rich in virtues and goodness, died on the 7th of September, 781. He was buried near Acca.^c Like several of his predecessors, Alchmund had the honour of obtaining a place in the calendar, and the 7th of September, the day of his death, is assigned to him. He was only a confessor,

^z The remains were also moved by Eilaf and Edric. See afterwards.

^a See p. 36. Smith's Bede, 741, 743-4. Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, appendix, ccccxviii.

^b See pp. 37, 199, 200.

^c See pp. 37, 190—197. The bone of St. Alchmund which was at Durham (Smith's Bede, 744), belonged, I suppose, to the son of Alcred. The bishop of Hexham was not dismembered.

and we must not confound him with Alchmund the martyr, a son of Alcred, king of Northumbria, who was killed about the year 800, and to whom there are churches dedicated at Shrewsbury and Derby. He was commemorated on the 19th of March.

The remains of bishop Alchmund were translated at the same time as those of Acca, and were treated with great honour and reverence.

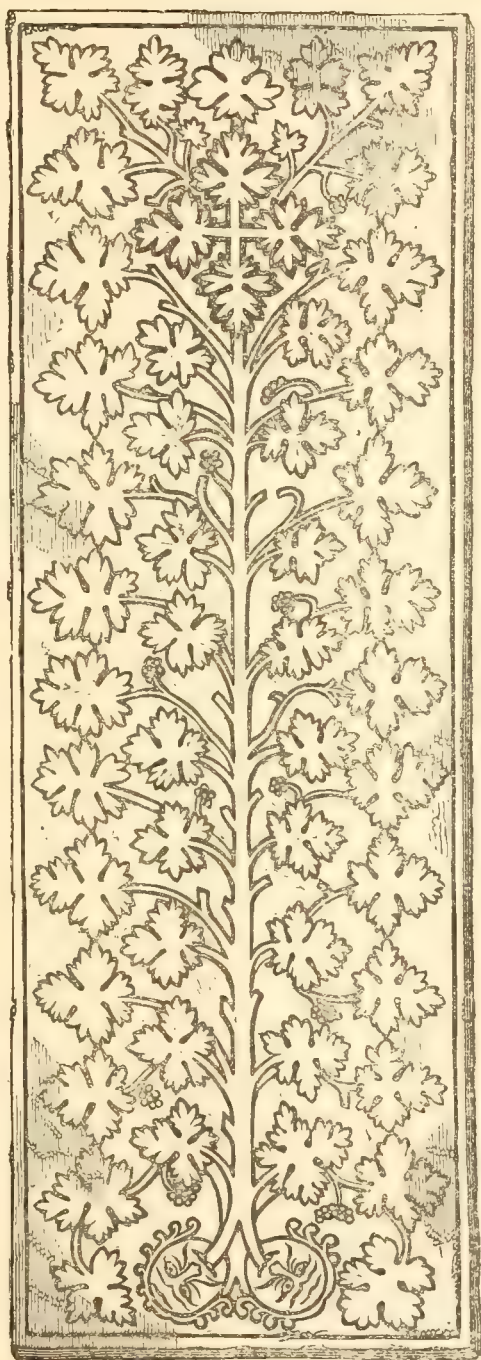
TILBERT was consecrated bishop on the 2nd of October, 781, at a place, now unknown, called Wolfswell.^d

In 786, in conjunction with Eanbald, archbishop of York, and Higbald of Lindisfarne, he consecrated a prelate of the name of Aldulf in the minster of Corbridge, which is close to Hexham.

In 788 an event took place which would cause great excitement in Northumbria, and especially in Hexham and its neighbourhood. Elfwald, or Alfwold, the king of the province, was assassinated on St. Matthew's day, the 21st of September, by one of his chief men called Siga, at a place which cannot now be recognized, called Cithlescester, or Scydecester, in the vicinity of the Roman wall.^e The scene of the catastrophe could be at no great distance from Hexham, as the monks and clerks from that place went in solemn procession, and brought the king's body to their church, in which they honourably interred it. At the corner of the north aisle of the choir, where it meets the transept, there is a tomb or shrine in the wall which is generally ascribed to Elfwald. It is the handiwork of an age long subsequent to his day. On the stone that covers it there is the richly floriated cross which appears on the opposite page. At the place where the murder was perpetrated a mysterious light was seen to hover and to shine; and a church was built there, long since lost and forgotten, dedicated to

^d See pp. 38-9.

^e The Roman station at Corbridge was called "Colecester" (Leland's Itinerary, v., 112), but it is at some distance from the Roman wall. See pp. 38, 40.



516. 24

SUPPOSED TOMB OF KING ELFWALD.

SS. Cuthbert and Oswald. Siga lived till 793, when he died by his own hand, and was interred at Lindisfarne.

In 789, on the 29th of September, a synod was held at Aycliffe, in the county of Durham, at which Tilbert would probably preside. I have given an engraving of two crosses, still preserved at Aycliffe, which may possibly have been intended to commemorate this ecclesiastical gathering.^f

In that same year Tilbert died, leaving behind him a Saintly reputation. In 1154, when the remains of the early prelates of Hexham were translated, a coffer was discovered which bore no inscription. Aelred, calling to mind the traditions of his childhood, imagined that it contained the relics of bishop Tilbert.^g

ETHELBERT succeeded Tilbert in 789, giving up the see of Whitherne, to which he had been consecrated at York on the 15th of June, 777, for that of Hexham.^h There is little known about him or his successors. On the 17th of July, 791, he was at a place called Hearrahalch, and helped to consecrate Badulf, bishop of Whitherne. In 795 he assisted at the coronation of Eardulf, king of Northumbria, at York: and, on the 14th of August, 796, he had the honour of consecrating Eanbald II., archbishop of York, in a minster which may perhaps be identified with Sockburne, an ancient village on the Durham side of the Tees.

In 795 there was another royal murder near Hexham: Ethelred, king of Northumbria, was slain at Corbridge on the Tyne,ⁱ a place of great antiquity and repute, although few traces of its grandeur are now remaining. It is probable, I think, that the sovereign had a residence here in Saxon times. There was here, also, a minster, which has been already mentioned. Some remnants of this may perhaps exist in the present parish church.

It was about this time that Alcuin addressed a letter to Ethelbert and his brotherhood at Hexham.^j It is written in the earnest and affectionate style which is characteristic of

^f See p. 39.

^g See pp. 199-200.

^h See p. 40.

ⁱ Simcon, col. 113.

^j Appendix, v—vii.

that great man. He expresses a desire to renew his old intimacy with Ethelbert, and then speaks to him and his flock as if they were his children or his brethren. He touches upon their common duties, their prayers, their studies, and their work, in no reproachful but in an encouraging tone. It is the advice of a fellow-worker steeped in love and kindness. Who knew better than he the glories of Hexham in those days, when Wilfrid and Acca ruled it? and the recollection of the great things that had been done in the town upon the holy stream made him burst forth into the following eloquent appeal: "Oh most illustrious descendants of holy progenitors, inheritors of the honour and spotless life which was theirs, dwellers in a place which is of such rare beauty, walk ye in the footsteps of your sires! so that passing away from these shrines of yours that are so exceeding fair, ye may be worthy to attain, through the Lord's mercy, to the beauty of the celestial kingdom and the fellowship in eternal bliss of your spiritual forefathers." And then there is a touching request that the prayers of those which avail so much with God may rise up to the great throne in behalf of their brother at a distance; who will be blest indeed if, through their intercession and in their company, he can pass at last without spot or blemish through the golden gates.

Ethelbert died on the 16th of October, 797, at a place called Barton, probably on the Tees; his body was brought to Hexham, and was interred there by the brethren.

EADRED came after him, being consecrated by archbishop Eanbald and Higbald of Lindisfarne at Wudaforda on the 30th of October, 797. Eadred died in 800.^k

EANBERT, or, as he is otherwise named, Eadbert or Osbert, succeeded Eadred in 800,^l and was bishop of Hexham for fourteen years. He was consecrated at Ethingaham, wherever that may be.

TIDFERTH, or Tilferd, was the last bishop of Hexham. Prior

^k See p. 41.

^l Ibid.

Richard says that it is not known when or how long he ruled the see; but from evidence, which that historian himself supplies, Tidferth could not have been at Hexham after the year 821 or 822. There was a tradition that he died on the way to Rome.^m Singularly enough, in the Saxon cemetery of the monks at Wearmouth, at a short distance from the sea, there was recently discovered the peculiar stone of which there is an engraving opposite. It is, perhaps, some portion of a cross, and the solitary word *Tidfirth* in Runic characters carries us back at once to the bishop of Hexham. There is nothing to connect this memorial with him save the name; but we must remember that if Tidferth was on his way to Rome, it is probable enough that he would take ship at the mouth of the Wear; and he would not do that without visiting Benedict Biscop's monastery, which was within his own diocese. This is curious when we associate the discovery with Prior Richard's mention of the proposed journey to Rome, which death shortened or prevented. The name of Tidferth, however, in one form or another, is not an uncommon one, and it may be seen in the Durham Book of Life.

Now why did the bishopric of Hexham come to an end? Prior Richard, when speaking of Eardulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, says that he officiated within the vacant diocese; over which, on account of the troubles and persecutions of the time, no ruler had been appointed.ⁿ The Prior is here alluding, obviously enough, to the Danish inroad in 875, but we are told expressly that the bishopric died away fifty-four years before. Now when an important office, like that of a bishop, is violently suppressed by invasion or wrong, we naturally expect to find some traces of the commotion in the annals of the period; or to see that when it is passed away some attempt was made to restore the lost dignity. There is little or no evidence of the kind to bring forward in this instance, as there appear to have

^m pp. 12, 15.

ⁿ See p. 46.

been no great troubles in the southern portion of Bernicia till the Danes came in 875. When a bishopric disappears in the time of profound peace, we cannot but infer that the change has been deliberately made by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the district, and this was probably the case at Hexham. The see was probably suppressed because it was not required; and I consider the turbulent condition of the most northern part of Bernicia to be the cause of its extinction. In the beginning of the ninth century the bishopric of Whitherne came to an end on this account; and it is extremely likely that the hold of the prelates of Lindisfarne on the great district beyond the Tweed became insecure and precarious. In the tract of land which constitutes the present county of Northumberland, they had but little to do; and one bishop, therefore, was sufficient to perform all the episcopal work between the Tweed and Tees. The see which was inferior in dignity as well as in years would be suppressed, and that was Hexham.

Twelve prelates in succession moderated the bishopric of Hexham, and their rule extended over a hundred and forty-four years. Of these, two became bishops of York; the names of five are entered as Saints in the calendar; and to two others that holy distinction has been popularly ascribed. We may be sure that men like these, in spite of the difficulties they would be obliged to contend with, could not be idle; but, after the lapse of a thousand years, there are few monuments of the pen or of the chisel to tell us of the extent of their work. It is not easy to conjecture where the churches stood which existed in their time; but they could not be numerous. Of course there would be no regular division into parishes. The nearest approaches to the churches of our day would be in the neighbourhood of a monastery, where there would be buildings in the villages set apart for worship, in which a monk would be sent to officiate; and of these, in the twelfth century, the very names had in many instances been lost. At a greater distance, at set places, particularly on the banks of a river, there would be missionary

stations for a few working priests, with a house or two and a church, to which the name of a minster was attached, such as Corbridge, Gateshead, and Sockburne. There would be baptisteries, also, and cemeteries scattered over the country, in which the church could welcome or lay to sleep her children. No temples, however, in those days, seem to have occupied the sites and scenes which the piety and the art of later ages have made beautiful and renowned. Durham was only a grey rock crowned with trees and brushwood, almost without a name, although it must always have deserved one. No writer tells us of that great Roman town which, from the fortress that the Conqueror built in it, is known to us as Newcastle. In Hartlepool the old Here-teu, or the Island of the Stag, there was a nunnery in which Hilda was an inmate,^o before the see of Hexham was founded; and, some years ago, the burial-ground was opened, and many curious monuments were disinterred. It was near the banks of the Tyne, however, that the see of Hexham had its chief spiritual strength. Tynemouth was the site of a nunnery which Bede mentions on two occasions in his life of Cuthbert;^p and, at a little distance from each other, on two different streams, were those houses of renown to which Bede and Benedict Biscop have given an undying name. Far up the Tyne, after passing by Gateshead and Corbridge, you came to Hexham; the jewel to which all these places that I have mentioned were but the pendants.

The bishopric of Hexham came to an end about the year 820, but the monastery remained under the charge of its abbat. No Christian hand despoiled that stately shrine which was without a peer on this side of the Alps. Due provision would no doubt be made by those who had made the alteration for the performance of all episcopal duties within the district, and about the funds that had been at the disposal of the bishops. What

^o Bede, iii., 24.

^p pp. 231, 254. Herebald, abbat of Tynemouth, was a pupil of St. John (Bede, v., 6).

the arrangement was we are not told. As Hexhamshire had been made over to the church, we may be sure that it would continue in it. A portion of the revenues of the district had, no doubt, been attached all along to the monastery; and it is possible that, when the bishopric ceased, the part of the bishop went to it likewise. The bishop I regard as the lord of the seignery; but whether his title to it was the mere fact of his being a prelate, or his being the representative of the archbishop of York, to whom in the person of Wilfrid the district may be said to have been personally granted, is a difficult point. In after years, as it will be seen, this question comes more prominently forward.

Hexham, as we have said, survived the loss of its bishop, but not for long. In 875 the Danish fleet came sailing up the Tyne, under the command of Halfdene, and ruin and dismay accompanied it. The timid Saxons fled before the invaders, or perished in their homes and villages, and sights and sounds of terror spread far and wide. The monks of Lindisfarne, under their bishop Eardulf, hastened tremblingly from their sea-girt home, bearing with them, in spite of peril and fatigue, St. Cuthbert's body; and the marauders fired, almost before their eyes, the holy house which they had loved so long.² From Hexham also there would probably be a flight, and a bitter rending asunder of old ties and associations. What became of the inmates of the monastery we know not; but, if they escaped, they had not time to carry much away with them. The precious library that Acca collected was destroyed, and the flames ate up everything but the stonework.³ Deep in the ground, under the shadow of those blackened walls, were the bones of Eata and Acca and Alchmund, and none disturbed them. Haply, at that time, those good men were not considered to be Saints. If this had been the case, the monks probably would have tried to

² See pp. 42-3.

³ "Quidquid de lignis fuerat ignis consumpsit. Bibliotheca illa nobilissima, quam præsul sanctus condiderat, tota deperiit." (Ælred, p. 199).

carry off their bones; and perhaps some Reginald would have arisen at Hexham to shew us that the prelates of that place were worthy of being the friends and contemporaries of Cuthbert.

Many shifts must have been made at this crisis by the inhabitants of Hexham and the inmates of the monastery, to save their lives, and carry off or conceal their treasures. One of these unhappy persons, it is to be believed, who must have had some connection with the monks, hid his money deep in the ground on the north side of the place which was subsequently covered by the nave of the mediæval church. A grave was being dug there in 1832, when a bronze flagon was discovered containing as many as 9000 stycas.^s They had been coined by Eanred, Ethelred and Redulf, kings of Northumbria, and by Eanbald and Vigmund, archbishops of York, so that the concealment must have been made after the year 850. Mr. Fairless of Hexham has a noble array of these pieces, some of which are very finely executed, and a large proportion of silver is mingled occasionally with the copper. No one was aware before that the archbishops of York had the privilege of coining money; we now look upon them as great temporal potentates even at that early period; and where could their coins be current with greater propriety than in their own regality of Hexham? Hexhamshire, we can perhaps infer from this, continued to be theirs after the bishops in that place had come to an end.^t

After the destruction of Hexham, the Danish conquerors tarried in Northumbria; and, copying the example of many successful invaders, began to till and reap the fruits of the country they had injured. After a while there was peace again;

^s There is an account of the discovery by the late Mr. Adamson of Newcastle-on-Tyne in the *Archæologia*, xxv., 279—310, illustrated with numerous engravings.

^t Mr. Fairless has in his possession another remarkable coin which was found in the church at Corbridge. On the obverse is a crowned head to the right, and the scripture BARNRED RE. On the reverse MON-CERED ETA. It was perhaps struck by Burgred of Mercia, but Dr. Haig thinks that it was minted for Buern, the admiral of Osbert, king of Northumbria.

old faces began to shew themselves; and men became friends with the Danish settlers. Bishop Eardulf and his precious charge now returned from the South, and Guthred, a new king, was upon the throne. Guthred, as it was believed and reported, owed his exaltation to the kind offices of St. Cuthbert, for he had been previously a slave. From such a monarch, therefore, a bishop of Lindisfarne might ask any favour with the certainty of having it granted. Eardulf was fortunate enough to obtain as a gift the country between the Wear and Tyne;^u the large parish of Gainford, which constituted a considerable portion of the rest of the county of Durham, having been previously (inter 830-845) bestowed by his predecessor Egred.^v Eardulf, also, was cautious enough to secure to himself some farther privileges. He and his successors were the temporal lords of a large portion of the county of Durham, but he now prevailed upon Guthred to assure to him the spiritual control of the whole of the district between the Tyne and the Tees; and that monarch's grant was confirmed by the great Alfred. There was no temptation now for Eardulf to return to Lindisfarne; but on his return from the South he set up his tabernacle at Chester-le-street, an old Roman encampment at the extreme point of the territory which had been given by Egred, and where he had lived for a short time before his flight.^w From that place, therefore, he and his successors moderated the spiritual affairs of the whole of the present counties of Northumberland and Durham, together with some outlying districts at either end. His bishopric, as it covered the ground embraced by the old sees of Lindisfarne and Hexham, was properly called, in the

^u Simeon, Hist. Dunelm., pp. 120-1.

^v Simeon, Hist. de S. Cuthberto, coll. 69-70. The parish of Gainford must have been a very extensive one.

^w Unless Chester-le-street came to the bishop or the monks of St. Cuthbert through Egred, it must have come to them through some other grant, of which no record has been preserved. If we regard the place in a topographical aspect, it lies in the district between the Wear and Tees. At Gainford and Chester-le-street there are some curious Saxon remains.

first instance, the episcopate of the Bernicians;^x it might have been termed, perhaps, with stricter accuracy, that of Lindisfarne,^y under a new name.

It is my belief that from the time of the extinction of the see of Hexham in 821 to the period of the Danish invasion, the whole of Bernicia, as a matter of convenience, was under the spiritual charge of Eardulf and his predecessors at Lindisfarne. In 883 the grant of Guthred and Alfred formally made over to him and his monks the spiritualities of the present county of Durham. The ecclesiastical control of the country from the Alne to the Tyne, the remainder of the old diocese of Hexham, would be allowed to fall into his hands by lapse, because "the bishops of Hexham had ceased."^z There is, however, much doubt and difficulty about the history of Hexhamshire and its owner at this period. If we construe the gift of king Guthred literally, as Hexham and three-fifths of the shire to which it gives its name are on this side of the Tyne, they might pass to Eardulf and his successors in virtue of the royal grant.^a It seems probable, however, that the western boundary of the lands thus given away was the Watling-street which is outside of Hexhamshire. We may perhaps infer, therefore, that the shire might appertain to Eardulf through the original charter of Etheldreda in 674. She gave the district to Wilfrid to support a bishop, a part of the revenue going no doubt to the monastery, and the bishop was the temporal lord of Hexham. When, therefore, the bishop of Lindisfarne or Chester-le-street acted there as a lawfully authorized prelate, he might be said to be fulfilling the condition attached by Etheldreda to her gift, and might take possession of the territory. Prior Richard says

* Cutheard, bishop at Chester-le-street, is called "*Berniciorum præsul*." (Simeonis Hist. Dunelm., 126.)

^y "*Sedes episcopalis, quam in Lindisfarnensi insula superius diximus, in Cunnacestre restauratur.*" (ibid., 120.) The questions touched upon in this paragraph are most difficult, and I offer this attempted solution of them with much diffidence.

^z See pp. 46, 220.

^a So says the Durham chronicler at p. 220. Valeat quantum !

that the see of Hexham was restored at Chester-le-street in 883. This, at all events, shews that the spiritualities of Hexhamshire passed away to the bishops of Chester-le-street, and I do not see how they can be separated from the temporalities.

Hexham, therefore, and its shire seem to have come at the close of the ninth century into the possession of what we may call the see of Durham. There is no mention of any opposition on the part of the archbishops of York, for their history at this period is altogether under a veil, and there is not a trace of any objection on their part till the time of archbishop Alfrie, who, in the beginning of the eleventh century, sent to ask Edmund, bishop of Durham, by what title he held Hexham.^b The primate, no doubt, considered, what Wilfrid indeed seems to have thought, that Etheldreda's gift was made personally to himself; that the bishop held the district merely as his deputy; and that, therefore, when there was no prelate, the lordship would properly revert to the archbishop. This was a very plausible case, but it did not prevail at the time; and from 883 until the twelfth century the bishops of Chester-le-street and Durham seem, spiritually and temporally, to have been the lords paramount at Hexham.

At Chester-le-street, in 883, the two dioceses of Hexham and Lindisfarne were practically united, Lindisfarne having the pre-eminence, and very properly too, over her resuscitated sister. The ancient seal on the next page is, I believe, that which was used in Saxon times by the bishop and his brotherhood at Chester-le-street or Durham. It seems to me to be symbolical of the union of the two sees which centred in that place, but this is merely a fanciful idea. The larger cross may be that of Oswald, such as he reared at Hevenfelth, the memorial of him assumed by his church at Lindisfarne. Is not the smaller cross in the centre that of St. Andrew, which appertains to Hexham? The two are welded together, as if to represent the union that took place at Chester-le-street. The legend very appropriately

^b *Lel. Coll.*, i., 378.

introduces the name of Cuthbert, who held for a while both of the sees that I have been mentioning ; and whose remains, after a sojourn of a century at Chester-le-street, are now resting, after their many wanderings, in Durham.



We do not lose sight altogether of Hexham and its neighbourhood in the tenth century. In 923 there was a battle at Corbridge^b between Ragnal the Dane and prince Ealdred, who was aided by Constantine of Scotland. The Norsemen were victorious, and the conqueror secured the possession of the southern portion of Northumberland. We see from this that Corbridge was a place of importance ; and could Hexham, therefore, be in ruins at this time ? Undoubtedly Christianity received no favour at the hands of Ragnal ; but were there no monks in Hexham from the ninth century to the twelfth ?

^b Simeon, coll. 73-4.

There is a very remarkable passage in Simeon's History of St. Cuthbert which bears on this point. We are told by the northern chronicler that in the time of king Edward, son of the great Alfred, Tilred, abbat of "Hexesham,"^c purchased the vill of South Iodene or Eden in the county of Durham, and gave one moiety of it to St. Cuthbert, that is, to the church of Chester-le-street, that he might become a brother in the monastery; and the other part to the church of Northam,^d or Norham, that he might be abbat there. If this passage is correctly given, it is a most suggestive one. It shews that the monks had come back to Hexham, but *not* from the monastery at Chester-le-street; for, had the abbat been sent from that place, there would have been no necessity for him to purchase the privilege of fraternity, as he was a brother already. It is impossible, of course, to say from what convent Tilred went to Hexham, but it is clear that it was not from Chester-le-street; and then the question arises, Does not this shew that the church of Hexham at least was at this time independent of the bishops of Chester? and could it be in a state of utter destitution when its ruler was a man of wealth, who could purchase estates and give them away? I infer that Tilred, when he made this gift, went to reside at Chester-le-street among the brotherhood. Is he the same person who was bishop there from 915 to 928?^e This is probable enough. Before bishop Tilred died the battle of Corbridge took place, after which there would be no security for the inmates of the monastery at Hexham, and they would not dare to stay there.

^c Idem, col. 73. In some extracts from that lost treasure, the *Liber Ruber Dunelmensis*, it is said, "Gilleredus abbas Hefferesham dedit dimidiam partem villæ quæ vocatur Yoden Australis Sancto Cuthberto." (*Hist. Dunelm. Ser. Tres*, appendix, 422.) Simeon, it must be observed, never calls Hexham "Hexesham," save in this passage.

^d This is the only place in which it is stated that there was a monastery at Norham. There are some curiously sculptured stones there of Saxon workmanship.

^e There is an account of this bishop in Simeon, ed. Bedford, pp. 129-132.

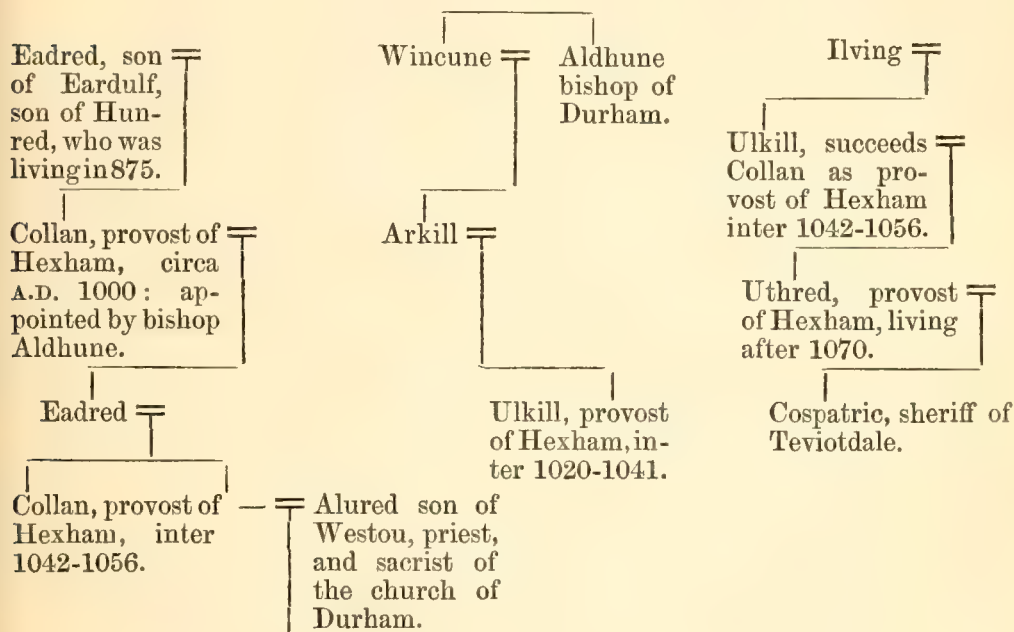
It is not unlikely, therefore, that, after the great inroad of 875, a new colony of monks took possession of Hexham, sent thither by the archbishop of York ; and that it was finally dispersed during the troubles and persecutions which accompanied the reign of Ragnal the Dane. When the times became more peaceful, the bishop of Chester-le-street would find desolation in Tynedale ; there would be little to tempt the archbishop of York to send another mission ; and we cannot be surprised therefore that the remains of the monastery and its endowments came gradually into the hands of his suffragans in the North. We are not acquainted with the exact period of this change, but it must be remarked that we have no trace of the presence of any episcopal officers at Hexham prior to 1000. At that time the possessions of the bishop of Durham (recently Chester-le-street) in Hexhamshire were ruled and managed by a provost, a person of importance, to whom the title of thane is occasionally applied. The post seems, as a general rule, to have been an hereditary one. The line of provosts commences with a descendant of Hunred, one of the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body, who, as Simcon remarks, were rewarded for their toil by the greatness of their posterity.^f The list of them, as far as it can be ascertained, may be best shewn on the opposite page.^g

Whilst the provosts had the charge of the land, the ecclesiastical requirements of Hexham and its district were attended to, in one form or another, by a clerical family which held the church as it would a leasehold or a freehold property. The office of priest at Hexham was an hereditary one. It may seem

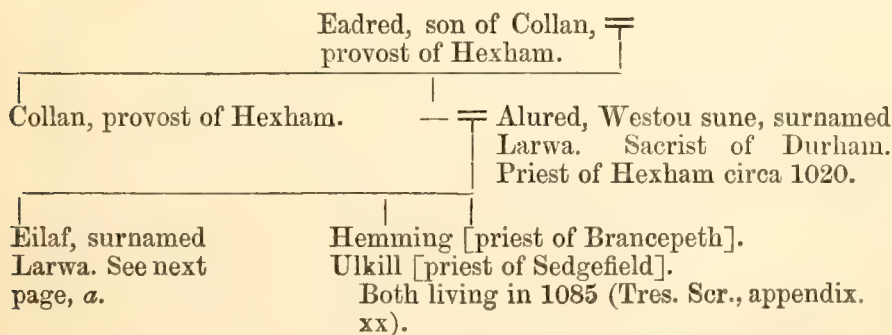
^f Ed. Bedford, p. 113. See the same author, p. 143, for a short pedigree of the descendants of Hunred.

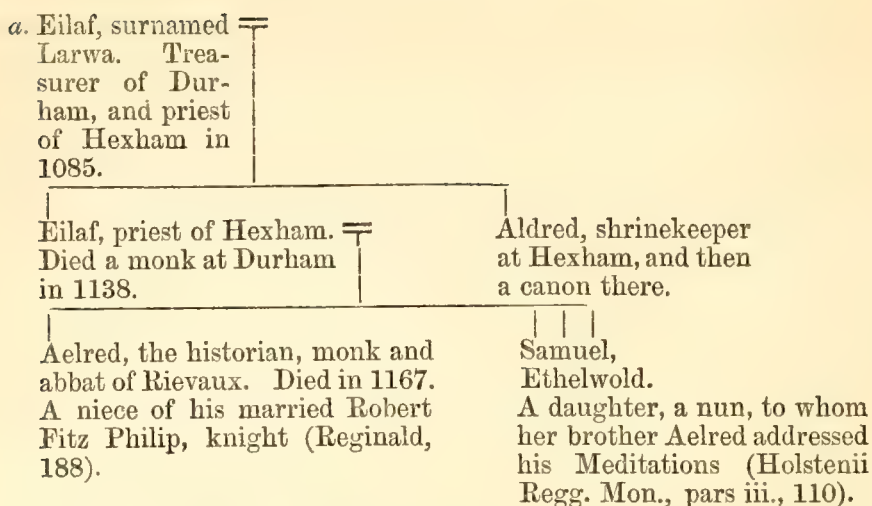
^g See Appendix, pp. vii-viii. The first person to discover this curious document and to comment upon it was Mr. Longstaffe, who is well acquainted with the history of Hexham. In the *Arch. Æl.*, *n. s.*, part xiii., p. 11-28, he has given an interesting paper on the Hereditary Sacerdotage of Hexham, which has been of much use to me.

strange to say this, but, to go still farther, there is strong evidence to shew that in the north of England during the eleventh century, and even after it, celibacy among the clergy of all ranks and orders was the exception and not the rule. This was opposed, no doubt, to the theory of the church, but it was the practice in the North, and the pages of Simeon of Durham and Reginald will prove my assertion; especially in the case of the monastery of Durham before it was reformed.



The following pedigree will set forth the descent of the priests of Hexham, and will assist the reader when he follows me through the history of the place.





Some twenty or thirty years had passed away in the eleventh century, when there was living in the monastery of Durham a priest called Alured, the son of Westou, who appears in the preceding pedigree. I am inclined to think that he was a descendant of Eilaf, one of the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body. He was a scholar, and the name of Lareor (Larwa), or doctor, was applied to him, for he had a class of pupils around him which he instructed in reading and singing. His personal character was irreproachable, and he was most exemplary in his devotions.^h He thus secured the esteem and the veneration of all, and was regarded as an oracle. The brethren at Durham made Alured the sacrist of their church, and, in right of that office, he had the charge of the remains of St. Cuthbert. The new shrinekeeper made a comb of ivory, with which he used to trim the locks of his precious charge; and for generations after his day the tale was told that the fire could not consume the hair which came from the sacred head, but that it glittered like gold in the middle of the flames. Another story was narrated with which the name of Alured is connected. During a temporary absence of his from Durham, a weasel or some animal of the kind found its way into the coffin of the Saint, and therein deposited her young. Cuthbert, not liking his companion, appeared in a vision to the custodian of his body,

^h See p. 190.

who at once hastened homewards. The little creature was discovered, and the indignant sacrist would have killed the mother and its young; but the animal forgot its wild habits and the peril of its offspring, and crouched timidly up to the hands of the bystanders to be stroked and fondled. They saw in this the wish of the Saint that she should be uninjured, and suffered her and her little ones to go.ⁱ

In spite of this apparent neglect of his charge, Alured was a careful sacrist; and the knowledge of his zeal made bishop Egelric shrink from making any attempt to deprive the church of Durham of its choicest treasure. He was also very anxious that the relics of other northern Saints, in those days of neglect, should be concentrated at Durham; and Simeon says that he had a Divine commission to hunt them out. From Melrose he carried off the bones of Boisil, and deposited them honourably at Durham near his pupil Cuthbert. At Tynningham he found the remains of Balther and Bilfrid; at Coldingham those of the abbesses Ebba and Ethelgitha, and he brought all of them away to his own church. Tynemouth yielded him what there was of St. Oswin; and from Jarrow he purloined the Venerable Bede. Alured also did not forget Hexham. Collan, the provost of that place, was his brother-in-law, and by the gift of Edmund, bishop of Durham, he himself was the possessor of the church, in which he had a priest who acted as his deputy, a person of the name of Gamel Elde, and subsequently another, probably the son of the former, who was called Gamel Iunge or Junior.^j One night a man of note at Hexham,^k probably a dreng, about the name of whom there is some doubt, dreamed a dream.^l A magnificent personage seemed

ⁱ Reginald, 57-60. Simeon, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, ed. Bedford, 158-163.

^j Appendix, p. viii.

^k "Dregmo quidam:" (Simeon, 209,) which I do not look upon as a proper name. Aelred (p. 195) seems to me to explain dregmo by "vir quidam de minoris ordinis proceribus," *i. e.*, a dreng.

^l For an account of this, see pp. 195-8, 208 *et seqq.*

to stand before him, glittering with unearthly light and in full pontifical array; and, touching the sleeper as it were gently with his hand, he bade him go to Alured of Durham, and desire him to remove his remains from their resting-place, putting them in another place within the church, and in a more honourable position. The radiance of the vision dazzled the beholder as much as his voice appalled him. In reply to a modest enquiry he was told that Alchmund stood before him; and that whilst his soul was far away amid the ecstasies of supernal bliss, his bones were laid beside those of his predecessor Acca. The remains of Acca, as we may perhaps infer from this, had been previously discovered. The message of the Saint was of course delivered, and Alured came, willing enough, to dig. For six long hours was he at work, but nothing shewed itself. In spite of jeers and laughter he went on, and was rewarded by finding what he was in search of. The relics were carefully collected, and were laid for the night in the porch or chapel of St. Peter, at the east end of the old monastery, till they could be removed into the church on the morrow. A singular story is now told. With characteristic cupidity Alured wished to carry off some portion of the bones to Durham, thinking that he was fully entitled to this reward for his exertions. Accordingly, with an unusual forbearance, he contented himself with a piece of a finger. On the following day, when the bearers tried to carry the relics into the church they could not move them, and the whole day was wasted in the attempt. At night, when the dreng, wearied out with his day's work, was fast asleep, Alchmund stood before him; and with a stern countenance protested against the theft, holding out before him his fingerless hand. On the morrow the offender, finding that his theft could not be concealed, made prompt confession and restitution, and the translation was completed. It took place on the 2nd of August, but the year has not been handed down.

Acca was not so impatient as Alchmund when Alured moved his bones, and carried some of them away with him to

Durham.^m The place in which the old friend of Wilfrid was laid could easily be detected, for it was on the outside of the monastery close to the eastern wall, and a cross, beautifully carved, stood at his head and feet. The bones were taken up and deposited in the church. On the breast of the skeleton was found a small tablet, which had probably been a portable altar, constructed of two pieces of wood, that were fastened together with silver pins. It bore the following inscription, *Almæ Trinitati; Agiæ Sophiæ; Sanctæ Mariæ*. In the grave were also discovered a chasuble, a tunic, and a napkin uninjured and undecayed. These were taken into the church, and were exhibited as its most precious treasures. The canons used to shew them to the worshippers, who were allowed to kiss the garments in which the good bishop had been interred.ⁿ It was Alured also, as was believed, who translated the bones of Eata, and placed in the coffers which contained the relics of the three Saints of Hexham the inscriptions that were found with them in 1154.

Alured had three sons, all of whom were priests. The most conspicuous of the three was Eilav,^o or Eilaf (a fine old Danish name), who was treasurer of the monastery of Durham. Eilaf not only had a grant of the church of Hexham from bishops Egelric and Egelwin, in which place he had as his deputy a priest of the name of Sproh;^p but, what was more to his credit, he inherited his father's appellation of Lareor, or doctor.^q Whilst Eilaf was in possession of the church, that

^m See Appendix, p. viii.

ⁿ See pp. 204-5.

^o We must not forget Eilaf, the bearer of St. Cuthbert's body, about whom Reginald tells a ludicrous story. He stole a cheese, and, as a punishment, was changed for a while into a fox, from which incident the surname of Tod (fox) was given to him and his descendants. The church of Bedlington was the hereditary property of Eilaf and his descendants, and in 1085 Eilaf of Bedlington witnessed a charter which is printed in the Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres (Appendix, p. xx.).

^p He is perhaps the person who is mentioned in the 108th chapter of Reginald as living at Bellingham, and as acting as bridgemaster of the district under the orders of the almoner of Durham. He was a married man.

^q Appendix, p. viii.

terrible raid took place in which the Conqueror devastated the greater part of the North from the Humber to the Tweed. This occurred in 1069, and Hexham, probably, did not escape; indeed Ordericus Vitalis says that William was at that place.^r It was not to be expected, therefore, that there would be much left in Tynedale either for priest or provost. Neither officer would know to whom he was to turn, for Egelwin, the bishop of Durham, had timorously deserted his diocese; and Hexhamshire, as well as the county of Durham, was without its temporal and spiritual chief. In this emergency the provost of Hexham, Uctred, the son of Ulkill, calling to mind the old connection between Hexham and York, went to Thomas, the first Norman primate; and, pointing out the desolate condition of the shire, shewed him with what ease he could take the district into his hands, for there were neither tenants nor landlord.^s Thomas, who was always ready to assert the privileges and rights of his see, adopted his advice, and Hexhamshire now passed away for ever from Durham to the archbishops of York. In the meanwhile the monastery and the spiritual charge of the place, which could not be onerous, were still in the possession of Eilaf and his deputy; and the two primates confirmed the ownership of them to the bishops of Durham.^t Eilaf's day of trial soon came on. In 1083 bishop William de St. Carlileph reformed the monastery of Durham, ejecting the married priests; and every one was expelled who declined to conform to the new and stricter rules. Eilaf was the leader of the opposition, and seems to have scornfully rejected all the terms and conditions that were proposed. In this crisis he thought of the archbishop of York and the church of Hexham, which up to this time he had, in all probability, entirely neglected. Here was a capital outlet by which a proud and angry man could escape; and it must be

^r Apud Duchesne, 515. "Mense Januario rex Guillelmus Haugustaldam revertebatur a Tesia." Mr. Hodgson Hinde very properly observes that the place intended is not Hexham, but Hamelac or Hemsley.

^s Appendix, p. viii.

^t Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, appendix, pp. x, xiii.

remembered also that there was every chance of his being deprived of Hexham by the bishop of Durham. To make it safe, and to shew his independence of St. Carileph, he put himself under a new master. He went to archbishop Thomas, who was at that time in possession of the temporalities of Hexhamshire, and asked him to grant the church to him provided that he restored it. The request was conceded, and the old treasurer of Durham went into Tynedale to enter upon his new charge. A dreadful undertaking it was that he had begun. The church, which prior to the Norman inroad seems to have been partially restored, was in a deplorable state of ruin and decay. The walls were roofless and green with grass; trees and shrubs were intruding themselves in every crevice and corner; and there was nothing to ward off the showers or stay the course of the wind as it rushed through the deserted building. This was enough to appal a stout-hearted man, but Eilaf was not dismayed. He had many evils to contend with. So scanty was the population of the district that for two whole years he had no means of supporting his family save by his hawks and hounds. He began, however, with the church, and set up an altar at the east end. Beyond this, and it was but a little, he did nothing more. His life and work were cut short together; and although, as his grandson Aelred confesses, his conduct might have been stricter and more exemplary, still he left behind him the reputation of sparing neither cost nor labour in ornamenting and restoring churches."

Previous to the decease of Eilaf archbishop Thomas made a considerable change in his position at Hexham. The primate constituted it a part of the endowment of the prebendal stall of Holme in the cathedral of York, and gave the prebend to a canon of Beverley of the name of Richard de Maton, under whom Eilaf continued to act at Hexham." He had sought for

" See Aelred, p. 191. Appendix, p. viii.

" Richard of Hexham, p. 50. There is a street (lane) at Hexham called Eillan's Gate, and a cave, near Warden, called Eillan's Hole (Wright's Hexham, 53).

the appointment at the hands of Thomas, and in seeking it had placed himself at his mercy, and he was now reaping the fruits of what he had done. It was a great fall for Eilaf to descend from the treasury of Durham to the charge of a district without either church or population. But, such as it was, he took it; and, such as it was, the same office, after he died, was conceded by the archbishop to his son, another Eilaf, who received a portion of the endowments as his stipend. The spiritualities of Hexham, therefore, and the monastery, as well as the temporalities, passed away to the see of York, and the bishops of Durham seem to have made no opposition. In a short chronicle, which is printed among the *Anecdota*,^w it is said that Henry I. took them away from Flambard, bishop of Durham, and gave them to the archbishop: it is very probable that the disgrace of Flambard induced that monarch to confirm to the northern primate what had been previously in his possession; and the great charter which Henry made to the church of York carries Hexham with it, although it is not specially mentioned therein.^x It is named, however, in the bull which Calixtus II. gave to Thurstan in or about the year 1119,^y and it occurs in all the bulls thenceforward. The connection with Durham was almost entirely broken. The bishop of that see had the power of summoning the Prior, or a canon of the house, if some ecclesiastical matter was to be discussed; and the sacred chrism at Easter might be brought from York or Durham.^z But these are trifles.

During the time that Eilaf was the priest at Hexham, the frequently recurring inroads of Malcolm, king of Scotland, caused the greatest dismay in Northumberland and Durham.^a On one of these occasions the king was in the vicinity of Hex-

^w See pp. 219-20.

^x Dugd. Mon., vi., 1180. In the rubricated title of a copy of this deed I have seen Hexham mentioned.

^y Appendix, pp. x—xii.

^z Prior Richard, p. 47.

^a For an account of this inroad, see pp. 177—181, 207-8.

ham, but no plundering took place, as he was unwilling to break in upon the privileges of the district. As ill luck, however, would have it, some of Malcolm's messengers were attacked and robbed by thieves not far from the church; and the monarch, laying the blame on the inhabitants of the town, ordered a general massacre of them in his fury. All the endeavours of the priest to appease his wrath were unavailing, and the men of Galloway, the fiercest of the fierce, were to be the ministers of his vengeance. There was wailing and dismay at Hexham, and the church was thronged with a motley crowd of children, women, and aged persons, the victims of the most frantic despair.

“And as St. Wilfrid's care they claimed,
Oft in their prayers his name was named.”^b

A picturesque legend tells how they were saved. The priest, wearied out with his exertions, had fallen asleep, when he saw two bishops riding towards him from the South, and coming like the Dioscuri to bid the sufferers hope and live. One of the two was Wilfrid, who hastened to his beloved North when he heard of the peril of his favourite abode; and, as he passed by Durham on his way, he invoked the aid of Cuthbert, who mounted his steed and rode with his old contemporary into Tynedale. “Fear not,” said Hexham's founder, “for when morning comes I will spread my net from the springs of the Tyne to its mouth, and no one shall pass over it.” The morrow arose bright and fair, but in a little while a dense fog rolled down the river-valley, and everything was enveloped in it. The men of Galloway started on their murderous errand, and lost their way in the mist. Instead of crossing the main stream, by which route they would have reached Hexham speedily, they went towards the west, going over the North Tyne; and, wandering among the hills, found themselves before they halted on the Scottish border. The fog passed away in time, and then

^b Bailey's Festus.

the river, swollen by rains in the west, came down in a big strong flood. It was impossible for any one to cross it for three days, and bridges there were none. Before that time was over the Scottish king saw the finger of God in the impediments that had been thrown in his way; and turned aside in fear and reverence from the shrine which he had sworn to desecrate. Such an escape as this, in the minds of the inhabitants of Hexham, would deepen and intensify the sacred influences that seemed to hover over their church; and I have mentioned this and some other incidents at length as the feelings and thoughts of so many took from them their colour and tone. Holy arms would appear to them to be stretched over their monastery; holy eyes to watch them in their daily work; holy voices, although none could hear them, to swell their praises and give weight to their petitions for forgiveness.

Eilaf the Second, it has been seen, took the charge of the church of Hexham on the decease of his father, and threw himself into the work of restoration which had recently begun. He speedily removed the encroaching shrubs and trees, covered the whole church with tiles, whitewashed the walls, and renewed the paintings with which they had been adorned. A pavement was laid down at the east end of the church, on which an altar supported by pillars was set up; and behind it he prepared to deposit the relics in an appropriate shrine. Before this was made, he found a temporary resting-place for them at the altar of St. Michael in the south porch. He gave them into the charge of a young brother of his of the name of Aldred, who lived with him in his house. The lad, like his grandfather Alured, thought that out of such a multitude of bones he might fairly take possession of one, and twice did he attempt to gratify his wish. A rush of hot air on both occasions is said to have warned him of his impiety. As soon as his brother Eilaf heard of the adventure, he lost no time in placing the treasures in a securer place. Aldred acquired in after years some reputation for probity and learning, and ultimately became a canon in

the monastery with which his boyhood had been connected. It was from his own lips that this story was taken down.^c

Years passed away, and Eilaf continued to live at Hexham and attend to the parochial work and the church, subordinated of course to Richard de Maton, who would probably have the greater part of the revenues of the place in right of his canonry at York. This state of things was anything but satisfactory, and the church, as we are told by Prior Richard, suffered much from lay oppression and violence.^d Time, however, went on, and Eilaf saw two archbishops die; but a crisis was at hand in the fortunes of Hexham when Thomas the Second became primate in 1108. In the beginning of his episcopate that prelate, in spite of ill-health and obesity, seems to have been very active and energetic. He made a visitation of the few monasteries that were under his charge, and was frequently at Hexham. That place, however, was conventual merely in its traditions; a change had passed over it since the days of its ancient abbats, and the church, in its neglect and wretchedness, exhibited scarcely a vestige of its old renown. Where were the monks, the ritual that Wilfrid had organized, the library and the treasures of Acca? The retrospect was a melancholy one, and it touched the heart of Thomas. This state of things could not last, and he began to think how it could be remedied. Those with whom he was intimately connected, his own friends and clerks, saw what was in his thoughts and urged him to proceed.^e There were, however, vested interests to consider, and fatal difficulties and objections might spring up. Hexham belonged to a stall at York, and the chapter, the canon, and his deputy had rights which could not be despised. Arrangements and compromises were therefore necessary, but, fortunately, there was no difficulty in making them. Great credit is due to Eilaf, according to the testimony of his son Aelred.^f The care of the relics had become a burden to him, and he met

^c Aelred, pp. 191-2; and *Anecdota*, pp. 205-6.

^d See p. 50.

^e Prior Richard, pp. 53-4.

^f See p. 192.

with and anticipated troubles against which a party of ecclesiastics could contend with greater success than a single priest. He professed his readiness to surrender his rights in the church of Hexham, and his offer was accepted. Aelred, however, omits to record what Prior Richard tells us, that his father was fully compensated for what he gave up. Although the church was brought back to monastic discipline, Eilaf still continued to be the parish priest of Hexham; and retained the greater part of the endowments, a carrucate of land, some houses in Hexham, and six bovates of ground in Anwick. Richard de Maton, also, to make up for what he lost, in virtue of an arrangement between the primate and the chapter of York, became one of the residentiaries of that cathedral.^g

Hexham, therefore, was to be made a monastery again; but to what order was it to be attached? In the days of old it had been what was called in England a Benedictin house; and, at the beginning of the twelfth century, that rule was the only one which obtained in this country. Eilaf's consent to the change at Hexham would, probably, not have been gained if the archbishop had proposed to introduce the rule of Benedict, which had caused his father so much loss and vexation at Durham. The other religious houses in England had been occupied by secular canons; and it was a problem which time only could solve how far these monasteries could be brought under some discipline and stricter system. The order of the Augustinian or regular canons came into existence abroad in the middle of the eleventh century; but it did not appear in England for some time; and between 1070 and 1120 various experiments seem to have been tried in this country upon the old churches in which the secular canons remained. Was it possible to give somewhat of a monastic character to them, in which there should be at least a semblance of strictness? The crisis was a very serious one in the history of monasticism and

^g See pp. 54-5.

the English church. Let us see what it was in the North. In 1083 the secular canons, or rather secular monks, of Durham were ejected after a vehement struggle, which was, I believe, the main reason of the murder of bishop Walcher. Eilaf's father was one of those who were turned out, and bitter recollections of what he had suffered would be cherished by his son. In Yorkshire there were several changes attempted, and archbishop Thomas I., a foreigner himself and a man of zeal and judgment, would be well acquainted with foreign rules, and had all the advantages of a long tenure of his office and profound peace to enable him to make experiments. He tried, and seemingly with success for a while, to make some changes among the secular canons at York and Beverley, enjoining the use of a common refectory and dormitory; which shews that he wished to bring in something like monastic discipline. Now we cannot regard these men as Austin or canons regular of a later day; perhaps we may call them the canons secular reformed. But whatever they were, thirteen years after the death of archbishop Thomas I., when his nephew Thomas II. wished to regenerate Hexham, he could find no better agents and exponents of his views and wishes than two Yorkshire canons, one from York and the other from Beverley. Such were the persons to whom Eilaf gave up his church, and prepared for them with his own hands conventual buildings of wood.^h The first of the two that came was a person of the name of Edric, who discovered near the high altar the remains of Acca in the place where they had been deposited by Eilaf. He had the honour of putting them in a more befitting shrine; and in the Legend of the church there is a record of two cures that he effected through them.ⁱ

Edric came to Hexham on the 1st of November, 1113,—a day that was always gratefully remembered by the canons in succeeding generations. He and his brother or brethren were making an experiment, and they would have many difficulties

^h Aelred, p. 192.

ⁱ Aelred, pp. 187-8. *Anecdota*, 206.

to battle against, of which poverty was not the least. Thomas, however, did everything that he could to make their sojourn pleasant and successful. He gave the church the two villages called Anwick, Sandhoe, and Yarrowridge, a mill upon the Tyne, and a thousand eels yearly out of his streams. To procure them clothes he made the canons an annuity of 100s., and bestowed upon the church books, vestments, and divers necessary ornaments. More he would have done for them had his life been spared, for his heart was with the infant society which he had established on the banks of the Tyne.^j

A story is told about Thomas in connection with that favourite theme, the relics of Hexham, which cannot be omitted.^k It appears that the dean and canons of York, who, strange to say, had at this time no local Saint of their own, looked with envious eyes upon the spiritual wealth of Hexham; and begged the primate to bring the bones of Eata to York, that the principal church in his province might have the honour of possessing them. Thomas readily assented, and arrived at Hexham accompanied by a chosen body of the petitioners. The canons were few in number (probably but two), and oppressed with poverty; but they had still been long enough in their new abode to deprecate its spoliation. They pleaded in vain. On the morrow the relics were to be removed; and the canons, grieved and vexed, could do nothing more than kneel before the coffer which contained Eata's bones, and pray that he who had known what it was to be poor himself would never desert the brethren who emulated him in his poverty, and migrate to a rich cathedral. The night came on and the archbishop was asleep, when lo! Eata seemed to stand beside him, robed as he was of old; and, looking sorrowfully and angrily upon him, "Why break into my rest," he seemed to say, "and carry me away from my brothers to another place? This is not the Lord's will but thy presumption, and for it thou shalt pay the penalty." Other

^j Prior Richard, p. 56.

^k Aelred, pp. 202-3, and 214-15.

threats succeeded; and, whilst they were being uttered, the pastoral staff of the indignant prelate was raised, and fell twice with a smart blow upon the shoulder of the primate, who screamed out with terror and pain, and awoke with the scream. His affrighted clerks came flocking around him like a covey of birds, and heard what had occurred. Three days passed away before the archbishop's shoulder was sound and well; and then, after expressing contrition for what he proposed to do, he returned southwards, without meddling any more with Eata.

The successor of Thomas II. was the famous Thurstan, in whom Hexham found a noble benefactor. Upon him devolved the duty of completing the good work of his predecessor, and he was so munificent in his patronage and charity that he is called in one passage the founder of the place.¹ To decorate the church, he bestowed upon it relics, books, vestments, and other gifts; among which was a pair of candlesticks of silver, and another of a kind of copper gilt. He organized and added largely to the endowments. He gave the canons divers tithes, and free pannage in the woods for their swine; he made over to them two hamlets called Grottington, and Dotland, where there was afterwards a park; together with houses and ground in the vicinity of the monastery. The grant of 100s. per annum he charged upon the archdeaconry of the West Riding; and, with the consent of the chapter of York, he made a change in the connection between the canons of Hexham and that body. Archbishop Thomas, it will be remembered, constituted Hexham a part of the corpus of the prebend of Holme; but Thurstan made the Prior of Hexham *ex officio* a canon of York, appropriating to him the church and parish of Salton in Ryedale, from which he took his title.^m Generosity like this would be sure to find numerous imitators, for Thurstan, above all others, seems to have had the rare power of inducing others to emulate his own munificence. The greater part of the territorial pos-

¹ MSS. Cotton, Titus, A, xix., 55 b. See p. 57.

^m Prior Richard, pp. 57-8.

sessions of Hexham seem to have been given in the first half of the twelfth century.

We must regard Thurstan as the first person that established at Hexham the Augustinian canons. The attempt to introduce discipline into the minsters of York and Beverley had been a failure, and those churches had fallen back into the hands of the seculars. At Hexham, however, the experiment was more successful, for it was a small place, and there were fewer difficulties to contend with. So much progress seems to have been made that Thurstan, probably soon after he became archbishop, put the canons of Hexham under the rule of a Prior. This officer was a member of the newly-introduced Augustinian order, and came into the North from a famous monastery at Huntingdon. His name was Asketill,ⁿ and he presided over Hexham till he died on the 18th of March, 1129-30. The archbishop exhibited his customary prudence in selecting such an officer. He wanted a person to teach the new rule and to teach it gently and kindly, and Asketill could do so. The canons increased in number and everything prospered, although the house was still poor. The conventual buildings of wood were changed to stone. Helping hands were stretched out, and men thought and spoke with kindness of the infant colony. It required no little tact and discretion in Asketill to win the good opinion of so many, and to make this new order of ecclesiastics a popular one at once. The Augustinian rule was a compromise between severity and ease. It was nearer to the old system of secular canons than any other profession. It involved indeed a transition from the world, but no startling transition such as Benedict demanded. Asketill was just the person to make the change safely, for he was full of kindness and affability. Thurstan was indeed fortunate in having men like Asketill and Adelulf to begin and organize the new Austin colonies at Hexham and Nostell. It was also a wise policy in

ⁿ For an account of Asketill, see pp. 106, 192-3.

the primate to give to both of these ecclesiastics a stall at York. The northern barons, when they came to the minster on great occasions, would see the prebendaries of Salton and Bramham sitting in the choir as canons; and would find that the rule of Austin did not prevent its professors from associating in the most friendly manner with their brethren from whom they had gone forth. Men were not yet prepared for the farther developments of the monastic principle and the ascetic strictness which were accepted by the succeeding generation.

The Austin canons were now permanently fixed at Hexham, but what has become of Eilaf? We have seen that in 1113 he surrendered the church of Hexham into the hands of the new comers, retaining however the greater part of the endowments, together with the care of the parish. The want of what he was enjoying caused the inmates of the monastery no little distress, for their numbers were increasing more rapidly than their substance. Not a murmur, however, was made at the seemingly unjust arrangement, which gave up to another what ought to have been in their hands. They would starve rather than grumble or break their word. Eilaf and the canons were on the most affectionate terms; but qualms of conscience could not fail to strike him when he observed the poverty of his friends, and knew that he was, to a great extent, the cause of it. Old age also was coming on, and he would muse upon the necessity of laying up for himself more enduring wealth than rents and lands. He was at Durham in 1138, a place to which he would be bound by many a touching association, when illness seized him. The friends who stood around his bed would only second the appeals of his own conscience when they begged him to make restitution to the canons of Hexham. With death staring him in the face, it was of course an easy thing to surrender what there was little chance of his retaining long; but there was still a gratification in doing an act of justice himself before he died. Robert Biseth, who had succeeded Asketil as chief ruler at Hexham, was summoned to Durham and heard the sick

man's words. Eilaf thanked the Prior and his brotherhood for the many kindnesses they had shewn to him : he had been treated, as he gratefully acknowledged, more as their father than their chaplain. The restitution of the property of the monastery which had been settled upon him was then formally made ; and Eilaf gave seizin of it to the Prior by means of a hollow silver cross of filigree work containing some relics of bishops Acca and Alchmund. The witnesses of this surrender must not be passed over, for some persons of note and fame were among them. Three sons of the donor were there, Samuel, Ethelwold, and the famous Aelred, at that time a monk at Rievaulx, which he afterwards presided over : William his abbat was with him, the friend and companion of St. Bernard, and the founder of the earliest Cistercian monastery in the north of England. Maurice the sub-prior, the sacrist Aldred, and a monk of the name of Henry represented the church of Durham : whilst the Prior of Hexham had for a comrade on his journey a canon of the name of Richard, who is, no doubt, the historian of his house.^o

The gift was made, and the conscience of Eilaf was at peace as far as Hexham was concerned ; but there was no abatement of his sickness, and the shadows of death fell upon him. Before the end came, he severed himself altogether from the world by assuming the habit of a Benedictin monk at Durham. For the great patron Saint of that place Eilaf had always felt the utmost veneration, and he put himself at last under his immediate protection. After a few days spent in contrition and devotion, the eyes of the last of the old priests of Hexham were closed at Durham.^p His name was entered by the monks in their Book of Life,^q which rested upon the high altar of their church ; for he had been a benefactor of theirs, and they would gratefully remember him. Shortly before his decease, and

^o Prior Richard, pp. 55-6.

^p Ibid., p. 56.

^q Liber Vitæ, pp. 48, 78. The name of Eilaf also occurs in the obituary on Dec. 15, as “Æilaf sacerdos et monachus.” (Ibid., 147.)

probably as a preparation for his taking the vows, he had given them the vill of Cocken on the Wear." On the opposite bank of the river there arose before long the monastery of Finchale, in the midst of scenery, hill and wood and stream, which it would be difficult to surpass.

The year which witnessed the decease of Eilaf was one of tumult and dismay in Hexhamshire and Northumberland. The motley host of David king of Scotland broke into England, to avenge the real or imaginary wrongs of the empress Maude. The fate of the expedition was decided by the battle of the Standard on the 22nd of August; but, prior to that time, the Scots were in full occupation of a large portion of the North. David himself had for a long time his headquarters at Corbridge, but he respected the monastery of Hexham and its privilege of sanctuary; and no marauding Scot intruded within the sacred precincts.^s Any one who fled for protection to the well-known crosses was as safe as if he had been in another country. Without doubt the lands of the monastery in some parts of Tynedale would not escape, but David was generous enough to make over to the Prior the share of booty which fell to his lot: and this, probably, would sufficiently compensate the canons for any injury they had sustained. The plunderers would be sorely tempted to cross the boundary lines, but no mischief occurred. On one occasion when the soldiers of William fitz Duncan were encamped upon Warden hill, which overlooks Hexham, one of them was killed by the young men of that place, who thought that he was coming too near; but neither rescue nor revenge were permitted.^t At another time the chapel of St. Michael at St. John's Lee was broken into and robbed by two Piets; but a sad and speedy end overtook them." Within the sanctuary-crosses which were around Hexham every one was safe. Fearful crimes were perpetrated beyond them, and

^r *Lel. Coll.*, ed. 1774, i., 390. The Priory of Finchale, 86. Surtees' *Durham*, i., part ii., 205.

^s Prior Richard, pp. 79-80. Prior John, 116.

^t Prior John, pp. 115-16.

^u See pp. 17, 80, 116, 183-4.

the blood of the canons would run cold when these horrors were recited. From the towers of their church they could see the camp-fires and the straggling bands of the enemy that had shewn them mercy ; and many would be the thanksgivings which were offered up to the guardian Saints of their house, who, in a time of peril and dismay, had manifested their old prowess, and protected their resting-place and their children.

In the month of September, 1138, the Priory of Hexham was honoured with a visit from Alberic, the cardinal-legate, who was on his way to the Scottish court, which in those days was frequently at Carlisle. One of the objects of the presence of so distinguished a guest was, no doubt, the inspection of the monastery ; and everything seems to have passed off in a satisfactory way. A large suite accompanied the illustrious stranger, in which were Robert and Adelulf, bishops of Hereford and Carlisle, two Austin canons, who would assist the cardinal in his visitatorial work. Shortly before Michaelmas-day, that goodly company arrived at Carlisle, the Prior of Hexham joining it. An injury had been recently done to his house, for which Alberic and he wished to have satisfaction. Whilst Northumberland was in an unsettled state in consequence of the recent invasion, a marauding band broke into Tynedale in quest of booty, lead by Edgar, an illegitimate son of Cospatric, earl of Dunbar, and Robert and Uctred, the sons of Meldred. They plundered a place called Errington which belonged to the canons ; and at Dissington, some eight or ten miles below Hexham, they fell in with the Prior and his servants, who were passing the night there. Not only did they abuse and alarm the master, but there was an affray in which three of his servants lost their lives." It was to protest against this wrong before David, who had promised that the men and property of his house should be uninjured, that Prior Robert went to Carlisle. The king did what he could, and restitution of what was carried

" Prior Richard, pp. 95-6. Prior John, 121.

away seems to have been exacted and made.^w Independently of his religious feelings and his sense of justice, David acted wisely in favouring a monastery like Hexham. As long as the earldoms of Cumberland and Northumberland were appanages of his royal house, Hexham occupied a most important position on the frontiers of his territory. It was of the utmost consequence to him to have a monastery like that, which lay between his two towns of Carlisle and Newcastle, thoroughly devoted to his interests. David certainly succeeded in securing and retaining the good opinion of the canons of Hexham. When Priors Richard and John describe the cruelties of the Scots in the invasion of 1138, the blame is laid not on the leader, but on his followers. Of David they always speak with reverence and affection. Long after the disaster which befell his grandson, William the Lion, a Scottish influence lingered at Hexham; and when you stand in the Priory church itself and look across the transepts, you cannot help thinking that the model for this part of the structure must have been found in Scotland. During the twelfth century we must regard Hexham, in a political aspect, almost as a Scottish monastery; and it would have been so altogether if it had not imbibed some southern feeling from its connection with York.

In 1141 there was a change of rulers at Hexham. The Prior, Robert Biseth, gave up his office and his order, and went to Clairvaux to become a Cistercian and subject himself to St. Bernard. The potent influence of that great reformer had made itself felt in Northumberland, and the Prior of Hexham gave way to it. His desertion of his brotherhood and rule was not regarded with favour in his monastery, and his departure would excite many criticisms and regrets.^x He vanishes, of course, altogether from the page of history, and a new superior reigns in his stead at Hexham. This is Richard who wrote the annals of the house of which he was the president.

^w Ibid., 98, 100, 121-2. The cardinal left Carlisle on Michaelmas-day, and returned by way of Hexham.

^x See pp. 139, 193.

In 1151 Hexham was again visited by a cardinal-legate, John Paparo, who was going to the Scottish court at Carlisle before he went on a special mission to Ireland. An Irish bishop came with him to Hexham, where he found the chancellor of David, who had been sent to conduct him to the royal city. The party received a noble welcome.^y

In the following year, Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, visited his regality, and spent many days at Hexham in the summer time. Of course that restless zealot could go nowhere without trying to make some change. He formally inspected the Priory, and endeavoured to enforce greater strictness in the observance of the duties of the canons. We are not told in what points there had been any defect; but the historian seems to imply that the attempted reformation was an unpopular one. The primate had also a complaint to make at the Scottish court. Some of David's men who were working at the silver, or lead mine, had committed some devastation in the archbishop's forest, probably in cutting down trees for their grooves and fires.^z

On the 3rd of March, 1154, an event took place at Hexham which was of great importance in the annals of the place. This was a solemn translation of the relics of the church, which have been mentioned so frequently already. The canons at this time had increased in numbers and repute; wealth had poured in; and the brethren were justly proud of the holy men who had preceded them. To their fame and aid they ascribed all their present prosperity, and they determined that every possible honour should be lavished upon the prelates to whom they were so much indebted. A graphic picture of the proceedings of the day has been handed down to us by one who was probably an eye-witness.^a At nine o'clock in the morning the Prior and the canons came into the church with bared feet, and prostrated themselves before the altar: they then recited the penitential psalms and divers prayers, and chanted with loud voices the

^y John of Hexham, p. 163.

^z Ibid., 166.

^a Aelred, pp. 193—200.

responsorium, in which the praises of their Saints were set forth. A solemn prayer came next; and then the party, arrayed in their albs, produced the coffer of the relics, and proceeded to examine it on the step before the altar, which was richly vested. Upon opening the box a delicious smell stole from it, which the bystanders believed to be an odour sent from Paradise. Four sets of relics were inside, each being carefully wrapped up. Those of Acca, Alchmund, and Fredenbert were easily recognized, for there were scrolls, bearing their names, appended. The fourth set was nameless; but a tradition, which was probably correct, ascribed it to bishop Tilbert. Another coffer containing the bones of Eata was next inspected. When everything was arranged, the whole of the relics were deposited in three cases, to which leaden plates were attached, signifying to whom they belonged. *Astabula* was then set up close to the high altar, supported by three pillars, and richly adorned with sculpture and colour. In the centre was placed the box, gorgeously ornamented, containing what was found of Acca, Alchmund, Fredenbert, and Tilbert; on the south side there was another case with the remains of Eata; and, on the north, one with relics of Babylas, sometime bishop of Antioch, intermingled with a portion of the dust of Acca.

When the ceremony was over, the canons took care that the events of that great day should be duly recorded. They found a chronicler in Aelred, who was at that time the abbat of Rievaulx. The history of this great man is an interesting one. He was the son of Eilaf II., the priest of Hexham, and was brought up and probably born at that place. He would there drink in all the love and veneration for the Saints, which characterized him throughout his life. At an early age Aelred became a member of the suite of prince David, the great patron of Hexham, before he came to the throne of Scotland;

“Flore juventutis hunc Scotica regia fovit,”^b

^b Henriquez, *Phoenix Reviviscens*, 29. From an unpublished poem on Aelred by Nicholas, a monk of Rievaulx. See also Oudin, ii., col. 1487 *et seqq.*

and between the two there was ever afterwards the most affectionate intercourse and friendship. Whether at this time Aelred was under any vows or not it is difficult to say ; but, probably about the year 1135, as Mabillon conjectures,^c he became a Cistercian monk at Rievaulx under William, the first abbat of that house. Three years after this, he and his superior stood by the bed of his dying sire at Durham, and probably suggested the atonement which Eilaf then made for his past life.^d Time passed away, and Aelred was raised to the abbacy of Rievaulx, and held it till the day of his own decease on January 8th, 1167.^e The holiness of his life won for him a place in the calendar ; and his virtues and fame were gratefully remembered in the beautiful monastery of which he had been the president. When the antiquary Leland visited Rievaulx, he saw in the choir the tomb of Aelred, and marvelled at the gold and silver that adorned it.

As an author Aelred has always been distinguished. Passing by his devotional works, which are numerous, he wrote several historical and biographical pieces ; all of which bear evidence to the impressible and imaginative character of his mind, which was neither exact nor logical. Eloquent passages occur every now and then ; and few persons, even in mediæval times, seem to have been so steeped in the Scriptures. Aelred was the author of a Description of the Battle of the Standard ; the Lives of the Kings of England ; the History and Miracles of Edward the Confessor ; a short Letter about an adventure of a Nun at Watton Abbey ; Lives of his friend David king of Scotland, and queen Margaret his mother ; and another of St. Ninian.

Aelred had an especial affection for hagiology, for it exactly suited the tone and character of his mind. It was at his instance and with his aid that Reginald drew up his account of

^c Ann. Ben., vi., 239.

^d Richard of Hexham, p. 55.

^e Chronica de Mailros, 81. Liber Vitæ Dunelm., 141.

the miracles of St. Cuthbert;^g and who could be a better annalist for Hexham and its Saints than the abbat of Rievaulx?^h Hexham was the place in which his earlier years had been passed;ⁱ he had drawn from it the holy influences which hung around him during his life; and he would think upon Acca and Alchmund when he was far away from them. No early associations would be obliterated from a mind as impressible as his. When the relics at his birthplace were translated in 1154, Aelred would probably be among the spectators; and from his pen proceeded a description of what occurred on that day. Upon the merits of this tractate it is difficult to pass a very favourable opinion. The arrangement is faulty and confusing; the style often turgid and weak; and the whole work is perhaps the writer's poorest effort. It was his intention to make it, partly an historical document, partly a record of the miracles of the Saints of the church. The former part is the more interesting of the two, as we have in it notices of the family of the author and their doings which no one but a kinsman could supply.^j The miracles are derived from some Legend that was

^g See the Preface of Reginald, ed. Surtees Society.

^h Aelred himself says in another place: "*Miracula Domini et manifesta Divinæ pietatis indicia scire, et tegere, portio sacrilegii est.*" About the authorship of the tractate on the Saints of Hexham, see what has been said, pp. 173-4. The work is exactly in Aelred's style.

There is a catalogue extant of the old library at Rievaulx, in which there was a MS. ascribed to Aelred's pen, entituled "*Miracula Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ.*" (Wright's Biogr. Lit., Anglo-Norman Period, 193.) Henriquez, in his Life of him (*Phoenix Reviviscens*, 33), makes the same statement, and gives the introductory words, *Præsentis diei exposcit ratio*, the two first of which begin the present treatise. Henriquez derives his information from Bale (Cent., ii., 209). Gerard Langbaine, a good judge, ascribed the work which I now print to Aelred's pen, but considered it to be "of no great value." (Lel. Coll., v., 287.) Oudin (tom. ii., 1487) says nothing about this tractate, but his account of Aelred is full of blunders.

ⁱ See p. 200, "*Nam ante translationem multis annis, cum adhuc puerulus essem, Accam, etc., ibi simul requiescere nichil hæsitans populus totus clamabat.*"

^j See pp. 191, 192, 196, where Eilaf I. and II., Aldred, and Collan are mentioned.

preserved at Hexham, and seem to be merely re-cast in a new shape, to the intent that they might be perused by the convent. And when the canons heard the wondrous narrative recited to them, some, if not all, would call to mind with pride and gratification, how, before the day of their own learned Priors, Aelred of Rievaulx had lived and prayed within those walls; and that it was from the pen of an aged Cistercian abbat that the praises of their beloved Saints had come.

Hexham is not mentioned by Jordan Fantosme in his account of the invasion of England by William the Lion in 1174; but it may be conjectured that the canons would favour the aggressors. The bishop of Durham took their part: and the Prior of Hexham would not attempt to shut his gates upon the benefactor of his house. It was to the king and his mother that the canons owed the manor of Whitfield; and, in right of it, William was their feudal lord. Hexham would, no doubt, be visited when the Scots streamed down Tynedale from Carlisle, to make a fruitless attack upon Odonel d'Umfraville in his castle of Prudhoe.^k

King John was thrice at Hexham. On Wednesday, the 16th of February, 1201-2, he came across country from Rothbury:^l and, on the day of his arrival, he freed the hospital of lepers from the payment of the tolls called pontage and passage.^m He continued in the town until the Saturday, when he went to Carlisle. During this visit he was curiously employed.ⁿ Some one told him that there was treasure hid at Corbridge; and, full of greed and curiosity, he caused excavations to be made in the hope of finding it.^o Nothing, however, was dis-

^k *Chronique de Jordan Fantosme*, ed. Surtees Society, pp. 76-7.

^l These notices of the visits of John are taken from the *Itinerarium* of that monarch which is appended to Mr. Hardy's volume of the Patent Rolls.

^m *Rot. Chart.* 2 Joh., memb. 11.

ⁿ "Cum venisset ad Extoldesham, et audisset quod apud Choresbrige esset thesaurus absconditus, fecit ibi fodere, sed nihil inventum est præter lapides signatos ære, et ferro, et plumbo." (*Hoveden*, apud Savile, ed. 1596, 464.)

^o Leland gives rather a long account of Corbridge, shewing that it had been

covered save some stones, probably of Roman origin, marked or rivetted with iron, lead, and brass. In 1735 the ancient tradition about the treasure was singularly verified. A magnificent lanx of silver, weighing one hundred and forty-eight ounces, was accidentally found, a relic of the Roman colonizers of the place.^p In 1208, from the 14th to the 16th of August, John was again at Hexham on his way to Carlisle; and he passed through it on Wednesday, the 27th of June, 1212, as he was going to Durham.

There is but little known about the history of Hexham in the thirteenth century. Archbishop Gray was, of course, a great benefactor to the place which he seems to have visited on more occasions than one. He inspected the Priory and corrected any defects that he observed in ceremonies and discipline.^q He gave the canons two water corn mills at Hamburn and Newbigging,^r and lands at those places, and elsewhere. He also consolidated and made large additions to the archiepiscopal estates at Hexham by means of purchases and exchanges. The new church at Hexham was erected in this century; and although nothing is known of the constructors or the contributors to the building, we may be sure that archbishop Gray would be one of the principal aiders of the work. He has left traces of his prince-like munificence in every place that he was connected with; and his influence at court was so considerable that he may be regarded as one of the dispensers of the royal favour. In

a place of renown. "The names of diverse stretes, that hath bene there, yet hath names, as old people there testifie; and great tokens of old foundations be yet founde there, and also *numismata Ro(mana)*."

"By this broke (callid Corve) ar among the ruines of the Olde town, is a place callid Colecester, wher hath beene a fortress or castelle. The peple there say that there dwellid yn it one Yoton, whom they fable to have beene a gygant." (Itin., ed. 1769, v., 112.)

^p It is now in the possession of the duke of Northumberland, the president and patron of this Society.

^q See Appendix, p. xvii.

^r Inspeximus of Edward I. in the possession of Mr. Beaumont. See also Vol. II.

1239 Henry III. allowed him to have a fair at Hexham;^s and, a few years after Gray's decease, we find the same monarch making an annual present to the canons of two casks of red wine.^t In the previous century Stephen had given them forty shillings a year to buy wine.^u

In 1268 archbishop Ludham held another visitation of the Priory, and the result of his inquiries is set forth in a highly valuable paper which appears in the Appendix.^v The orders that he laid down were subsequently confirmed by archbishop Wickwaine when he was at Hexham in 1283, and by archbishop Romanus in August 1291. There is one curious article in which the inclemency of the weather, especially in the winter time, is mentioned. To protect themselves against it, and to avoid the diseases which it generated, the canons were allowed to have their heads covered in the choir on the greater festival days between All Saints day and Easter.

On the 20th of August, 1274, archbishop Giffard was at Hexham, and on that day he made Walter de Scrapetoft master of the hospital of St. Giles. I find, also, that he was at Alwenton on the 16th of January, 1275-6.^w

Archbishop Wickwaine seems to have been twice in Northumberland. He was at Alwenton on the 24th of August, 1281, when he made Richard of York sub-prior of Hexham, his penancer within his regality. On the 7th of July, 1283, he was at the Priory and confirmed the statutes and orders which his predecessor Ludham had made.^x

On the 9th and 10th of September, 1286, archbishop Romanus was at Hexham; and, on the first mentioned day, Henry bishop of Whitherne made him his obedience.^y On the 11th of

^s Rot. Chart. 23rd Henry III., No. 14. Reg. Magn. Album, penes Dec. et Cap. Ebor., pars iii., 14.

^t See Appendix, p. xvi.

^u Richard of Hexham, p. 60.

^v See pp. xvii—xxii.

^w Reg. archiep. Giffard, 112, 120.

^x Reg. archiep. Wickwaine, 121 *a*. Appendix, xxii.

^y Reg. archiep. Romani, 91 *b*, etc. In 1294 the consecration of Thomas,

August, 1291, the primate was again there and held a visitation of the Priory, confirming the directions of the preceeding archbishops and making a few additions to them.^z Three years afterwards, Romanus spent some time at Hexham, coming to it through Cumberland and Westmerland. His progress is mentioned in the register of the bishop of Carlisle. On the 30th of March the primate passed the night at Overton in Westmerland; and on the following day he slept at the rectory-house of Lowther, the parson, William de Capella, entertaining him. On the first of April the bishop of Carlisle met him at Linstock, and conducted him through Carlisle, welcoming and entertaining him. Romanus passed on from thence to Hexham, where he held an ordination.^a On the 11th of April he was at Alwenton and received the profession of obedience of Adam, abbat of Dundrennan: on the 14th he visited the Priory of Hexham. The primate spent several weeks at Hexham, and one or two of his acts during his stay have been recorded. On the 1st of May he made Thomas de Wervelton master of his grammar school in that place, for he was a great patron of learning.^b On the 12th he gave his sanction to a singular document. It appears that the archbishop's bailiff, J(ohn) of the Churchyard, had been guilty of some offences, and had been thrown into prison till he could be tried before the primate's justices itinerant, who were to be at Hexham on St. Matthew's day. In the meanwhile he was

bishop of Whitherne, was fixed to take place at Hexham, but it was performed at Gedling, co. Notts (Ibid., 109 a).

^z Appendix, p. xxiii.

^a Appendix, xxiii. Nicolson and Burn, in their History of Cumberland and Westmerland (ii., 262), mention this journey, and say that the archbishop had with him as many as three hundred attendants.

^b Reg. archiep. Romani, 98 a. *Collatio Scholarum de Hextildesham*.—"J., primas, etc., dilecto in Christo filio magistro Thomæ de Wervelton, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Tuam prudentem et expertam industriam, qua doctrinæ scolarium insistere diceris, assiduitate diutina in docendo commendabiliter acceptantes, scholas nostras grammaticales apud Hextildesham, per triennium, continuum a festo Pentecostis proximo futuro, tibi conferimus gratiose. Data apud Hextildesham, kalendis Maii, pontificatus anno nono."

allowed to be at large, provided that he did not cross the boundaries of the regality.^c

Two years after this, in 1296, there was an inroad of the Scots, the like of which had not been seen before at Hexham. The ill-feeling between the two countries was now rising to fever-heat; and among foemen whose evil passions were thoroughly whetted and set on an edge, we expect to hear of deeds of violence and cruelty of the most revolting kind. Preparations for war were being made in the spring of 1296, and there would, no doubt, be rumours of an invasion. On the first of March, 1295-6, archbishop Romanus wrote from his manor-house of Burton, near Beverley, to John de Vaux and Robert de Errington, requesting them to array his tenants within his regality of Hexham.^d The primate was happily spared the pain of knowing how fruitless had been his efforts, as he died at Burton eleven days after sending this order, which was one of the last official acts of his life. On the 8th of April the men of Galloway broke into Northumberland and came down Redesdale, spreading far and wide, and scattering destruction as they came.^e The young and active sought protection in flight; but women, children, and the aged could not escape, and the treatment they received was atrocious. The churches were fired, and smoke and bloodshed marked the course of the Scots. At Lambley, a little nunnery on the Cumbrian border, they sub-

^c Reg. archiep. Romani, 98 a.

^d Ibid., 98 b. *Commissio ad assidendum homines cum armis in Hextildeshamshire*.—"J., primas, etc., dilectis, etc., Johanni de Vallibus, et Roberto de Errington, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Ad assidendum homines libertatis nostræ de Hextildesham, quod secundum verum valorem et quantitatem terrarum, tenementorum, et catallorum suorum, sint parati cum armis certo die, quem ad hoc duxeritis statuendum, sicut dominus noster rex alibi in regno suo statuit, vobis plenam committimus potestatem: universis tenentibus, hominibus, et subditis nostris, tenore præsentium injungentes, quod in præmissis, et circa ea, vobis prompte pareant, fideliterque intendant. Data apud Burton, kalendis Martii, pontificatus, etc., decimo."

^e See Appendix, pp. xxiv-vi, where there is an account of the inroad, taken from the chronicle of Lanercost.

jected the nuns to frightful indignities, and the poverty-stricken shrine never recovered from the effects of that disastrous inroad. The Augustinian canons of Lanercost seem to have made their escape; but the Priory, the beautiful structure which still adorns the banks of the Irthing, was fired and plundered. Tynedale, also, fared no better than Redesdale and the other parts of the county, and the Scots found their way to Hexham. It was in an evil hour that they came, for the Priory was at this time at the height of its prosperity. The new church seems to have been finished; the revenues attached to it were large; and no spoiler had as yet entered within its walls. Now, everything was unhappily reversed. The news would be brought to Hexham by many a trembling fugitive of the atrocities that were being perpetrated in the Dales above, and numbers would flee from the place; but not all; for there would be, doubtless, the lingering hope that none would dare to infringe the liberties and privileges of their shrine, which Malcolm and David had revered and confirmed. Vain alas! was the hope. On the Scots came, as fierce as the savage hordes of Attila and Genseric, and caring neither for God nor man. No mercy seems to have been shewn by them at Hexham to man, woman, or child. Within the grammar-school some two hundred boys were actually burnt alive; for the barbarians blocked up the doors that there might be no egress.^f The Priory church fared worst of all. It seems to have been set on fire and gutted from end to end; but the

^f Probably the pupils attached to the grammar-school, which seems to have been founded only two years before by archbishop Romanus. It was, no doubt, in connection with the Priory; as the Austin canons were obliged by rule to pay great attention to the instruction of the young. The chronicler of Lanercost says that the school was at Hexham: "*aggregaverunt etiam turbam clericulorum in scholas de Augustaldia, et, foribus oppilatis, ignem in massam illam Deo candidam imposuerunt.*"

In a document given in Prynné (Collections, iii., 542) it is said that the murder took place at Corbridge. "*Parvos etiam clericulos primas literas et grammaticam addiscentes, ad numerum circiter ducentorum, in scolis apud Cor-*

canons had escaped.^g The nave, which must have been quite new,^h was utterly destroyed; and the conventual buildings would have the like fate. When the Scots saw the effigy of St. Andrew, their own patron saint, they decapitated it; and carried off the head, as they scoffingly observed, that he might plough his own country. The most cruel blow of all was the destruction of the the relics, which had been so carefully tended, and so greatly honoured. The coffers were torn open; the gems and precious metals were wrenched from them; and their contents were thrown ignominiously into the flames. All the treasures of the canons were gone; every charter that they possessed was consumed; and they could not prove their title to any one of their estates; their church was fired and rifled; and we hear no more of Acca's sacred chasuble, or of the jewelled cases in which his bones and those of his brethren were enshrined. And, as if mischief enough had not been done, in the autumn of the following year another Scottish army under Sir William Wallace devastated Northumberland and Cumberland. Hexham experienced as it were a recurrence of some of the worst of the Egyptian plagues, and the locusts consumed "even all that the hail had left." Some one who was fortunate enough to escape from the ruin which came upon the Priory, fancied that he heard far above the smoke and flames that enveloped it, a startling cry in the air, thrice repeated, demanding vengeance at the hands of the Just One for the sacrilege; and the northern poet was but re-

brigg existentes, obstructis scholarum ipsarum ostiis, igne supposito concremarunt." If Corbridge witnessed this deed of wrong, the sufferers must have been the Hexham scholars.

^g "Prioratum cum tota villa incendio destruxerunt, fugientibus canonicis." (Walsingham, i., 58.) The Scots were quartered in the Priory before they destroyed it. Peter Langtoft (*n. e.*, ii., 273) thus speaks of what the Scots did:—

"Corbrige is a toun, the brent it whan thei cam;
Tuo hous of religioun, Leynercoste and Hexham,
Thei chaced the chanons out, ther godes bare away,
And robbed alle about; the bestis tok to pray."

^h Tradition states that the nave was destroyed during this inroad.

echoing those words when he wrote against the doers of the wrong the following mournful hexameters :—

“ Per te fædata loca sacrata Deoque dicata :
 Templaque sacrata, sunt, proh dolor ! igne cremata.
 Esse nequiverunt destructio damnaque multa
 Ecclesiæ celebris Haugustaldensis inulta.
 Desolata domus de Lanercost mala plura
 Passa fuit : fiet de talibus ultio dura.”ⁱ

In the chronicle of Henry de Knyghton, a canon of Leicester,^j there is a striking description of the visit of Sir William Wallace to Hexham in 1297 ; which was probably told to the historian by his brother-canon, William de Hexham, who migrated from the North to Leicester in 1321. After the invasion of the previous year the canons seem to have deserted their home ; but when the Scots made a fresh inroad in November, 1297, they found that three of them had recently returned to it, and had built an oratory in the midst of the ruins for the celebration of mass. They were bold men to come back to Hexham at all ; and now they shewed their contempt of life by fleeing for protection, when the enemy approached, not to the hills, but to their shrine. Some of the Scots went after them ; and, with their spears ready poised, cried out, “ Shew us the treasures of your church or you shall die out of hand.” One of the canons ventured to reply, “ It is not long since you and your people carried off into your country everything, so to speak, that we had ; and *you* know where you have put them. But we afterwards hunted out a few things, such as you now see.” Before any mischief was done, Wallace came in himself, and urged his men with threats to go away. He begged, also, one of the canons to celebrate mass ; and he proceeded to do so.^k When

ⁱ Chron. of Lanercost, pp. 192-3. See Fordun, ed. Goodall, ii., 172. “ Lez avantdiz countis d’Escoce reentrent Engleterre, et arderent la Priory de Hexham, et enfirent du pays graunt mal.” (Scala-Cronica, 122.)

^j Twysden, coll. 2520-1.

^k In the chronicle of Lanercost (174) it is said that when a priest was venturing to celebrate before the Scots the host disappeared. In the sixteenth century,

the host was elevated Wallace, left the church to lay aside his arms. Whilst he was absent a strange scene occurred. When the priest was about to receive the sacred elements, the Scots surrounded him to carry off the chalice; but he was probably at that time ignorant of their design. He went to the *sacrarium* to wash his hands; but on his return the chalice, which he had left upon the altar, had disappeared; the napkins and the other ornaments had gone after it; nay, the very mass book itself was missing, and the thieves had absconded. Whilst the canon was hesitating what to do, Wallace came back; and, on hearing of the robbery, ordered the perpetrators of it to be sought out and beheaded. They were, of course, not detected, for the seekers did not wish to find them. Wallace then said to the canons, who would be in great alarm, "Go not anywhere from my side, but you shall stay with me to be safe: for that people of mine is full of mischief, and cannot be *justified*." For two days did the Scottish leader continue at Hexham, whilst his unruly forces were ravaging with fire and sword the whole neighbourhood. The canons, however, were safe: and Wallace, for their greater security, gave them letters of safe conduct and protection.¹ This incident is a very pleasing trait in the life of

when there was an interdiction in force in Tynedale, William Franklyn wrote thus to Wolsey: "After the resceitis of your gracez lettres, we causid all the chyrches of Tyndale to be interdicted; which the thevez there temerariouly disobeyed; and caused a Scottes freer (the seid enterdiccion notw^tstanding) to mynistrer theym their comunyon of his facion; and one Ector Cherlton, one of their capetaynes, resaved the personnez dewties, and served them all of wyne." (MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, i., 45.)

¹ The letters are as follows, and it is evident that they could only be derived from the Priory of Hexham, or some one of its inmates:—"Andreas de Moronia et Willelmus Waleys, duces exercitus regni Scotiæ, nomine præclari principis domini Johannis, Dei gratia, illustris regis Scotiæ, de consensu communitatis regni ejusdem, omnibus hominibus dicti regni ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis nos, nomine dicti regis, Priorem et conventum de Exseldesham in Northumbria, terras suas, homines suos, et universas eorum possessiones, ac omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia sub firma pace et protectione ipsius domini regis et nostra juste suscepisse. Quare firmiter prohibemus ne quis eos

a distinguished person ; but surely the day will come when men will at last allow that moral influence over soldiers is the noblest characteristic of true military genius.

Desolation and poverty were the consequence of these inroads, for very great was the mischief that was done. The archbishop was unable to pay the monies that he owed at Rome, on account of the injury that had been done to his estates in Hexhamshire.^m They had been worth, as he states, 5,200 marks, but after the invasion he only valued them at a third of that sum.ⁿ But the troubles of the primate were

in personis, terris, seu rebus, malum, molestiam, injuriam, seu gravamen aliquod inferre præsumat, super plenaria forisfactura ipsius domini regis ; aut mortem eis vel alicui eorum inferat, sub pœna amissionis vitæ et membrorum ; præsentibus post annum minime valituris. Actum apud Exseldesham vij die Novembris.

“ Andreas, etc. Sciatis quod suscepimus unum canonicum de Exseldesham, cum suo armigero uno, et duobus famulis suis, in salvum et securum conductum regis nostri et nostrum, ad veniendum ad nos, ubicumque fuerimus, quandocumque necesse fuerit et expediens dictæ domui. Et ideo vobis omnibus et singulis, nomine dicti domini regis, mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatinus cum aliquis canonicus dictæ domus cum prædicto armigero et famulis suis, præsentis literas secum habens, causa veniendi ad nos inter vos venerit, ipsos sub salva custodia ad nos ducatis ; ita quod nullus eos in personis seu rebus molestet in aliquo, sub regis plenaria forisfactura ; aut mortem eis vel alicui eorum inferat, sub pœna amissionis vitæ et membrorum ; præsentibus ad voluntatem nostram duraturis.”

^m Appendix, pp. xxix-xxx.

ⁿ Ibid., p. xxviii. On the 18th of June, in the first year of his primacy, archbishop Newark desired John de Vaux and Roger de Wychton to assess the damage that the Scots had done (Reg Newark, 17 a). *Ad inquirendum de dampnis, factis per Scottos in libertate de Hextildesham, tam in locis ecclesiasticis quam in laicis feodis, et de æstimatione eorundem.*—“ H., permissione Divina, Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, dilectis et fidis suis Johanni de Vallibus et Rogero de Wychton, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum libertatem nostram de Hextildesham, et alias partes vicinas gens Scotiæ pluries invaserit inimica, dampna quamplurima tam in ecclesiis, et locis, rebusque ad ecclesias pertinentibus, quam in laico feodo, et alio modo crudeliter faciendo ; nos de dispendiis et transgressionibus hujusmodi ex certa causa certiorari volentes, vobis in fide qua nobis tenemini firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatinus diligentius (et) celerius quo poteritis, cum solempnitate qua convenit inquiratis, quæ dampna et ad quantam æstimationem gens ipsa infra libertatem prædictam, tam in ecclesiis et locis aliis ecclesiasticis, quam in laicis feodis fecerit ; qui etiam ea intulerint ; quibus ; ubi ;

nothing to those of the Prior and canons. They were literally reduced to beggary. They had escaped with their lives, but that was all. It would be unseemly for the inmates of a noble but most unfortunate monastery to wander up and down the country seeking alms from door to door. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, 1297, a week or two after Wallace had returned to Scotland, the archbishop, in an affectionate letter,^o besought the Prior and canons of Bridlington to give shelter for awhile to their afflicted brethren from the North; and we may be sure that his request would be acceded to. The Scot had not yet penetrated into Yorkshire; and, since the days of William of Albemarle, the canons of Bridlington had found no more dangerous enemy than the encroaching sea.

The misfortunes of the Priory of Hexham, arising as they did out of the evils of war, could not fail to excite the commiseration of Edward I. In 1298 a royal commission sat at Newcastle-on-Tyne to ascertain what possessions had belonged to the canons, and the king granted an *Inspeximus* confirmatory of the award of his representatives.^p The house was thus rescued from the peril of losing its estates, for all its title-deeds had been burnt. In 1305 and 1306 Edward granted, or rather confirmed, to the canons the advowsons of the churches of Stamfordham and Alston.^q I cannot shew that Edward was ever within the walls of the Priory; but it is almost certain that he was there on more occasions than one, for he was frequently in the district. The English soldiers were constantly passing and

qualiter; et quomodo. Et quicquid inquisieritis in præmissis, nobis distincte et aperte per vestras literas, et illorum per quos facta fuerit inquisitio, sigillis signatas, constare quantocitius faciatis. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Data apud Thorp, xiiij kalendas Julii, anno, etc. (primo)."

^o Appendix, pp. xxvi-vii.

^p The original is in the possession of Mr. Beaumont, and will be printed in Vol. II.

^q Rot. Chart., 33rd Edward I., No. 20. Rot. Chart., 34th Edward I., No. 13. See Vol. II.

repassing.” In the autumn of 1300 I find Robert de Wodehouse, one of the royal officers, bringing the sum of £60 from Hexham to Roxburgh and Jedburgh.^s It was required for the Scottish wars, in which the king received all the aid that the archbishops of York could bestow. In 1303 archbishop Corbridge was desired on several occasions to send his contingent to serve in Scotland;^t and on the 8th of February in that year, in a letter to the bailiff of Hexham, he requested that officer to use every exertion to induce the tenants in Hexhamshire to serve. One of his arguments is a personal one; he begs them to assist him, as he is a compatriot of theirs.” He was a native of Corbridge, as his name betokens.

^r Bishop Beck gives as one of his reasons for annexing the living of Stamfordham to Hexham, the poverty of the house, “ob quotidianum adventum regalis exercitus, ac frequentem aliorum supervenientium concursus.” (Reg. Prior. et Conv. Dunelm., i., pars ii., 29.)

^s Liber Garderobæ, 98.

^t Fasti Ebor., i., 357.

“ Reg. archiep. Corbridge, 94 b. *Litera ballivo de Hextildesham pro hominibus et equis armatis in libertate de Hextildesham, in subsidium regni Angliæ contra Scotos, mittendis domino J. de Segrave.*—“T., Dei gratia, etc., dilecto in Christo filio ballivo nostro de Hextildesham, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Scripsit nobis dominus noster rex, attente rogando quod quia Scoti ex concepta malitia multa mala in partibus Scotiæ perpetrarunt, et, ut verisimiliter timetur, nequitiae suæ impetum in terram Angliæ extendere machinantur, nos de hominibus nostris, quanto possemus decentius, ad nobilem virum, dominum Johannem de Segrave, in partibus Scotiæ locum suum tenentem, omni dilatione postposita, mitteremus; ad morandum cum ipso pro defensione et tuitione regni Angliæ; quodque alios ad id viis induceremus et modis quibus viderimus melius expedire. Quapropter, tibi in fide et juramento, quibus nobis teneris, firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatinus, visis præsentibus, omnes tam liberos quam alios de libertate nostra de Hextildesham, ad certos diem et locum, quos ad hoc assignaveris, coram te venire facias; et, electis talibus, qui ad defensionem patriæ reputati fuerint aptiores, illos in quoto videris numero sufficere et decere, tam in equis et armis, quam aliis juxta statum ipsorum competenter munitos, paratos habeas ad mittendum præfato domino J., quandocunque per ipsum, vel per nos super hoc fueris præmonitus. Scripsimus quidem ei quod de statu suo nos certificet; et an oporteat quod homines electi statim iter arripiant versus eum ad morandum cum ipso; et cum ab ipso responsum habuerimus, quod infra decem dies a data præsentium credimus nos habere, te cito post de ipsius certifi-

After the two great inroads of 1296 and 1297, there were some years of peace, in which the Prior and canons of Hexham, restored to their own, would try to retrieve their shattered fortunes, and restore their ruined shrine. In June, 1310, Thomas bishop of Whitherne was requested to consecrate certain altars within the monastery;^r so that much progress had been made in the work of renovation. The discipline of the house was also attended to by archbishop Greenfield, who suffered no opportunity of enforcing order to be lost. In the spring of 1307 that prelate was at Carlisle; and it fell to his lot to announce to the parliament assembled there the fact that a peace had been made between his country and France.^w On the 7th of April he was at Hexham, and issued a most comprehensive body of injunctions, which was necessitated by a visitation of the monastery that had just been held.^x He had carried it out in a quiet business-like way, and orders had been given that no excessive number of guests should be asked to meet him, to the hindrance of work.^y The rules laid down extend to every part of the management of the house, and shew that there was great

cabimus voluntate. Et dicas tenentibus nostris et aliis de patria, quod melius est in tempore inimicis occurrere, quam eos permittere in tantum appropinquare quod patriam occupent, homines interficiant, et bona devastent; et hoc specialiter pro nobis, de patria qui sumus, omni die imminenti periculo propinquiore. Ipsique nunc pro modico suam poterunt servare vitam et bona. Et inducas dominos Priorem de Hextildesham, ac Johannem de Vallibus, quibus scribimus, et alios de patria, quod totum adjutorium quod poterunt ad præfatum mittant nobilem tempore op(p)ortuno. Quid autem super hoc usque nunc factum fuerit, et qualiter speras proficere, nobis per latorem præsentium distincte et aperte rescribas. Nos de illorum nominibus, si qui fuerint, qui per(g)ere voluerint, reddens quamcitus poteris certiores; ut, secundum hoc, dominum nostrum regem certificare possimus. Valete. Data apud Cawod, sexto idus Februarii, pontificatus nostri tertio.

Memorandum quod quædam litteræ Priori de Hextildesham, et alia directa domino Johanni de Vallibus, una cum littera directa domino Johanni de Segrave super his negotiis registrantur in quaterno de diversis litteris.

^r Appendix, pp. xlv-vi. ^w Parl. Writs, i., 182-3. Chron. Lanercost, 206.

^x Reg. archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 35 *et seqq.* Appendix, xxxiv--xl.

^y Reg. archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 34 b.

laxity and room for improvement. Greenfield seems to have met with considerable opposition; and the Prior, probably, was unequal to his duties as well as contumacious, for the primate chides him more than once with characteristic sternness, threatening him with deprivation and every other punishment that he could inflict.^z On the 28th of April, 1311, the archbishop was again at Hexham, and added some rules to his former code.^a On the 4th of May he was still there, and transacted some formal business in connection with the elevation of Richard de Kellaw to the see of Durham.^b One result of this visit to Hexham was the resignation of his office by the Prior, who had held it for many years, and during a stormy time. The primate appointed as his successor a canon of Nostell, of the name of Gilbert de Ponteburgh; thus taking the power of election out of the hands of the inmates of the monastery, and putting a foreigner at their head.^c He evidently regarded Hexham as his own property, and determined to moderate it as he chose. The sturdy canons would not tolerate this treatment; and a rebellion broke out, for which the sub-prior and many of his brethren were excommunicated. After an unseemly struggle, which lasted for a long while, the archbishop was obliged to give way; and Ponteburgh retired, carrying off a pension with him. It was necessary for the canons of Hexham and their lord to bring their feud to a speedy termination, for there were rumours of war abroad, and every one in Tynedale knew what that was.

On the 5th of August, 1309, the king desired the archbishop to furnish him with a hundred men and a captain for them out of Hexhamshire; but the muster was stopped on the 11th of the following month. On the 20th of October the primate

^z Appendix, pp. xli-iv.

^a Ibid., pp. xlvi-ix.

^b Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, 92. Greenfield, during his visit, seems to have held a visitation of the deanery of Corbridge in the church in that place, on the Thursday before the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (Reg. Greenfield, pars i., 199 b).

^c Appendix, pp. l-li, etc.

ordered his soldiers in his regality to pay just respect and obedience to Sir John Segrave.^d On the 18th of June, 1311, the king again begged for the usual contingent from Hexham,^e and the archbishop requested the men to go to Roxburgh under the command of John de Vaux, the bailiff being directed to furnish the necessary supplies.^f This body was intended for foreign service; but in the following year the horrors of war were again felt in Tynedale. Whilst the English nobles were quarrelling with their sovereign about Peter de Gaveston, Robert de Brus, who never missed an opportunity, entered Northumberland with a large army on the 15th of August. He burned Hexham and Corbridge; and, taking up his quarters near the latter place, sent out his men in every direction to plunder and destroy.^g In the following year but one, the Scots occupied the same towns; and in 1315 there was a third inroad in which the bishopric of Durham chiefly suffered.

The wretched imbecility of the English monarch was never more strongly shewn than at this time. There was no organized opposition to the invaders, and they did what they pleased. If any place or district was unharried, it was only because a ransom was paid for this exemption. The marauders roamed

^d Rot. Scotiæ, i., 70, 74 a, 77 a.

^e Rot. Scotiæ, 4th Edward II., membr. 1. Ex orig.—“Rex venerabili in Christo patri, W., eadem gratia archiepiscopo Ebor., Angliæ primati, salutem. Cum ordinaverimus, etc., *ut supra, usque indigeamus*; vos attente requirimus, et rogamus, quatinus centum homines pedites in libertate vestra de Hextillesham, de validioribus et potentioribus ejusdem libertatis, sine dilatione eligi; et fideli nostro Johanni de Vallibus liberari facias, per ipsum ducendos usque Rokesburgh. Ita quod sint ibidem in festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula proximo futuro ad ultimum, armis competentibus bene muniti, ac prompti, et parati ad proficiscendum exinde in obsequium nostrum, ad vadia nostra, contra inimicos nostros supradictos, prout eis ex parte nostra tunc ibidem plenius injungetur. Et hoc sicut nos, etc., *usque nullatenus omittatis*. Mandavimus enim ballivo de Tyndale quod eisdem peditibus vadia sua solvat a die, etc., *ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.”

^f Rot. Scotiæ, i., 101 b.

^g Appendix, pp. lviii-ix.

where they chose, startling the hitherto unravaged Palatinate, and devastating Tynedale up to the very gates of Newcastle.

The inmates of the monastery of Hexham were, it will be conceived, very grievously injured by these invasions. They could not tarry in their home, for destitution stared them in the face, and they were in a most pitiable condition. No religious house in England suffered at any time a greater number of disasters in so short a period, and the burden was too great for the afflicted brotherhood to bear. The archbishop was full of kindness to them and their neighbours. On the 16th of May, 1314, he released his tenants from the payment of the large sum of £59 14s. 6d. "*intuitu caritatis*;" for they would be resourceless after their cattle had been driven off, and their barns and crops destroyed.^h On the 5th of February following

^h Reg. archiep. Greenfield, pars ii., 42 a. This munificent benefaction was probably the result of the following commission (Ibid., 41 b). *Litera ad inquirendum de potentia tenentium nostrorum in villis de Akum, Walle, et Neubigging, in balliva de Hextildesham.*—"Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio domino Radulpho de Dalton, ballivo nostro de Hextildesham, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Mandamus tibi, firmiter injungentes, quatinus, visis præsentibus, absque moræ dispendio diligenter inquiras, qui de tenentibus nostris in villis de Akum, Walle et Neubigging, in balliva de Hextildesham, per Scottos nuper districtis, magis sunt indigentes; et qui de illis tardius et difficilius poterunt relevari; qui etiam minus sunt indigentes, et possunt facilius relevari; et in quibus iidem tenentes nostri, et eorum quilibet, nobis tenentur; et quantum de arreragiis suis de redditibus, videlicet firmis et aliis debitis quibuscumque. Nos autem super hiis quæ feceris et inveneris in præmissis, una cum nominibus eorundem tenentium, et quantitate debitorum, a singulis et ex quibus causis ad hujusmodi debita sunt astricti, absque moræ dispendio certificare procures, per tuas clausas literas, harum seriem continentes. Vale. Data apud Scroby, octavo kalendas Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno octavo."

On the 4th of May, 1315, Greenfield wrote thus to Ralph de Dalton, an officer of his at Hexham. "Depressioni et paupertati nativorum et tenentium nostrorum, libertatis de Hextildesham, paterno compatientes affectu, volumus et mandamus quatinus vestes et vadia pro amerciamentis et firmis, in quibus nobis tenentur, per Ricardum de Langton clericum dudum capta, et penes te apud Aldewerk ex liberatione et traditione Roberti Porter existentia, eisdem nativis et tenentibus juxta informationem dicti Roberti restitui (faciatis) de nostra gratia speciali." (Ibid., 46 a).

the primate shewed the interest he took in the Prior and canons. He wrote a letter from Cawood to the presidents and inmates of the various Austin houses within the province of York, entreating them for the love of God and their order, and for Christian charity, to shelter for awhile their brethren from Hexham;ⁱ and, six days afterwards, he himself, at the earnest request of the convent, lent them the sum of £40.^j The canons were now wandering away from their old home, and several years seem to have passed away before they returned to it. At the close of the year 1315, their friend, archbishop Greenfield, died; and, on the 19th of December, the king made Anthony de Lucy the captain of the men of Hexhamshire and Tynedale,^k whilst the see was vacant, to protect those districts against the Scots. His services, however, were not required, for Tynedale was so thoroughly desolated that the marauders cared not to return to it for a time. Far away from their home, in the green vales of Yorkshire or Nottinghamshire, the Prior and

ⁱ Appendix, pp. lx-i.

^j Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 194 a.

^k I extracted the commission from the Rot. Scotiæ, 9th Edward II., memb. 4. *De capitaneo hominum de libertate de Hextildesham constituto*.—"Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis, baronibus, militibus, et omniibus aliis de libertate de Hextildesham, et terris de Tyndale et Aldeston-more salutem. De fidelitate dilecti et fidelis nostri Antonii de Lucy, cui commisimus villam de Hextildesham cum pertinentiis, et libertatem ejusdem villæ prædictam, quæ sunt, archiepiscopatu Ebor. vacante et in manu nostra existente, custodienda, quamdiu nobis placuerit, plenarie confidentes, constituimus ipsum capitaneum omnium et singulorum hominum de villa, libertate, terris, et mora prædictis, ad partes illas contra Scotos, inimicos et rebelles nostros, et ipsorum aggressus cum Dei adjutorio salvandum, et ad eosdem inimicos nostros repellendum, et modis et viis omnibus, quibus poterit, prægravandum. Et, ideo, vobis omnibus et singulis mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod præfato Antonio, in hiis quæ ad salvationem partium prædictarum, et repulsionem, ac gravamen dictorum inimicorum nostrorum pertinere poterunt, sitis intendentes, consulentes, et auxiliantes; facientesque cum equis et armis et toto posse vestro ea quæ præfatus Antonius vobis in præmissis, et eorum quolibet, ex parte nostra injunget. Et hoc, sicut nos et honorem nostrum diligitis, et vestrum dampnum vitare volueritis modis omnibus faciatis. In cujus, etc., quamdiu nobis placuerit dur'. Teste rege apud Doncastre, xix die Decembris. Per ipsum regem nunc com' Hereford."

canons of Hexham were sheltering themselves, wishing, no doubt, that their lot had been cast in a district where the Scots were unknown. Their sojourn in the South was a long one, for there was a tedious delay before the successor of archbishop Greenfield entered into the possession of his diocese. One of Melton's first official acts was to give a brief to the Prior and canons, to enable them to procure their subsistence, on the 29th of January, 1317-18. After a time they seem to have attempted to go back to Hexham; but in 1318 the old foe ravaged Northumberland; and, in the next year, there was a terrible murrain among the cattle, accompanied by a great scarcity of food. No oxen were left to plough with; there were no cows to give milk; and a quarter of wheat sold for as much as 40s. It was utterly impossible, therefore, for the house of Hexham with its scanty means to support the whole of the brotherhood; and we need not, therefore, be surprised to find that on the 28th of February, 1320-1, the archbishop wrote to the convents of Thornton, Thurgarton, Bridlington, Gisburgh, and Newburgh, requesting each of them to take a canon of Hexham into their company, the sum of four marks per annum being paid for his board.¹ It is not known at what time they came back, but for some years there was confusion and dismay in the North, the oft-repeated incursions of the Scots, and the perils of want and famine.

These dispersions of the canons would be of the greatest injury to the monastery; they would thin its numbers, make many unwilling to enter within its walls, and slacken the cords of discipline. What religious exercises, or meditation, or study could there be in a place which was in continual peril? One

¹ See Appendix, pp. lx-v. On Jan. 2, 1328-9, archbishop Melton ordered Thomas Fox, his receiver at Hexham, to pay five marks to Thomas de Lelom, late bailiff of Hexham, the price of five oxen bought by him for the primate, all of which have died in the murrain (Reg. Melton, 428, a). About the same time the house of Nostell lost by the murrain, 1200 sheep, 59 oxen, 400 cows and calves, etc. (Dugd. Mon., vi., 90).

curious instance of this feeling of insecurity has been recorded. There was at Hexham a canon of the name of William of Hexham, to whom the state of Tynedale was anything but pleasant. He seems to have gained the ear of Thomas, earl of Lancaster,^m and prevailed upon him to intercede with the convent in his behalf that he might be transferred to Leicester abbey, where he could have peace and quiet for the duties of his calling. It was contrary to rule to seek for such a change;ⁿ and it seemed somewhat shabby to desert his old companions when their misfortunes were at their height; but the potent voice of the great earl of Lancaster could not be disregarded, and the Prior and convent permitted Hexham to leave them. There is much sorrow and some bitterness in their letter to the abbat of Leicester and his brotherhood, for their lot had been full of trials and unhappiness.^o Of William de Hexham we hear again. On the 18th of June, 1335, we find him, as canon of Leicester and warden or Prior of Cockerham, obtaining from archbishop Melton a loan of £20.^p On the 14th of June, 1348, he was at Durham, and begged from the Prior and convent for his abbey a fragment of the cloth in which the body of St. Cuthbert had been wound.^q The successful ambassador would bear his treasure back to Leicester with no little delight. It

^m Several members of this noble family patronized the Austin canons. In 1356, at the provincial chapter of the order, the body "*attentis devotis literis nobilissimi domini, domini Henrici ducis Lancastriæ, ipsum dominum ducem et Simonem Symeon, contemplatione dicti ducis, recepit in fraternitatem dicti ordinis, tam in vita quam in morte.*" (*Vesp.*, D, i., 53 *a.*) On the 24th of May, 1361, this Simon Symeon founded a chantry-chapel at Pontefract on the spot where Thomas earl of Lancaster was beheaded (*Reg. Thoresby at York*, 169). This Simon Symeon is probably the author of the *Itinerary*, printed by Nasmith, in his edition of William of Worcester.

ⁿ A special order was made against this practice of removal, at the provincial council in 1362. Many canons "*sub fucato ar(c)tioris vitæ colore, in jacturam et dispendium religionis,*" change their houses, and then want to come back. If they come back, they must hold the lowest place." (*Vesp.*, D, i., 55 *a.*)

^o See Appendix, pp. lxxvi-viii.

^p *Reg. Melton*, 54 *b.*

^q *Hist. Dunelm. Ser. Tres*, Appendix, cxxxv.

was, probably, he who told to Henry de Knyghton, the historian, his brother-canon at Leicester, the story of what occurred at Hexham in 1297, when Wallace came to it with the Scots.⁷

After all these convulsions there was a dull settled calm for some time in the history of the Priory. There must have been a weary strain up hill, the summit of which seems never to have been effectually gained. The deadly exhaustion of a quarter of a century was never entirely shaken off. On the 12th of February, 1324-5, the archbishop lent the Prior £20, no doubt to relieve the necessities of his convent.⁸ The restoration of the shattered fabric seems to have been progressing; and in 1335 and 1336, the brief-bearers had leave to ransack Yorkshire and the province for contributions.⁹ Nor was the discipline of the house neglected. On the 20th of June, 1332, the archbishop requested Thomas Sampson, the official of his court of York, to hold a visitation of the monastery;¹⁰ and, on the 18th of August, 1334, Melton, after a similar inspection, confirmed the rules laid down by Greenfield, making a few changes and additions.¹¹ Another examination of the house was entrusted by archbishop Zouche, on the 31st of August, 1347, to Simon de Beckingham, his domestic chaplain, and Thomas Fox, the keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham.¹²

Although everything seems quiet, the Scots were still remembered and dreaded at Hexham. The mischief they had done could not easily be put right. The ownership of property had been imperilled by the death or flight of tenants and landlords;¹³ and no one could travel with safety.¹⁴ But there was,

⁷ See pp. lxxxiii-v. ⁸ Reg. Melton, 33 b. ⁹ Appendix, pp. lxxv-vi.

¹⁰ Reg. Melton, 422 b. On Jan. 9, 1331-2, William de Wyrkesworth had been desired to hold another visitation (Ibid., 431 a).

¹¹ Appendix, xxxiv—xl. On the 10th of the calends of July, whilst Melton was in the park of Alwentdale, he ordered his receiver at York to lend £200 to the bishop of Durham (Reg. Melton, 49 a). ¹² Ibid., lxxvi.

¹³ Reg. Melton, 419 a.

¹⁴ On August 27, 1331, archbishop Melton ordered Thomas Fox (late receiver at Hexham) to pay into the hands of the Prior and convent, for his use, the

also, the constantly recurring dread of new incursions, and it was necessary for all to be constantly on the alert. On the 15th of June, 1327, Edward III. made Thomas de Fetherstonhalgh, his valet, a commissioner of array in Hexhamshire and Tynedale;^z and on the 25th of November, 1335, Robert de Ogle had the like duty imposed upon him.^a On the 15th of July, 1342, Edward Balliol (king of Scotland) was authorized by Edward III. to take away and arm the sanctuary-men at Hexham, and other places in the North.^b These measures were

money that he had collected: “cum viarum discrimina et pericula, quæ poterunt im(m)inere, denariorum nostrorum, quos inter manus, ut supponimus, obtines, tutum progressum et accessum de partibus de Hextildesham ad partes Eboracenses non arguant hiis diebus.” (Reg. Melton, 30 *a.*) In Vol. II. there will be more information about the state of society in Hexhamshire.

^z Rot. Scotiæ, i. 213 *b.*

^a Ibid., i., 389 *b.* The archbishop's commission to Ogle runs as follows (Reg. Melton, 437 *a.*) *Commissio ad eligendum ad arrayandum gentes versus Scotos.*—“Willelmus, etc., dilecto et fidei nostro Roberto de Ogell salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. De tuis fidelitate et industria plenius confidentes, ad eligendum, arraiandum, et ducendum tenentes quoscumque libertatis nostræ de Hextildesham, tam armatos quam pedites, quos dominus noster rex, et quotiens eos habere voluerit, ad proficiscendum cum eo vel aliis fidelibus suis, in subsidium guerræ suæ Scotiæ, pro defensione regni, protunc, tenore præsentium, tibi committimus potestatem; mandantes omnibus tenentibus nostris, tam armatis quam peditibus dictæ libertatis nostræ, quod tibi in præmissis pareant et intendant. In cujus rei testimonium, literas nostras fieri fecimus has patentes. Data apud Cawode, kalendis Januarii, anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo, tricesimo, quinto; et pontificatus nostri nonodecimo.”

^b Rot. Scotiæ, 16 Edw. III. Memb. 12. I give the commission as it appears on the roll. *De potestate tradita regi Scotiæ capiendi homines ad pacem regis.*—“Rex, omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus magnificum principem, et dilectum consanguineum, et fidelem nostrum Edwardum de Balliolo, regem Scotiæ, ad omnes homines, vocatos *grithmen*, apud Beverlacum, Ripon, Tynemuth, Hextildesham, et Wederhale, et alibi in libertate ecclesiastica, pro immunitate ibidem ratione feloniarum per ipsos factarum optinenda existentes, qui ad ipsum regem venire, et ad custus suos proprios cum ipso ad partes Scotiæ in obsequium nostrum proficisci voluerint, ibidem quamdiu nostræ placuerit voluntati, moraturi, ad pacem nostram recipiendum; et ad eos arraiandum; et in comitiva sua ad easdem partes ducendum; et ad sufficientem securitatem de eis super hoc capiendum; et ad cartas nostras de perdonatione quarumcumque feloniarum per

merely precautionary; but in 1346 the Priory had again good cause to regret the propinquity of Scotland. On the 8th of March in that year, archbishop Zouche was ordered to array the men of Hexham and that district, as there was danger expected. The storm broke before long, and Hexham, as usual, felt its full fury. The Scottish army under king David, after plundering Lanercost, came down Tynedale to Hexham, and despoiled the church in a similar manner. The town, however, escaped for the most part; as the king was desirous that it should be one of the four places at which his supplies should be deposited.^c After a sojourn of three days, he crossed the moors, by way of Ebchester, towards Durham, to lose the flower of his chivalry and his own freedom near the capital of the Palatinate. After this disaster Hexham was little troubled by the Scots. A meeting of the commissioners of the two kingdoms seems to have been held there in the spring of 1351 to make arrangements about a peace, and the surrender of David, king of Scotland, who was still a prisoner.^d On the 8th of June, 1355, Edward III. desired archbishop Thoresby to array his men in Hexhamshire against the Scots, and to put them under the charge of the bishop of Durham and other leaders.^e On

ipsos ante festum Sanctæ Trinitatis proximo præteritum perpetratarum eis nostro nomine concedendum; quibus ad certificationem ipsius regis nobis, cum securitate prædicta factam, cartas nostras de perdonatione feloniarum prædictarum fieri faciemus absque mora. In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, xv die Julii. Per ipsum regem."

Whilst the see of York was vacant by the death of Melton, in 1340, Edward III. granted the manor of Hexham, which was then worth £300 a year, to Balliol (Barnes' Edward III., 180, 198).

^c Chron. Lanercost, 346.

^d Appendix, pp. lxxx-ii.

^e Rot. Scotiæ, i., 777-8. In obedience to this request, Thoresby issued the following mandate (Reg. Thoresby, 300 a). *Commissio ad faciendum homines de Hextildesham arraiari ad arma; et quod sint in mandatis episcopo Dunolm., et domino de Percy, et aliis ducibus et ductoribus deputatis.*—"Johannes, etc., dilecto sibi in Christo Ricardo de Ask, ballivo libertatis suæ de Hextildesham, salutem. Sciatis quod nos desiderantes imminens periculum, quod regno Angliæ et sacræ ecclesiæ in eodem, per hostiles invasiones Scotorum, et aliorum alienigenarum, in

the 11th of June, 1369, the same king, in a great emergency, requested the primate to muster all his men within his regality who were between the ages of sixteen and sixty.^f

ipsorum Scotorum comitiva, ut dicitur, existentium; qui dictum regnum Angliæ ingredi, et illud et dictam ecclesiam destruere pro viribus indies moliuntur (quod absit poterit evenire); assignavimus vos ad omnes homines ad arma, tam milites quam armigeros, hobelarios, sagittarios, infra libertatem prædictam, inter ætates sexdecim et sexaginta annorum existentes, si nondum arraiati existant, sine dilatione arraiandum; et armis competentibus muniri faciendum; et eos sic armatos et munitos ad venerabilem fratrem nostrum, Thomam, Dei gratia episcopum Dunelmensem, et dominos Gilbertum d'Ammfravill, comitem d'Anegos, Henricum de Percy, et Radulfum de Nevill, capitales ductores hominum ad arma et aliorum pro guerra Scotiæ assignatos, ducendum; ad proficiscendum cum eisdem capitalibus ductoribus pro defensione regni et ecclesiæ prædictorum, ac cæterorum terrarum et dominiorum in ipso regno Angliæ et alibi, contra hostiles invasiones Scotorum, et aliorum inimicorum prædictorum; ad omnes illos quos vobis in executione præmissorum contrarios inveneritis seu rebelles ar(r)estandum, et capiendum; et in prisona nostra ibidem salvo custodiri faciendum, quousque aliud inde duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod præmissa omnia et singula faciatis et exequamini in forma prædicta. Universis et singulis aliis ministris, libere tenentibus et fidelibus nostris infra libertatem prædictam, tenore præsentium damus firmiter in præceptis, quod vobis in præmissis omnibus et singulis faciendum et exequendum pareant et intendant, quotiens necesse fuerit in hac parte. In cujus, etc. Data, etc., xvij Junii, anno Domini m^o ccc^{mo} lv^{to}, et nostræ translationis tertio."

^f Reg. Thoresby, 305 b. *Breve regium ad arraiandum homines defensabiles infra libertatem de Hextildesham*.—"Edwardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, venerabili in Christo patri, J., eadem gratia archiepiscopo Ebor., salutem. Cum nos desiderantes dampnis et periculis quæ ob defectum munitionum hominum regni nostri evenire formidantur, quod absit, præcavere, assignaverimus custodes pacis nostræ in singulis comitatibus regni nostri, ad arraiandum, per se et deputatos suos, omnes homines defensabiles inter ætates sexdecim et sexaginta annorum existentes; et ad omnes homines ad arma armatos, hobelarios, et sagittarios, videlicet quemlibet eorum, juxta status sui exigentiam et facultates suas, armis competentibus muniri; et in millenis, centenis, et vinctenis poni; et eos sic armatos, arraiatos, et triatos in arraiatione hujusmodi teneri faciendum; ita quod prompti sint et parati ad proficiscendum in defensionem regni nostri prædicti, quotiens ex hostium incursibus periculum aliquod im(m)ineat; et super hoc ex parte nostra fuerint præmuniti. Vobis in fide et dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatinus omnes homines defensabiles inter dictas ætates sexdecim et sexaginta annorum, infra libertatem

The fruits of this stormy century had not yet been fully reaped at Hexham; but towards its close the harvest of misfortunes was ripe, and there was a bitter gathering. The claims upon the Priory seem to have been as great as ever, whilst there were but scanty and diminished funds to meet them. It was customary for every wayfarer as he went up Tynedale, be he rich or poor, to halt and be entertained at Hexham; in fact the *hospitium* seems to have been one large inn, at which all comers were received. When the house was wealthy, this system of hospitality was no burden to it at all; and, to its honour be it spoken, in the very hardest times, as long as there were any canons at Hexham, the doors of the guest-chambers were never closed upon any one.^g This open-handed liberality, at the close of the fourteenth century, was found to be a heavy tax upon the convent. Wars and raids; unproductive and untilled lands; unpaid rents and calamities of various kinds brought the canons to great need. The murrain had carried off many of the cattle which the Scots had spared, and numbers of the inhabitants of Tynedale had succumbed to the pestilence. The house had been obliged to borrow money and was greatly in debt.^h What was to be done to set it free? In 1378 Henry

vestram de Hextildesham existentes, cum omni celeritate, qua fieri poterit arraiari; et ipsos, videlicet quemlibet eorum, juxta status sui exigentiam et facultates suas, armis competentibus muniri; et in millenis, centenis, et vincenis poni; et eos sic armatos, arraiatos, et munitos in arraiatione hujusmodi teneri faciatis; ita quod prompti sint et parati ad proficiscendum, in defensionem partium prædictarum, quotiens ex dictorum hostium incursibus periculum aliquod im(m)ineat ibidem; et super hoc ex parte nostra fuerint præmuniti. Et hoc, sicut de vobis confidimus, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso apud Westm', xj die Junii, anno regni nostri Angliæ quadragesimo tertio, regni vero nostri Franciæ tricesimo."

^g This hospitality, especially to members of their own order, is particularly enjoined in the Acts of the Provincial Chapter (MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i.). We may apply to Hexham the lines which Dominicus Joannes, the Florentine, wrote of another Austin house (Descriptio Abbatiae Fesulanæ, apud Lamii Delic. Erudit., i., 133):—

"Advena si fuerit quivis hac parte locetur.

Hic comedat; sitque hic non procul ipse torus."

^h This account of the state of Hexham is taken from the preamble of the deed

Percy, earl of Northumberland, came forward; and, with a generosity characteristic of his illustrious family, gave the Prior and convent the advowsons of his livings of Ovingham in Northumberland, and Ilkley in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The gift of Ovingham was one of great importance, as it contained in it the foundation of the only cell that was ever subordinated to Hexham. It was usual for every Austin house to have one or more cells to which their sick or refractory canons might be sent; and to be a home for the superfluous members of the parent monastery. Kirkham in Yorkshire had a cell at Carham on the Tweed;ⁱ and Nostell another, on the wild coast at Bamborough;^j but, prior to 1378, Hexham had no child of its own. In that year the want was at length supplied. The ordination of the vicarage by Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, has been preserved, and gives a full account of the arrangements which were made. It was determined that, in addition to the vicar whom the Prior was bound to maintain at Ovingham, three canons should also reside in the same place, at the cost of their house; who were especially to remember in their prayers Richard II., Gilbert d'Umfreville, earl of Angus, and the noble donor. The chief of the three canons was known as the Master of

by which archbishop Neville appropriated Ilkley to Hexham (Reg. Appropr. Eccles., penes Dec. et Cap. Ebor., intitulat. T^{cy}, 98 *b*). See Vol. II. The church of Alston was appropriated to Hexham in 1378, for the same reason (Reg. Hatfield, 152). The notice of the cell at Ovingham comes from the Register of Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, p. 148. The appropriation of the church will be recorded in Vol. II.

ⁱ Leland (Itin., ed. 1769, vii., 66) says that there were only two canons at Carham. The cell is mentioned in the Appendix, pp. xl-i. It was probably founded there by Walter l'Espece in the twelfth century. See pp. 99-100.

^j I have seen several documents at York relating to Bamborough; but I dare not touch here upon the history of the noble house of Nostell. It had cells subordinated to it within twenty years after its foundation (Chart., de Nostell, inter MSS. Cotton, Vesp., E, xix., 76). Archbishop Corbridge appropriated the church of Birstall to the Prior and convent of Nostell, "*quorum substantiæ pars non modica, videlicet in parochiali ecclesia de Banubourgh, per Scottorum exercitum hostiliter quasi in cineres irreparabiliter est destructa.*" (Reg. Corbridge, 13 *b*.)

Ovingham; and the Prior of Hexham had the power of removing any of them at his pleasure. This was the beginning of the cell of Ovingham. The village lies on the northern bank of the Tyne, some ten miles below Hexham, in a warm and sheltered position. The church is an edifice of great antiquity; and, a little below it, on a sunny bank descending in terraces to the river, is the residence of the canons, a structure of the time of Henry VII. or VIII.^k It is now occupied as the vicarage house, but retains much of its original character. The canons when they awoke would see from their window the earliest beams of the sun falling upon the towers and battlements of Prudhoe castle on the opposite bank of the stream; and would gratefully remember that it was through the munificence of the great earl of Northumberland, its owner, that they were then at Ovingham. They were infected, also, with a little of the martial spirit of the Percies. In 1536, when the Priory of Hexham was in peril, the last Master of Ovingham donned his armour and hastened to its defence. In one of the last pictures that was drawn of that ill-fated house, we see the Master standing on the roof of the church as the leader of the insurgents, challenging the royal visitors, with his bow stretched in his hands, and the shaft trembling on the string.^l

The funds of the Priory of Hexham may have been partially recruited by the generosity of the earl of Northumberland; but there is evidence to shew that, soon after his gift was made, the house was again in a very deplorable state. The discipline of the northern monasteries seems to have been very defective after the great plague of 1349; for it is the tendency of visitations of this kind to produce a great degeneracy in manners

^k Mr. Randal, in his "Churches of Northumberland" (p. 36), says, that "Roger Swinburn, of Nafferton, Esq., temp. king Henry VIII., gave to the Prior and convent of Hexham, lands, etc., to find a canon in the church of Ovingham, for the weal of his own and his ancestor's souls." I have been unable to discover what was his authority for this statement.

^l Appendix, p. cxxviii.

and morals. The eyes of the prelates, also, were less vigilant; and at Hexham, in particular, want of money and supervision, together with the many social disadvantages which result from war and famine, had reduced the house to a very low ebb. In 1397 it was under the rule of a person of the name of Alexander de Marton, who had been Prior for more than thirty years. Archbishop Arundel had inspected the monastery by deputy, but no attention had been paid to the injunctions; bad had become worse; the whole country was crying shame; and it was positively necessary that some vigorous measures should be adopted. Accordingly, on the 24th of April, 1397, William de Cawood, the vicar-general of archbishop Waldby, made Ralph Oudeby, bachelor of laws, his commissioner, to correct and amend what was defective.^m His visit to Hexham seems to have ended in the removal or resignation of the Prior. It was high time for a change; as, in addition to a reckless waste of the funds of the house, there seem to have been gross mismanagement and neglect of duty. I do not consider that the heads of the monasteries, in general, were so much to blame for the decay of their houses which set in about this period, as the bishops of the land. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the northern prelates were most assiduous in the supervision of the monks and canons, but ere it was half over they neglected them entirely. Regarding themselves as great feudal barons rather than ministers of God, they were running after courts and armies, and jostling one another for secular offices when they ought to have been at home. No diocese, wherever it is, can prosper, if its spiritual chief tries to make himself a pillar of the state. The dissolution of the monasteries might have been deferred for a long time, if the bishops had done their duty by them, and watched over them as they ought." And yet,

^m Appendix, pp. xci-ii.

ⁿ Mr. Froude says that the bishops could not visit the monasteries. He ought rather to say they did not visit them as they ought. It must be remembered that all of the monasteries were not exempted from episcopal jurisdiction.

when the religious houses fell, some of the prelates, to whose neglect their ruin was mainly to be ascribed, were the first to abandon them.

Ten years after the retirement or removal of Prior Marton, another phase in the eventful history of Hexham is opened out. We find the house entangled in the meshes of high treason. In the spring of 1408 the earl of Northumberland, whose heart was still bleeding for the gallant Hotspur, joined the Scots, and arose in a short-lived rebellion against Henry IV. The insurrection was soon over, for the earl was killed at Bramham moor on the 19th of February, and there was an end of his illstarred enterprize. The punishment of his adherents by death, imprisonment, and fines, ensued at once, for the head of the house of Lancaster was merciless. Among the offenders was John of Hexham, the Prior of that place, who, together with his convent, was deeply implicated in the conspiracy. It appears that he received the insurgents with open arms at Hexham, and gave them money which belonged to his house. On the last day of April archbishop Bowet fulminated a commission against Hexham, authorizing his deprivation. There was certainly a strong case against him. The poor Prior, conscious of his guilt, and dreading the fate of the abbat of Hailes, had deserted Hexham, and was with the Scots; leaving his house and brotherhood to the mercy of the king and primate. Some kind intercessor, however, seems to have stepped in and rescued them from punishment; as, on the 2nd of August, the Prior and the canons received a full pardon from the king for the offences they had committed.^o The impending danger thus passed away like a storm in summer. There was a great deal to be said in behalf of the offenders. How could they shut their doors upon the nobleman who had aided them to the utmost of his power in the extremity of their need? The feeling of clanship was very strong in Northumberland, and there would be few in that county who shrank from the sire of Hotspur, when he unfurled

^o Appendix, pp. xciii-iv.

the famous ensign of his family, “the half-moon shining all so fair.”

More than fifty years pass away before Hexham appears again upon the page of history. We know nothing during the interval of the annals of the place, and little of the condition of the Priory. The name crops out in 1464; and then it is, as usual, in connection with battle and bloodshed. The houses of York and Lancaster were tearing each other in pieces, and in the spring of that year they were arrayed against each other in Tynedale. A fight took place, probably on the 8th of May, which is known as the battle of Hexham.^p Henry VI. and his queen were on one side; on the other was lord Montacute, the brother of the great earl of Warwick. Indecision and weakness characterized the Lancastrian party. No one seems to have known what to do, or in whom he was to trust. A short time before, Sir Ralph Percy had fallen at Hedgeley Moor; and the noblemen who abandoned him were now clustering around their king. As lord Montacute drew near to Hexham, his adversaries, through fear and other causes, seemed to melt away like the snow; until at last there were only five hundred of them left to oppose several thousands. They resolved, notwithstanding, to try the issue of a battle; but it would have been madness in them to imperil their safety in a wide broad plain, where they could be trampled down by the mere force of numbers. They chose a position, therefore, in which the ground was greatly in the favour of a small body of troops. A few miles to the south-east of Hexham, not far from the scene of death of Cadwalla in

^p For an account of the battle of Hexham, see Appendix, pp. c-cxi; Hall's Chron., ed. 1809, p. 260; Rot. Parl., v., 511; Ann. Will. Worcestre, apud Libr. Nigr. Seacc., 497-9; Hodgson's Northumberland (Hodgson Hinde), i., part i., p. 326 *et seqq.*; Arch. Æl., n. s., part xiii., pp. 6—8.

The date of the 8th of May is taken from the Rolls of Parliament, where it is said that the duke of Somerset “at Exham, the viijth day of May, rered werre ayenst oure soverayne lord.” It is quite possible, however, that this was not the day of the battle, but of the commencement of hostilities.

the seventh century, on the beautiful stream of the Devilswater, there is a place called Linnels, which lies on the long slope of the hill as it trends downwards towards the Tyne. The situation is very wild and fine; for there is rich green turf flanked by wood and water.^g It is a small natural camp with rough broken ground in its rear, and a sharp declivity at its foot; and here a scanty force might hope to make a stand. Retreat, in case of a reverse, would be very difficult; but when treason was rife, it was necessary to draw up the Lancastrians in a place where nothing but steadfast valour could save them. On lord Montacute came, full of the hot spirit of the Nevilles, and the shock was a very fierce one; for the enemy would not yield him an inch. At length, by a strong bold charge the lines were pierced; and then there was a scattering and a flight of the Lancastrians among the woods and hills. Many prisoners were taken, and many made their escape on that day of peril. King Henry himself, as we are told, galloped off so fast that no one could come near him; and yet he lost in the chase his cap of estate decked with two golden crowns; and some of his henchmen were captured, so hot was the pursuit.

The escape of queen Margaret and her son has been made the subject of a romantic story, for which there is, unfortunately, very little historical foundation. The queen and the prince, as they were fleeing from the battle-field, were seized by some robbers, who plundered them of everything they possessed. A quarrel among their captors, as the spoil was being divided, enabled the unhappy pair to escape; but they fell, soon afterwards, into the hands of another marauder. With a presence of mind that never deserted her, Margaret placed her exhausted child in the stranger's charge, and entreated him to protect the boy as he was a king's son. The Northumbrian was touched by her frankness, and saved them from their peril. The story

^g For the account of the battle-field, I trust to my own recollections of it, as I saw it in the summer of 1848.

is a pretty one, and appeared for the first time in Monstrelet; who states, however, that the incident occurred in a forest in Hainault.* English writers have not scrupled to make it their own, and have transferred it to Hexhamshire. Still, we must not forget that in the rocky bank of the Devilswater, close to Linnels, there is a recess called the Queen's cave, in which, according to the tradition of the country, Margaret and her son concealed themselves.^s It is possible, but not probable, that they found shelter in this place. Many would be the shifts to which they would be put during their misfortunes, and numerous would be their hiding-places.

Whilst the king and his consort secured their lives by flight, very disastrous indeed was the fate of their adherents. Henry, from his secret nook in some Yorkshire or Cumbrian manor-house, would hear with dismay and grief of the noble blood that was flowing for his cause. The duke of Somerset was captured after the battle by the servants of John de Middleton, and was beheaded immediately at Hexham, three of his retainers and Sir Edward Fyshe dying at the same place and time. Somerset's mutilated corpse fills some unknown grave within the Priory-church.^t But he was not alone in his misfortunes. The lords Roos and Hungerford were found hid in a wood near Hexham three days after the fight; and they, together with lord Moleyns and Sir Thomas Fyndern, were carried to Newcastle and executed on the Sandhill. Eleven others were put to death at York. Vengeance, also, sooner or later overtook those who fled, for in those days mercy seems to have been unknown. Sir William Taylboys, the titular earl of Kyme, was caught in his own wild district of Redesdale, and

* Monstrelet, ed. Johnes, x., 125.

^s Mr. Longstaffe mentions another tradition relating to the queen. "There is a small runner, between Hexham and Devilswater, where tradition says her horse fell, and which is still called 'The Queen's Letch,' and has given its name to a farm-house built near it." (*Arch. Æl.*, n. s., part xiii., p. 6.)

^t For these executions, see Appendix, pp. cix-xi.

died upon the scaffold at Newcastle. Sir Ralph Grey was captured at Bamborough by the earl of Warwick, and was executed at Doncaster with ostentatious cruelty. Sir Humphrey Neville, some time bailiff of Hexham and a scion of an illustrious house, hid himself in a cave in Derwentdale, and led for some time the life of a freebooter; but at last he was taken in Holderness, and was put to death at York with Charles his bastard-brother." Among the other adherents of the house of Lancaster, who took up arms in Northumberland at this time and suffered for their loyalty, were these gentlemen, William Learmouth and Thomas Elwick of Bamborough, Archibald and Gilbert Ridley of Langley, and Gawen Lamplough of Warkworth." It seems probable that many of the men of Hexhamshire and Tynedale were on the same side; as, in the end, Edward IV. empowered archbishop George Neville to admit to the king's peace all the traitors and rebels within the lordship of Tynedale."

The men of Hexhamshire must have had considerable experience in warfare, for, in addition to their own feuds and raids, they were sometimes called upon to take up arms for their country. The last time on which a muster of them was made was in the time of Henry VIII., whilst Wolsey was archbishop of York.* Some other occasions on which their services were

* Appendix. pp. ci, cx, cxii-xiii. Itin. Will. de Worcestre, 332.

" Rot. Parl., v., 511.

" Cal. Rot. Pat., 311, anno sexto.

* The royal letter and the muster-roll are in the Chapter-house Books, ccxv., 25, 27.

I. *A letter from Henry VIII. to archbishop Wolsey.*

"HENRY R.

"By the king.

"Trustie and welbeloved, we grete you well. And where as we have sent sundrie o' commissions for generall musters to be made every where thorough o' hole realme, wherebie we doubte not but we shalbe certefied in generall of th'effecte therof: yet, nevertheles, for asmuche as we wolbe redie at all channces to w'stande any adversaries that wolde piraticlie or violentlie robbe and spoile o' loving subjectes, and make a pray generall of their goodes and substance; to th'entent we may put suche order as o' subjectes for suche resistance shalbe from tyme to

required have been mentioned in the preceeding pages. I must now turn to the Priory and the story of its decline and ruin.

tyme no more troublid then shall neede; we, therefore, willing to knowe, in speciall and particular, suche powre of hable men well harneised and furnisshed may be made in every countie, specially by the gentlemen of the same. Upon knowelege wherof we may set not onlie a generall, but also a speciall, sure, and certayne order, and measure in all thinges. We, remembring that ye be one of that sorte as among other we doo muche trust, have thought by theise or lettres to require you, that w^t all diligence ye shall by yo^r certificate in writing advertise us and or counsaile, in case nede of defence shuld chaunce or hapen, whate nombre of good men well harneised, furnisshed and weaponed ye may provide and make unto us; expressing howe many of theim be horsemen, howe many footemen, how many archers, and whate kinde of harneis they shall have. Requiring you that ye shall emploie and endeavour yo^rself to yo^r powre, as to a thing wherof after God dependith the conservation, not onlie of your goods, substance, howsehold, kinred and familie, but also all yo^r welth and lyves. Wherefore faile ye not earnestlie to looke thereunto, and t^advertise us trulie therof, as suche yo^r gracious lord and king, as requireth the same chiefelie for the defence of you, of the hole realme and commen welth of the same; wherein use you suche diligence and faithfulness as we specially trust you; and as ye tendre or pleasure, and the preservation of yourself, and of or hole naturall cuntrey.”

II. “*The names of sicke persons as be appointed to go to Berwik in the tyme of necessite, when they be cald upon, of the rigalie of Hexham, belonging my lord archebussshop his grace of York.*

“*The towne of Hexam.* Rolland Leyshman. John Pete. Richard Wile. John Wardell. Willm Carre. Alex. Kell. Emere Cooke. Christoll Butland. John Stevinson. Cuthbert Dobson. George Burne. John Fresell. Antony Leyshe-man. John Brummell. Hob. Stocall. John Brummell. Heugh Curror. Rolland Rowle. James Stavert. .xix.

“John Heron to fynde two men for Halyden. ij.

“*Est Alwende.* George Rowle. Willm Short. Robyn Philipson, the yonger. Hewghe Roule. Nicoll Spert, or his fader. Rynzen Shele. Thomas Stobert. Wille Armstrang. Rolland Robynson. Cuthbert Shele, or a man for hym. Ede Be, or Nicoll his broder. Cuthbert Huchonson, or his broder. Lowre Dawson. Thomas Robynson. Matho Whithill. Rolle Patonson, or his son. George Haden. John Armstrang, the lorde. Heugh Herrison. Rolle Dawson, or John his son. Heugh Sheile, or his son. Antony Yong. Christoll Stevinson. Wille Phalaller, or his son. xxiiij.

“*West Alwende.* Peter Bee. Thomas Ogle. Wille Huchonson. Rynzen Whitfelde. John Huchonson. Heugh Huchonson. Henry Bradewode. Hob Richardson. Henry Falaller. Robyn Falaller. Clement Nycolson. Thomas Wylkynson.

We are now drawing towards the close of the history of Hexham Priory; the last act is being played out, and we shall soon reach the last scene. Monastic institutions, generally, were on the wane in influence and respect; and the monastic spirit, it must be confessed, was much more feeble than it had been in the freshness of its youth, in that glorious twelfth century which was so prolific of noble deeds and noble men. We must expect, however, after so long a career, to find marks of wear and weakness in the interior of the monasteries, just as we should look for the lichen on the gray walls without. Decay is one of the accompaniments of age, and it is not a dishonourable one. The voice that teaches the first lessons of childhood falters in the end; and maturer life and the impress of many minds may give us a wider, and perhaps, a different range of thought; but, surely, it is ungrateful altogether to forget the past and to be eager to spread the face-cloth over well-known features. England, in the sixteenth century, had to a great extent outgrown the monastic influence; but from it

Roger Wilkynson. Matho Colyngson. John Bateson, Matho son. Robyn Dod. Heughe Wynter, or his fader. Wylle Burn. John Jakson. Robert Bowman, or his broder. xx.

“*The forest of Newlandes.* George Hurde, or his fader. John Hurde, of the Stones. Henry Stocoo. Hob Grene. Rolland Redeshawe. Sande Armstrang. Thom Armstrang. Thom Robson, or his son. Richard Swaldale. Willm Whitehede. Gyb Erington, or a man for hym. Thomas Rollande, or his broder. Thomas Erington, or a man for hym. xij.

“*The Wall.* Alex^r Kell, the younger. Edward Erington. George Kell. Percevell Kell. Roger Yeldarde. Willm. Dawson. Jarerd Dawson, yonger. Richard Kyrsope, or a man for hym. James Kell, Edward’s son. ix.

“*Acom.* John Armstrang. John Spane. Richard Leyghe. George Helmesley. Willm Armstrang, Percevelle’s son. Rolland Armstrang. Thomas Leyghe. Hob Cheken. Roger Robson. ix.

“*Prior Hexham servantes.* Rolland Rydley. Rynzen Eryngton. Gawen Bates. William Stocoo. John Armstrang. Henry Still. Andrew Wigham. John Thompson.

“Gylbert Erington, v men for Erington. xij.

“Summa cxx^{ti} personnes: wherof the capitane to have put bak xx^{ti} afre his discrecion, and c to have remayned.”

it had derived the seeds of its piety and learning. The instrument is forgotten in the result; and when the end is attained, we do not recollect the means that led to it. For a time, the English monasteries were the pioneers of civilization and religion; and men welcomed the foundations they offered, and built upon them as they listed. It is the tendency of human thought to broaden and deepen with time, and the monasteries were its infant-school; but in the sixteenth century things had advanced, and were changed, in some respect for the worse; whilst the religious houses, weak and feeble themselves, could neither check nor lead. Their social position, also, had deteriorated. With the exception of the nunneries, the inmates of the monasteries were derived, not as in the twelfth century from the highest class of all, but from the lowest portion of the middle class; so that they were severed more than ever from the dominant party of the day. The want of proper supervision had made them internally defective; the decay of learning within their walls and its advance without rendered them unable to be at the head of intellectual progress. The sympathy between them and many portions and ranks of the outer world was decreasing daily. The monasteries were left like vessels stranded on a sandbank in a river whilst the stream ran swiftly past them. Slowly were they falling in pieces, whilst of those whom they had carried so well of old none thought of trying to tow them off or mend them. They were expecting eagerly the day when they could break them up for logs and firewood.

When the other religious orders in England went down the Austin canons sank with them. For five hundred years had that profession been in existence, as, in spite of the claims preferred by men like Crusen and Zunggo, and the author of the *Chandelier d'Or*, I do not see any evidence for supposing that it was established earlier.* The rule, or rather, the rules

* Monastic writers generally carry up the order to the time of Augustine himself, but without any historical authority. In addition to the works that I

of St. Augustine have as much to do with that Saint as the Apostles' creed has with the Apostles; and the appointment of regular canons cannot really be traced to a period antecedent to the pontificate of Alexander II. in the middle of the eleventh century. Fifty or sixty years elapsed before the order was introduced into England; and it will, I think, be found that Nostell and Hexham were two of the earliest Augustinian monasteries in this country, in which, before 1250, there were at least two hundred. There was much in the system to render it a popular one, especially in the north of England. In the infancy of the rule, its professors took their stand within the line of monastic discipline; but still as close as possible to the old secular canons, whom it was their mission to reform. They were in the world and yet out of it; and no one could say that the requirements of the system were out of his reach, or that they were too severe to be adopted. It was a stepping-stone to a more strict order, and men often passed over it to something beyond.* A medium of this kind, however, was exposed to

have mentioned, this subject is treated of in the Treatise of a Carthusian monk, *De Religionum origine* (Ampliss. Coll., vi., 63), and in the Tractate of the abbat Rupert (*ibid.*, ix., coll. 1012-14). See, also, Schelstrate, *Eccl. Africana*, Paris, 1680, 220; Lupi *Quæstio quodlibetica de origine Eremitarum*, etc., S. Augustini; Duaci, 1651, 302; Gonsalez, *Epitome Vitæ Monasticæ S. Augustini*, Antwerp, 1612, 59, 61, *et seqq.*; Anselmus Havelbergensis *episcopus de Ordine Canonico-regularium Regularium*, apud Migne, clxxxviii.; Hospinian *de Origine Monachatus*, ed. 1588; and that very useful compendium, *Gregorii Rivii Puritani Monastica Historia Occidentis*, 8vo; Lipsiæ, 1737; pp. 7-130. See, also, the life of Augustine by Possidius, 8vo, 1768; and the *Africa Sacra* of the Jesuit Morcelli, 3 vols., 4to; Brixia, 1816. But the works on this subject are numerous.

The old rule for canons, by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, is in the *Spicilegium* of d'Achery, ed. 1723, i., 565 *et seqq.* The rules of Augustine are printed by Dugdale, who found them in the work of Hospinian. Strange to say, in the collection made by Holstenius, there is but one of Augustine's rules given, and that only for women. Hugh de St. Victor wrote a commentary upon the rules, of which there have been five editions; the most recent of which is in Migne's grand series, vol. clxxv., 882 *et seqq.* Another, by Erath, is in print.

* In spite of the denunciation of abbat Rupert, who said that a canon apostatized when he became a monk (*Martene et Durand, Ampliss. Coll.*, ix., col. 1024),

great perils. In times of degeneracy the monastic principle which it exemplified was more likely to be deteriorated by the neighbouring world, than the world to be regenerated or even influenced by its means. Something more definite and decided was then required. Thus it was that the Austin canons fell from their first estate. They mixed with society, and held livings of their own, and occupied cells in small parties up and down the country. They wrote and read books, and literary pursuits sometimes exercised over them an enervating power; for they tried occasionally to pry into the future, and dabbled, half in curiosity half in earnest, in forbidden arts.^a Their pursuits and habits had the effect of loosening their hold over the people; and in the fourteenth century there were some tokens of division and disunion within the order itself. Prior to 1339, the Augustinian monasteries in the northern and southern province possessed, for each of those districts, a provincial chapter; but in that year Benedict XII. promulgated his Constitutions which blended these two chapters in one.^b Henceforward, as was to be expected, there was a feud between North and South. In the former division there were only two dozen monasteries, whilst in the latter there were about two hundred; but the smaller party, independent as usual, did not like to be

There was much contention on the score of priority of foundation between the canons and the monks. Prior Wessington of Durham touched upon it in his collections for a history of the Benedictin order:—"Cum quidam canonici regulares, non sane intelligentes, qui nec ratione nec auctoritate sunt fundati, asserunt eorumdem ordinem nigrorum monachorum ordine esse priorem; eoque Sanctus Augustinus, quem allegant ipsorum ordinis fundatorem, Sanctum præcessit Benedictum, quem tenet monachatus fundatorem, hinc est quod pro responsione in ista materia danda est." He then tries to shew that the monkish system was typified in Elijah and Elisha, and that it is mentioned in the works of St. Augustine and other early fathers (MSS. Dunelm., B, iii., 30, xxxv. *b*). In MS. B, iii., 8, there is a copy of the Augustinian rule and a disquisition on it.

^a At Bridlington, Bolton, and Drax.

^b These Constitutions are printed in that valuable work, the "*Bullarium Lateranense*," pp. 100—131. They may also be found in MSS. Cotton, Vespasian, D, i., 2—39.

swallowed up in the larger. The union took place; but the northern religious houses followed a book of statutes of their own, which was drawn up at Helaugh Park near York in 1323;^c whilst the southern were especially bound by those which were made at Northampton in 1325.^d Thus, whilst there was unity in name, there was disunion in practice. The provincial chapter-general was ordered to assemble once in four years; but, between 1340 and 1520, it is only possible to trace some fifteen or sixteen meetings by the Acts at those gatherings. Some very curious information may be derived from these proceedings.^e In 1346, the abbat of Brunne, and others, "set up their necks on high," and declined to appear; for which contumacious conduct they were fined. In 1350, the visitors from the diocese of Salisbury report that the conventual churches of Ivychurch and Sandford had been emptied by sickness (a proof of the fatal power of the plague in the preceding year), and it was ordered that they should be replenished out of some other monastery. In 1353, a tax of a halfpenny in each mark was directed to be raised to oppose the sect of the house of Arouaisse. In 1362, whilst the delegates were at Northampton, they were illtreated by some of the inhabitants of the town; and the meeting therefore, which should have been held there in 1365, was transferred to Barnwell near Cambridge. In 1404, the feast of St. John of Bridlington was ordered to be observed throughout the order. The corrections and rules enjoined at these meetings, are also most instructive. The tunics of the canons, in 1346, were too narrow, and were buttoned. In 1359, they were told not to carry knives about with them, and the *conversi* were to wear no colours save black and russet. Directions were also given for the destruction of the common seal of the order. In 1374, the canons and the scholars sent to the universities, were attacked on account of the shoes and boots which

^c Appendix, p. lxx.

^d MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 41-4, 51 b, 60 a.

^e All that I state about these proceedings is derived from the formal Acts of the provincial chapter which are in MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 40-70.

they used, for they were peaked, and slashed, and decorated; and severe punishments were allotted to the offenders. But the great complaint, which is continually recurring, was the neglect of learning.^f The order had a college at Oxford for the use of its members; that of St. Mary; which was founded in 1435 by Thomas Holden, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife;^g but long before that year the Austin canons were connected with that abode of scholars. In 1365, it was decided that proper hostels should be provided at the universities for the canons who were studying there, that they might live together in accordance with the Benedictin Constitutions; and a tax of a halfpenny in each pound was ordered to be raised at the same time, to urge and force the influx of students to Oxford and Cambridge: and, to spare the purses of the houses which sent them, that were unable to maintain them there till they took the highest degrees, it was ordered that any Austin student who became bachelor of theology or decrees, should receive 100s. out of the fines belonging to the chapter-general; and, if he became doctor in either faculty, £20. This temptation, however, seems to have been insufficient, and the order went drifting on towards ruin. The provincial-chapter was gradually losing its hold upon its members. Some of them began to profess new rules and claimed exemption from its jurisdiction, whilst strange observances seem to have been not infrequent.^h The canons frequently deserted

^f “*Codices certa hora singulis diebus petantur*,” is one of the rules of the order, and it was carefully enforced. Bishop Bury of Durham alludes to it in his *Philobiblion* (ed. Paris, 1856, 227).

^g *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, iv., 651. At the provincial chapter, in 1356, an order was made thus:—“*Fiat inquisitio de scolaribus mittendis ad scholas, et quod studentes simul cohabitent, si possint; et sint in habitu exteriori, in quantum est possibile, uniformes*,” and the Prior of the students was directed to enforce obedience (*MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 53 a*).

In 1359, it was ordered that every house that had twenty canons should be obliged to send one of them “*ad studium generale*,” or forfeit £10 a year to the common fund (*ibid.*, 54 *a*).

^h As early as 1323, the archbishop wrote to the Austin monasteries in his

their monasteries and apostatized; an offence to which they were tempted by their proximity to the world. The council soon discovered that it was comparatively powerless to enforce obedience; disorder increased day by day, and disruption became imminent.

Such was the state of the order in 1518, when a great provincial-chapter was held at Leicester, under the presidency of the Prior of Gisburgh in Cleveland.ⁱ One hundred and seventy canons, thirty-six of whom were heads of houses, assembled from all parts of England, and were met at the cross in the market-place and graciously welcomed by the mayor of the town with twenty of his men all dressed in scarlet. When they sat down to their deliberations, a lamentable state of confusion and contempt of discipline was disclosed. The reports of the local visitors were produced, but many of them had not visited at all. The Prior of Wymondesley had sold a wood for £30 which was worth £100, for the person who bought the bark gave £20 for it. He also neglected the statutes of his house on the pretext of following those of the monastery of Dorchester, which was of the order of the Arouasians; and he declined to obey the chapter, and subjected himself to the bishop. The Priors of Burne, Bliburgh, Maydenbradley, Thornington and Harden, and the Prioresses of Esseborne and Lacock, would not admit the visitors. The Prior of Torksey had neither cloister or dormitory. The Prior of St. Bartholomew, London, had neglected his visitatorial duties, alleging that he was busy in the king's service; but he was fined £10 for not appointing a deputy; and his colleague, the Prior of Anglesea, was amerced in the sum of 100s. The Prior of Shelford and his convent ate meat in the season of Advent. The Prior of Carlisle put in no

diocese urging them to be consistent and adopt one use in their services. He suggested that of York (Appendix, lxx). The canons of Hexham had some curious customs in their ritual (*Ibid.*, xxi, xxxv). The service book used at Holyrood is in existence. The Austin priories in Scotland formed a province by themselves.

ⁱ MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 63—70.

appearance at the council, but his offence was overlooked, as he had forwarded the whole of the tax imposed upon his district for the building of the college in Oxford, which belonged to the order. All these offences were regarded in a very serious light. The ruin of the whole order was openly spoken of and considered;^j not only because duties were neglected and the arm of discipline was powerless, but because the lands and property of the canons were going to waste and destruction. There were many statutes which were not observed, and the transgressors of them had become *ipso facto* excommunicated. A general absolution was, therefore, granted to the dead as well as to the living, in the hope that better things might come. There was much angry debating, and dismay, and confusion at the meeting; but the tumult seems to have been at its height when the Prior of St. Mary's, Overy, threw himself upon his knees, and with clasped hands and streaming eyes begged that the rule of the order should be observed to the letter. He seems to have been a reformer himself, and to have devised some changes of his own, for most of his audience thought that when he spoke he was enforcing his own peculiar views; and then there arose a great murmur and outcry, and the Prior of Merton got up and said that his brother as well as others had kept the rule, and that there was no need for a change. But the debate surged up and down like a stormy sea.

A considerable time was spent at this meeting in considering a letter from Wolsey. A sermon had been preached by Peter Harding, canon and sub-prior of Bridlington, on the text *Egre-dere de terra tua*, and then the president produced and read a letter from the cardinal of York. Wolsey, who knew well the position of the order, wrote to deplore the decline of learning

^j Deliberatio fuit “— inter præsidentes et cæteros prælatos, in generalitate quadam, de lamentabili totius religionis imminente ruina, tam in capitibus quam in membris, reformanda; tam in regularibus observantiis, quam in temporalibus possessionibus eorumdem miserabiliter ruentibus, de verisimili brevi penitus perituris.”

and discipline which were apparent in all its parts ; and said, that to save it from ruin he had resolved to found a college in Oxford at which the canons might be educated, and besought and urged the members of the council to make common cause with him and aid him in his work. It would need some little self-restraint to induce the members to put themselves under the protection of an alien ; but clouds were lowering, and to save themselves from the cold waters which were beginning to run over their feet, they sought for security upon the shoulders of Atlas. They threw themselves altogether upon Wolsey. In their reply, after offering him many thanks for his kindness and generosity, they made him a brother, and committed to him the ordination and reformation of their college in Oxford. They appointed him the defender of their order, and asked him to become the founder of their college, to which the taxes that they could raise should be devoted. They requested him also to obtain authority from the king to enable them to punish their apostate brethren. It was then ordered that Hugh Witwick should continue to be the Prior of their students at Oxford, and that the Prior at Cambridge should remain in his office. The next meeting was to be held at St. Frideswide's in Oxford. The king, queen and princess, the cardinal, the queen of France and her husband Charles duke of Suffolk, with many others, were then admitted to the fraternity ; and the prayers of all were desired for benefactors and brothers, particularly for Thomas Holden and Elizabeth his wife, the founders of their college in Oxford. Then the meeting was at an end and the members separated, hoping no doubt in Wolsey. The cardinal accepted the proffered title of defender of the Austin order, and he seems to have regarded the amendment of it as the first step in his intended Reformation.

On the 22nd of March, 1519-20, he promulgated a simple set of statutes for its management,^k which were to remain in force until Trinity Sunday, 1521, when there was to be another

^k These statutes are to be found in MSS. Cotton, Vesp., F, ix., 22—31.

gathering at which the code was to be amended and revised. This meeting would be held in the church of St. Frideswide at Oxford, and then, probably, the subject of the college would be again considered. In the following year the monastery in which they met, and ten others, were surrendered to the king, who passed them over to Wolsey. With them and their revenues he constructed his magnificent foundation of Cardinal College, or Christ's Church.¹ It must not be forgotten that the Augustinian houses in England divide with him the credit of establishing it; and, perhaps, it was not an accident which led the dying archbishop to the abbey of Leicester.

When the southern houses fell, those in the North were involved in the common ruin. It was a great mistake for Benedict XII. to obliterate their provincial council, for after the union they were completely lost in the greater number; their local associations and ties were broken; they were ruled by a body which never sat within the northern province; and want of supervision and neglect of discipline were the necessary consequences of misgovernment. If the fountain had continued small, its waters would have been more pure. There is, doubtless, a tendency in a limited number of persons, or corporations, to give themselves up to idiosyncrasies, and to reject suggestions or reforms; but still it must be remembered that few persons can be better controlled than many; and there is evidence to shew that, prior to 1339, the year in which the Benedictin Constitutions were issued, the Austin houses in the North were duly visited by primate or council. As far as can be ascertained, their number did not exceed twenty-four, excluding the cells, of which there were very few. Of these, there were twelve in Yorkshire—Nostell, Drax, Marton, Bolton, Kirkham, Gisburgh,

¹ Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon., iv., 414-16. In 1522, there appeared at Oxford two masters of the Augustine disputations, who are now called masters of the schools; and also four masters of the schools for determiners, according to the custom, of whom two were southern and two northern (appendix ejusdem libri, 78).

Bridlington, Wartre, Newburgh, Helaugh Park, Hautenprize and Melseby; five in Nottinghamshire—Newstead, Worksop, Felley, Thurgarton and Shelford; three in Northumberland—Hexham, Brinkburn and Halistan; Lanercost and Carlisle (the only cathedral that the canons held) were in Cumberland; and Conishead and Cartmell in Lancashire. Nearly the whole of these houses were founded in the twelfth century. It will be seen from this list that some of the most illustrious monasteries of the order were within the northern province; and they would be very unwilling to be united to their brethren in the South in 1339. They did their best, however, to maintain a little of their old independence. About the year 1323, a book of statutes for the order was drawn up at Helaugh Park near York, which was observed in the North for forty years after the junction with the South; but in 1380 the provincial council directed that it should be annulled. At the next quadriennial meeting this resolution was rescinded,^m for the northern houses carried their point and kept it; and their influence seems to have been of some weight in these gatherings. Out of the three presidents one was to be from the North, together with two out of the six determiners. The Prior of Nostell, the head of the mother-house of the whole order, generally took the lead in his district. In 1518, the Prior of Gisburgh was the president at the great meeting that was held at Leicester. His successor, Robert Pursglove, became suffragan-bishop of Hull after the fall of his house; and Robert Farrer, the last Prior of Nostell, was made bishop of St. David's and died at the stake as a Protestant martyr. Many of these Austin Priories were in old times places of renown, although of some of them not one stone remains upon another. Visit what still exists of Bolton, Kirkham and Brinkburn, and you will see that the Augustinians were not insensible to natural beauty; and where can you find finer

^m MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 60-1. I have tried in vain to discover a copy of these statutes, and shall feel most grateful to any one who will point them out to me.

specimens of the skill and intellect of their architects than at Gisburgh and Bridlington? There is far more to interest you at Newstead than the memorials of the Byrons or the tradition of the Black Friar. The historian and the scholar will gratefully remember that to the patronage of learning which was manifested by the Austin houses in the North, they must ascribe the works of John and Richard of Hexham, Walter of Hemingbrough, William of Newburgh, Stephen Edeson of Wartre, Robert the Scribe, St. John of Bridlington, Peter Langtoft and George Ripley, all of whom were Austin canons.

We have many means of making ourselves acquainted with the internal discipline of most of the northern houses, although there were some offences which the archbishop could not discover.ⁿ The registers of the archbishops of York contain many enquiries into the state of the monasteries within his jurisdiction; and they shew that from various causes the influence and tone of the Austin houses had been declining long anterior to the Reformation. I simply content myself with recording the fact; and others may try to shew that the abuse of a system, which certainly did shew itself in its best day to be capable of producing not only social progress but also moral and intellectual advancement, is necessarily destructive of its use. The anticipated dissolution of the order was freely discussed, it will have been seen, at the council of Leicester in 1518; ruin had been for a long time impending; and the resolutions passed at that meeting, and the statutes of Wolsey, were unable to avert it. The thunder-storm came rolling along against the wind, and the northern houses could not stand up against it. Hexham, perhaps, was worse provided with the means of resistance than any sister house. The revelations as to the internal management of the monastery which appear in the Appendix, do not shew the existence of any systematic moral depravity,—far from it; but they do manifest the prevalence of great breaches of discipline and order. The fact seems to be, that in consequence

ⁿ See Appendix, pp. liv-vi.

of the disastrous losses which the Scots had inflicted upon the Priory, and various other causes, the social position and reputation of the house had been considerably lowered. In no one case do I find the name of the Prior of Hexham as a president or a determiner at the provincial chapter-general, after the union of 1339. Like the mitred abbey of Selby, the Priory of Hexham had retrograded in dignity and importance. Debt and mismanagement, plague and pestilence among man and beast, had lowered it; and the days were quickly passing away in which poverty was regarded as a merit. The relics were no longer at Hexham; and there was little to shew the traveller up Tynedale save a battered church with no nave. The canons seem to have been plain rough men, drawn from the lower ranks of society, and with no power to refine the wild and ignorant people of the dales. One characteristic, however, they had in common with their neighbours, a merit in which the North has at no time been deficient. Whosoever came to Hexham had always the heartiest welcome that the canons could offer; and, in their darkest days, no one ventured to reproach the honest warm-hearted Northumbrians for any want of hospitality. Whenever they were in need themselves, and sued for the aid of some lay or clerical superior, their chief plea for his benevolence was their earnest wish that no one, gentle or simple, should ever be compelled to pass the doors of their monastery.

The last days of Hexham are coming on, full of interest and excitement. There were few, if any, of the English monasteries that could shew so painful and yet so striking a history; but we must now bring it to a close. I find but few traces of Wolsey's rule in Hexhamshire, and it does not appear that he did anything for the Priory which was under his charge. When he died in disgrace at Leicester abbey, Edward Lee stepped into his place; and that shrewd man would see full well that great and very serious changes were impending. In the hope that some mischief might be prevented, on the 19th of March, 1534-5, he sent William Strangeways, doctor of decrees, to

Hexham, to hold a visitation of the monastery; and, on the 30th of April, he issued a set of injunctions which were founded upon his report.^o They do not enter much into minutiae, but they convey the impression that there was a great falling off in discipline and morality. It is not pleasant to find so many orders given that the canons should not wander unduly from their house, and that improper persons should not enter into it. It is, however, plain and certain that archbishop Lee was anxious to do his duty, and to cut off any decayed or decaying branch before a more unsparing hand was stretched out against the old tree. Things drifted on for a few months longer, until, in March 1536, the whole of England was startled by the passing of an act directing the suppression of all monasteries that did not possess an income of £200 a year. How would Hexham be affected by this? It is evident that there was some chance of its coming within the prescribed number, as on the 23rd of April, archbishop Lee wrote an urgent letter to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, begging that it might be spared.^p The annual income of the monastery, he says, although generally under £200 a year, ought to exceed that sum. Let not the house be sacrificed. In the days of old Hexham was a place of renown, the seat of a bishopric; and many Saints are lying in their graves within its walls. This plea for mercy would not be of much weight with Cromwell, who cared little for feelings and associations; but the primate's last reason why it should be spared, would seem to him to be more worthy of consideration. The monastery was the place at which soldiers and travellers used to halt and receive entertainment; and some of the gentry who know the border-country well have spoken in its behalf. If Hexham should be suppressed, there will be no resting-place in Tynedale or Redesdale for any one who is journeying towards Scotland; and no one will care to till the ground, so that the whole country will become waste. It is not known what reply the archbishop received.

^o Appendix, pp. cxxii-iv.

^p Appendix, pp. cxxv-vii.

In the summer of 1536 the royal visitors began their progress among the northern monasteries; and on the 14th of July they seem to have begun to take a valuation of the possessions of Hexham.^q The clear rent-roll amounted to £209 14s. 6d. per annum, and in this sum was not included the prebend of Salton, which was worth, besides, £37 8s. The house, therefore, did not properly come under the recent act; and perhaps the canons obtained some confirmatory deed, in the shape of an acknowledgment of their rights, a general pardon, or something of that kind. This, however, is involved in uncertainty and obscurity. The income of the Priory, although in excess of the sum mentioned in the Act, was so little in advance of it, that there was room for some intriguing to reduce it below the necessary limit; and, if we were better acquainted with the history of this period, we should see some good cause; perhaps, for this supposition. For some reason or other it was determined that the monastery was to be suppressed, and the command was to be executed.

On the 28th of September, 1536, the commissioners for the county, Lionel Gray, Robert Collingwood, William Green and James Rokeby, two Northumbrian and two Yorkshire gentlemen, rode up Tynedale towards Hexham.^r The greater part of the harvest would still be unreaped along the banks of the stream; and the leaves would be yellowing on the trees under which they went. It is probable that they halted at the little cell of Ovingham; and they would find it empty, for the Master had gone up to Hexham on an unusual errand. They passed by Bywell and Corbridge; and, when they came to Dilston, they heard that the Priory was garrisoned, and that it was bristling with artillery to keep them out. A halt was now made, and a deliberation ensued. At last the Yorkshiremen, less used to a fray than their northern friends, resolved to stay behind; and

^q Surveys among the Chapter-house Papers at London, and in the possession of Mr. Beaumont. See Appendix, pp. clxvii-viii.

^r Appendix, pp. cxxvii-xxx.

Gray and Collingwood, who were borderers themselves, went on to see what could be done. On they rode; and, when they came into the town, they saw a sight which must have startled them even in Northumberland. The news of the expected arrival of the unwelcome guests had preceded them, and the country was up before they came. Far and wide among the dales and hills had the cry for succour sped; and tenants and thieves, honest men and outlaws, had hastened to the rescue, and not without their arms. As the two emissaries went fearlessly on, they passed through lines of countryfolk with bills and halberts and weapons of every kind, the common-bell beginning to peal; and then the great fray-bell of the monastery boomed in answer. The two gentlemen rode boldly up the street towards the Priory, but all the gates and doors were fastened, and there seemed to be no chance of admittance. They looked up; and on the leads of the house and the tower were standing a number of persons who had come together to defend it. The Master of the cell of Ovingham was their leader, and he had doffed his canon's dress and donned his armour; and there he was with his bow bent and his arrows ready to be used, if necessary. A parley then began; and in reply, probably, to some question, the Master said, "We be xx^{ti} brethern in this hous, and we shall dye all, or y^t shall ye have this hous." The commissioners then begged them to reflect upon their conduct, and to pause before they rejected their just demands. They wanted to have an answer, and the Master promised that one should be given if they would wait till it was ready. So they tarried for the reply in the street, and no one harmed them, although a great crowd of men and women with weapons and threatening looks was standing around. In a little while the Master of Ovingham returned, and the sub-prior accompanied him, who brought a document under the king's broad seal, and said, "We doo nott doubte bott ye bring with you the king's seall of auctorite for this our hous; albeitt ye shall se here the king's confirmation of our hous under the great seall of king

Henry the VIIIth. God save his grace. We think itt nott the king's honor to gyff furthe oon seall contrarye to an other; and afore any other of our landes, goods or hous be takin frome us, we shall all dye; and y^t is our full answee." With that reply the two commissioners rode away out of the town, and joining their brethren, who had advanced to meet them, passed the night at Corbridge. Before they were out of sight, the gates of the Priory were thrown open, and the canons, in their harness, issued forth with their tenants and servants, and marched two by two as far as the Green; where they drew themselves up and stood in threatening array, until every sign of the intruders had passed away.

The die was now cast and the canons had taken up their ground, but it was beset with danger and peril. What were they to do? They were alone in their rebellion; for the commotion in Lincolnshire, the beginning of the Pilgrimage of Grace, did not commence until the second of October. In spite of the risk, they held out, and continued to garrison and keep their monastery by force of arms. Haply they might have been induced to submit; but they seem to have been the victims of the intrigues of a Northumbrian gentleman, John Heron of Chipchase castle.^s This person, who was as crafty as a fox, longed to avenge himself upon some members of the family of Carnaby, who were devoted adherents of the king; and to raise Tynedale and Hexhamshire in the rebellion which was now spreading on every side. The means that he adopted were most efficacious. On Sunday, the 15th of October, he paid a visit to Mr. Carnaby at his tower of Halton, a few miles distant from Hexham, about ten o'clock in the morning; and the two began to talk, as was likely, about the canons and their resistance. Heron was very urgent that Carnaby should take some measures for their apprehension, and he would aid him. The party in Hexham, as he said, was seriously large, and something must

^s See Appendix, pp. cxi-xlv.

and ought to be done to disperse it. Carnaby, in reply, desired Heron to carry out his own suggestions; and he got up and rode off to Hexham, but with a very different purpose. He went to the canons and did all he could to confirm and strengthen them in their insurrection; desiring them to ensure success by feeing as retainers of theirs several kinsmen of his who had great influence in the district. Before the patents were sealed the canons lost heart. The persons whom they wished to make their supporters were little better than outlaws, and they expressed their disinclination to ally themselves with thieves. They therefore begged Heron, before anything was done, to go to Mr. Carnaby and beg him to mediate for them, through his son Sir Reginald, with the king. If only their lives were spared, they would surrender their Priory, and fulfil the pleasure of the royal commissioners, “soo that they myght there serve God, and remayne, thoughe they beggyd for theyre lyvinges.” This was a touching appeal to make; but Heron had no intention of furthering it. This Achitophel rode away to Halton, omitting the message altogether, and saying that the canons had not yet given him a satisfactory answer. He passed the night with his friend, taking measures for a general and prompt muster throughout Tynedale, which was at once made. On the morrow, the 16th, Heron went again to the canons, and forged a reply to their request to Mr. Carnaby, saying that there was no remedy for their case; and that Sir Reginald would require four of the canons and four of the townsmen to be sent up to the king. When they heard this, the canons answered that “better it was to defend theyre lyves as long as they myght than wilfully to kill theyme selves;” and so made at once greater preparations than ever for resistance, adding the men of Tynedale to those of Hexhamshire. When this interview was over Heron went back to Halton; and, having got an appetite with his ride, sat down to dine with the observation, “It is a good sight to see a man eite when he is hungry.” Dinner was but half over when the news came in that Tynedale was up in

arms; and Heron, observing the whispering, feared that the tidings would reach his host; whereupon he broke the intelligence to Carnaby, and startled him by saying that he had not sped with the men of Hexham, and that he must defend himself, as all Hexhamshire and Tynedale would be upon him immediately. Mr. Carnaby very naturally observed, "that it was verey shorte warnynge and not lyke a frend of hym done to knowe suche a purpose, and not to declare it to he had half dynid." He then asked Heron what he should do; and he advised him to go off with him to Chipchase; "for, yf he remeynid in the hous, all the goodes in the world wold not sayf his lyf." So the two mounted their horses and started on their journey. In the meantime the insurgents were at St. John-Lee, and it was Heron's intention, no doubt, to betray his friend into their hands: but a servant of Sir Reginald's chanced to see the pair on the road, and whispered a hurried warning in Mr. Carnaby's ear, which made him devise at once an excuse for turning out of the way, and hastening to Langley castle on the North Tyne, where he was safe. Heron, thinking that he had gone to Chipchase, cared not to follow him; but rode back to Halton, and got from Mrs. Carnaby a casket with some money belonging to her son. All at once it was snatched out of his hands by a kinsman of Sir Reginald of the name of Errington, who galloped off with it as it were for his life. The bird had escaped from the hawk, but Heron pursued. Fastening a handkerchief to the point of his spear as a penoncel, he chased the rescuer, brandishing his weapon that some of his party who were busy plundering might secure him. He escaped; and Heron rode homewards over the hills to Chipchase. There is no more graphic narrative in the history of the Pilgrimage of Grace than the document in which this treachery of Heron is recorded.

From this period until the month of December the whole of Northumberland, and the north of England generally, was in a blaze. The little fire which had shot up at Hexham had grown

into a great fire. If there had been a strong purpose in view and some vigorous leaders, much mischief might have been done; nay, Henry VIII. might have lost his crown; for every religious house, from Lincolnshire northwards, was fanning the flame. In the beginning of November, Sir Thomas Percy, the brother of the earl of Northumberland, was at Hexham, and encouraged the canons and their compatriots in their rebellion.^t Percy's animosity seems to have been principally directed against Sir Reginald Carnaby, an active energetic man, who had made himself feared and hated in Tynedale, and had pushed himself into many offices and estates. And yet he was no upstart, for he was a member of an ancient Northumbrian family; yet few seemed to have liked him, for he was a successful manœuverer. He was lurking in one hiding-place after another during the rebellion; opposing it as far as possible without imperilling himself; and waiting till he could batten upon the ruin of his former friends. Whilst Carnaby was biding his time, his property and kinsmen were in much danger, for Sir Thomas Percy had offered a reward to those "who could take any that bare the name of Carnaby."^u There was a probability, however, after all, that Carnaby would lose his revenge; as, in December, there was a general amnesty announced, of which the canons of Hexham would be glad to avail themselves. It was clogged, however, with such conditions that the smouldering ashes burst again into flame. The hot Northumbrian blood could not easily cool down after its recent excitement; and, in the beginning of 1537, everything was again in confusion. In the month of February Sir Thomas Tempest wrote thus to the duke of Norfolk; "As now Northumberland is wholly out of rule, and, without order to be taken in Tyndale and Redesdale, all mischief shall go at large. The barony of Langley and Hexhamshire, taking example by them, be almost as evil as they be."^v About the middle of the month an assault was made upon

^t Appendix, p. cxxxiv.

^u Ibid., p. cxxxi.

^v Froude's History of England, iii., 199.

Carlisle by a large body of insurgents, the Hexhamshire men assisting. They failed to capture the place, but gained some slight successes afterwards. Norfolk was soon on his way to crush them; but they fled before his approach, and the motley host was dispersed. It was now Norfolk's turn, and he did not throw it away. The gibbets were set up throughout the North, and in Westmerland and Cumberland as many as seventy-four persons were hanged. The rebellion was finished. The flame was trampled out; and a touch of pathos hangs over the close: I find among the records a brief entry that the bodies were cut down and buried by certain women.^w The duke of Norfolk found it necessary to protest to Cromwell that he was ignorant of this interment; and said, with what seems to be ostentatious harshness, "Undoubtedlie, my good lord, if I had consented thereunto, I wold I had hanged by them."^x As soon as the dead were done with, Norfolk turned to the living, and tried to effect a pacification of Tynedale and Hexhamshire. He obliged the head-men, when they came before him, to promise to restore a third part of the plunder, and to surrender the thieves. A harassing system of pledges or hostages was also adopted to ensure the good conduct of the district.^y

But what was the fate of Hexham? "Forasmoch," says Henry VIII. to Norfolk, "as all thise troubles have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of those parties; we desire and pray you, at your repaire to Salleye, Hexam, Newminster, Leonerdcoste, Sainte Agathe, and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistence, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens th'appointment at Dancastre, you shall, without pitie or circumstance, nowe that our baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons, that be in anywise faultie, *to be tyed uppe, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible example of others*; wherin we thinke you shall doo

^w Froude, iii., 203.^x Appendix, p. clxiv.^y Appendix, pp. clvii-lx.

unto us highe service.”^z No formal act of surrender was needed, for the canons had been caught in open rebellion. There were twenty of them who arose in insurrection on the 28th of September; and, when everything was quiet, fourteen remained; of whom the elder received an annual pension of 40s. and a gown, but those under twenty-four were turned out portionless.^a Between the twenty and the fourteen there is a difference of six, and these, it is to be presumed, fell into Norfolk’s hands, and were “tied up.” There is a tradition at Hexham, and I see no reason for disbelieving it, that the Prior, Edward Jay, was hung at the gates of his own monastery. So sadly does the curtain fall over the history of that once famous house.

On the 29th of November, 1538, the king made a grant of the site and demesnes of the late Priory to Sir Reginald Carnaby; the whole of which, with the hospital of St. Giles in addition, had been valued at the paltry sum of 17s. 4*d.* per annum.^b Sir Reginald’s first business was to build himself a mansion out of the conventual buildings; and, on the south side of the cloister, his arms, and the date 1539, may be seen aloft in a conspicuous position on the house that he erected. He enjoyed it only for a short time, as he died on the 20th of July, 1543, leaving behind him three daughters and no son.^c His descendants were as unfortunate as Sir Reginald himself.

^z Appendix, p. cliii.

^a Wright’s Hexham, p. 198. I have been unable as yet to verify this statement.

^b Appendix, pp. clxv-viii.

^c MSS. Dodsworth, xlv., 84. From the Carnaby evidences.

THE PREFACE.

PART II.

THE prelate or head of an Augustinian monastery in the north of England was called the Prior. He was selected by the canons of the house out of their own body, save in very exceptional cases;^a and was presented by them to the bishop of the diocese, who had the power of confirming or disallowing their choice, if the election was irregular. My account of the Priors of Hexham may be prefaced, very appropriately, by some brief notices of their office and duties.

When a vacancy occurred in the Priorate, the sub-prior and the convent wrote to the archbishop of York to tell him what had happened; and to ask permission to proceed to the election of a new superior.^b When this leave was granted, and the formal licence received, the sub-prior and his brethren met and fixed upon a day on which their choice could be made. When it arrived, all the canons were present, either in person or by proxy; the acolytes also, who had professed the rule, were admitted, together with a lawyer and one or two friendly witnesses, to give advice and guard against mistakes. They assembled in the chapter-house. After calling over the names, the lawyer read the passage in the General Constitutions which

^a Gilbert of Boroughbridge, Prior of Hexham, was a canon of Nostell. Henry de Melkanthorp, who resigned the Priorate of Marton in 1331, had been a canon of Bridlington (Reg. Melton, 236 *b*).

^b The subsequent notices of the Priors will shew the accuracy of this paragraph. But, particularly, see Appendix, pp. cxiii-xx. At p. cxiii is a specimen of a letter of request to the archbishop.

authorized what they were going to do, and prescribed the form of carrying it out. After the sub-prior had protested against the presence of any excommunicated or unauthorized person, and it was discovered that no one of that kind was there, the votes were taken. No canon could be legitimately appointed unless he was of good life and character, a priest, a person of education, and of proper age, born in lawful wedlock, and a free-man. He was also to be chosen by two-thirds of the convent, and without contention.^c When the suffrages had been taken, the president on the occasion declared the result in a formal manner, and received authority to announce it to the public. The members then went to the high altar in the church, conducting thither the Prior-elect, and singing the *Te Deum* as they went. When that was over, the bells rang out, and the Prior being prostrate before the altar, the sub-prior offered over him a set prayer; and then the choice of the convent was declared to the congregation at large. Two brethren were then commissioned to obtain the assent of the new superior by desire of their fellows; and this was given in a formal way. When all these things were done, two canons were generally sent to the archbishop to announce to him the choice of the convent. The primate then appointed a day on which any opponent of the election should appear; and, if there was no valid objection, he admitted him to the office. The ceremony seems to have consisted in the singing of a *Te Deum*, and then the archbishop said a prayer over the Prior as he lay on the ground. The Prior afterwards took an oath of canonical obedience to the primate in a set form of words, to which he appended his cross.^d Such was the custom in the earliest times; but, subsequently, the archbishop sent one or two commissioners to Hexham to enquire into

^c In 1270, or thereabouts, Richard de Elbor, who had been postulated as Prior of Hexham, was rejected by the archbishop because some of these conditions had not been complied with (Appendix, p. xxii).

^d See Appendix, pp. lxxvi-vii, where the formal account of admission is given, together with the Prior's oath.

the validity of the election, and to instal the Prior, if it was formally and properly done; and then there was a grand ceremonial. The archbishop also directed the dean and chapter of York to admit the new Prior to the prebend of Salton, to which he was *ex officio* entitled. A day was fixed for doing so; and when it came, the Prior was invested with the office by the gift of a book and a loaf; and he was conducted to his seat. If this was done by deputy, the Prior, when he came first to York, was installed in person. The chapter required from their new brother a cope and a palfrey, or something in lieu of them; and the archbishop, at each fresh appointment, could request the convent to grant an annual pension of five marks to some nominee of his, as an acknowledgment for his confirmation of the election; and he generally asked them to do so.^e

The duties of the Prior were multifarious and important, and his brethren were exhorted to obey him as a father;^f whilst he himself was desired, in the touching language of his rule, to govern by charity and kindness.^g With the advice of the wisest of his canons he appointed the greater officers of the convent; and he could remove any of them except the sub-prior. Similarly assisted, he managed the chief business of his house, that is to say, the admission of brothers, the alienation of property, and the granting of leases and corrodies. No one could enter the cloister without his leave. No canon could receive or retain any property, unless he allowed it; or busy himself in suits connected either with his convent or with secular persons. He

^e See Appendix, pp. lxxiv-v, cxviii. ^f "Præposito tanquam patri obediatur."

^g "Ipse vero, qui præest, non se existimet potestate dominante, sed charitate serviente felicem. Honore coram vobis prælatus sit, vobis timore coram Deo substratus sit pedibus vestris. Circa omnes se-ipsum bonorum operum præbeat exemplum, corripiat inquietos, consoletur pusillanimes, suscipiat infirmos, patiens sit ad omnes. Disciplinam libens habeat: metuendus imponat: et quamvis utrumque sit necessarium, tamen plus a vobis amari appetat, quam timeri, semper cogitans Deo se pro vobis redditurum esse rationem. Unde vos magis obediendo, non solum vestri, sed etiam ipsius miseremini, qui inter vos quanto in loco superiore, tanto in periculo majore versatur."

saw that the rule was carried out; enjoined punishments; and enforced discipline. The terrarer, the cellarer, the chamberlain and the bursar, acted by his advice. He moderated household matters, maintaining the proper number of servants, and removing those that were useless. Although he had no property of his own independent of the common fund, he had a residence set apart for him; and, when he went abroad, a canon accompanied him at the expense of the convent.^h

It was in the power of the archbishop to remove the Prior from his office, if he was an offender; but there is no evidence that he ever did so, although on one occasion there was every probability of his degrading John of Hexham.ⁱ In 1275, archbishop Giffard dethroned the Prior of Bolton for making a conspiracy in his house; for sitting in parliament after he had been suspended; and for driving off the primate's messenger. In the following year the Prior of Felley had the same fate. He was guilty of a serious moral offence; and had laid hands on a brother canon, after which he went to service in his church.^j

When the Prior retired, he formally surrendered his office;^k and due provision for his maintenance was made by the convent, and confirmed by the archbishop. In 1311, an annuity of £10 was given to Thomas de Fenwick, and a room to the east of the dormitory was assigned to him. He, and the canon that lived with him, had a daily allowance of bread, wine, beer, meats, etc., as much as three canons obtained; also of fuel, and candles of tallow or wax, as much as he needed; and one canon's share of spices. A cape and a tunic were given to him every year. He had a valet, a groom, and a page to attend to him; each of whom had a corrody and a robe annually.^l A

^h See Appendix, pp. xvii-xxi, xxiii, xxxv-vi, xxxviii, cxxiii-iv.

ⁱ Appendix, pp. xciii-iv.

^j Reg. Giffard, 138, 142, 143.

^k At p. lxxiii of the Appendix is a specimen of a resignation.

^l Appendix, pp. xlix-l. On the 22nd of May, 1321, Henry de Melkanthorp, Prior of Marton, had £10 per annum allowed to him (Reg. Melton, 236 b). In June, 1318, John de Foxholes, late Prior of Newburgh, had but 60s. allotted;

similar allowance was made to Robert de Whelpington in 1328.^m In 1457 there was assigned to Thomas Ferroure the *Aldechawm-bre*, near the infirmary, and the rooms above and below it; and food and dress were provided for himself, an attendant canon, and two servants. The lands in Alnwick were given to him for his life.ⁿ

The proper number of canons subordinated to the Prior was twenty-six, as was the case at Nostell and other places. In 1268, there were five or six vacant places, and it was ordered that they should be filled up.^o In 1311, a similar injunction was made, when two rooms were empty.^p In 1475, twenty canons were present when William de Bywell was elected Prior;^q and there were also twenty in September, 1536, when the royal visitors were driven off.^r There was a certain number of offices in the house, but these were not always filled up. Their occupants were divided into the *majores* and the *minores obediuntarii*; the former of whom were under the control of the Prior, aided by the convent; the latter under the rule of the sub-prior.^s The *majores obediuntarii* were the sub-prior, and probably the *tertius Prior*,^t his deputy, who appears in 1475, the almoner, cellarer, bursar, chamberlain, terrarer and sacrist. Among the *minores* were the precentor and succentor, the sub-sacrist and junior bursar, the keepers of the granary, fabric,

but his was a peculiar case (*ibid.*, 226-7). At Nostell a larger provision was made, and curious arrangements about the ex-prior's guests, etc. In 1274, the Prior of Bolton retired, and was allowed £20 per annum; and he was to occupy the houses belonging to his convent at Rither. If the acting Prior came to see him, he was to give up his residence to him, and supply hay and straw for six horses. The house was furnished and stocked for him (*Reg. Giffard*, 136-7).

^m Appendix, pp. lxxiii-iv.

ⁿ *Ibid.*, pp. xeviii-ix.

^o *Ibid.*, p. xx.

^p *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

^q *Ibid.*, pp. cxv-xvi. The number of the canons at Hexham was decidedly above the average. At Bolton, in 1274, only the sub-prior and eleven others voted for a new Prior (*Reg. Giffard*, 147).

^r *Ibid.*, p. cxxviii.

^s For these officers, see App., pp. xvii-xxi, cxv-xvi, etc.

^t Appendix, p. cxvi. In 1262, a *tertius Prior* was ordered to be appointed at Newstead (*Reg. Giffard*, 101 a).

refectory and infirmary, and the hostillar. There was also generally living in the monastery a certain number of *conversi*, who were under a course of education; and in 1475 there were three acolytes in the house.^u Two of the canons generally held the vicarages of Stamfordham and Warden, and resided at those villages, each with a brother as his companion; for solitude was discouraged in the order. After 1378, three canons took up their abode in the cell of Ovingham, the chief of whom was called the master. In 1475, the vicar of that place was also one of the brethren at Hexham.^v

Great care was enjoined in the choice of persons to be canons; and the selection of them was left to the Prior, who was aided by the convent.^w Most of the canons take their surnames from villages in Northumberland, Cumberland and Yorkshire; and they were, in all probability, the sons of small farmers and merchants who had been brought up and educated in the Priory. Within those walls, for the most part, the remainder of their lives was spent. The healthy pure air which they breathed, would be conducive to longevity. In 1475, at the election of Bywell to the Priorate, two of the canons had been in priest's orders more than fifty years.^x These orders they were allowed to receive at Carlisle, Durham, or Whithern; as York was at too great a distance from them.^y When a canon died, he was buried within the precincts of his monastery: Prior Wells was interred in 1475, on the day of his decease.^z Several of their gravestones have been discovered. They are long, coffin-shaped slabs of freestone, with the inscription running down the

^u Ibid., pp. xix, xlix, cxvi. See the Constitutions of Benedict XII. (Bullarium Lateranense, 115-16), where orders are made about benefices. We can scarcely regard Warden and Stamfordham as cells of Hexham.

^v Ibid., pp. xxxix, xl, cxv; Preface, pp. c-ci.

^w Ibid., pp. xvii, xix.

^x Ibid., p. cxvi.

^y Ibid., pp. xxxii-iii, xliv, etc.

^z Ibid., p. cxiv. When a Prior died or retired his official seal was broken (Reg. Melton, 284); where the archbishop orders the seal of Peter de Wyverthorp, late Prior of Bridlington, to be destroyed. There is only one sepulchral memorial of a Prior in existence at Hexham.

middle. These are all that now exist at Hexham. The greater part were found near the chapter-house some years since, and are now laid in the church-yard.

✠ ROBERTUS DE KIRKEBRIDE. ✠

✠ HENRICUS DE WALTONE. ✠

✠ ROBERTUS DE GISEBURNE. ✠

HIC JACET RAD'S DE TALKAN, CANO'IC'.

✠ JOH'S MALERBE JACET HIC. ✠

✠ JONES DE DALTONA.^a ✠

By an order made in 1350 by the provincial chapter, every Priory was enjoined to keep a brief-bearer (*breviger*) to go round to the other houses to announce the death of a canon, that prayers might be offered up for his soul; and he was to receive proper entertainment when he arrived.^b The brief-bearers from the other orders would frequently come to Hexham on a similar errand. When a Prior of Durham died, the canons of Hexham put up their petitions in his behalf.^c A kindly feeling seems to have subsisted between the Priory of Hexham and its more potent neighbour in the Palatinate. When the house of Durham was being erected, the canons of Hexham aided the work by promising a certain number of religious services to those who contributed to it.^d

The Prior was the great agent in the execution of discipline. The visitors appointed by the provincial chapter examined his house, and made their report at each quadriennial meeting. In the meanwhile it was the duty of the Prior and the convent to enforce obedience and to correct offenders. Wolsey in his injunctions directed that there should be a prison in every Priory; and that no superior should be more than seven miles

^a Arch. Æl., n. s., xvii., 158.

^b MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 50 b, 55 a.

^c Durham Obituary Rolls, pp. 33, 54, 58, 65. The form was "Anima . . . et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam Dei, in pace requiescant.

"*Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.*"

^d "A Priore et conventu Augustaldensi ccc missas et ccc psalteria." (Liber Vitæ, appendix, 129.)

away from his house, for a longer period than a month.^e When some offence had been committed of a serious character, the aid of the archbishop was called in;^f and the culprit was often sent off to do his penance in some kindred monastery, where his own brethren were to maintain him. This generally cost them four or five marks per annum; and if the Prior of the house to which he was sent refused to receive him, he was liable to a fine of 100*s*.^g The monasteries to which offenders were dispatched from Hexham, were Gisburgh, Shelford, Bridlington, Nostell, and St. Oswald's, Gloucester; and they were sent thither from Bridlington and Kirkham.^h In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the archbishops of York occasionally inspected the northern Priories; and many of their injunctions, and the penances which they prescribed, have been preserved.

From the foundation of the house of Hexham to its dissolution, a period of four hundred and twenty-three years, it was governed by twenty-six Priors. This allows to each a reign of sixteen years or a little more; the longest tenure of office, that of Alexander de Marton, was for forty years; the shortest, that of Gilbert de Ponteburgh or Boroughbridge, was only for a few months. Judging from the surnames of some of these officers, I should say that five of them were Northumbrians, five Yorkshiremen, and that one sprang from each of the three counties of Durham, Cumberland, and Westmerland. The canons seem to have been in the same proportion; and, save perhaps in the case of Thomas de Fenwick, there is nothing to shew that the Priors came out of the ranks of the gentry. They were probably plain, humble men, both in origin and manners. After the twelfth century, in spite of the example of Richard and John, we have no evidence to shew that they paid any attention to literature. Subsequent to the same period we never find them connected with royalty, or in positions of importance. They

^e MSS. Cotton, Vesp., F, ix., pp. 22—31.

^f Appendix, pp. xc, xcii.

^g MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 51 b.

^h Appendix, pp. xxx-ii, xl-i, xlii, xlvi-vii, liii-iv, lvi-viii, lxxxvi-vii.

were never summoned to parliament. Hexham in those days was completely severed from the world and from society ; and the Priors seem to have lived quietly at their monastery, attending to its wants, entertaining friends and strangers, riding about their estates, and associating with their half-civilized neighbours and the bailiffs of the town. Every fourth year there was the meeting of the provincial chapter, at which the Prior of Hexham was obliged to be present, either in person or by deputy ; but, after the union of 1339, he would be less interested in its proceedings. Every now and then the visitors of the order would come round with their budget of news and questions. The person, however, whose arrival at Hexham would excite the greatest interest, would be the archbishop of York. They would look up to him with no little awe, for he was, technically, their founder ; and addressed them every now and then in a tone which shewed that he was conscious of his authority.ⁱ Occasionally the Prior or some canon acted as one of his officials. The connection of the Priory with York was the tie which united it to the busy world from which the canons were excluded. The greatest days in the life of the Prior were those on which he made his profession to the archbishop, and was installed prebendary of Salton in the stately minster at York. When he visited his Yorkshire estates, and spent occasionally a day or two in the mansion-house that belonged to his stall in the cathedral city, he would hear and observe much that would amuse and astonish his brethren at home, when he returned to Tynedale, and gave an account of his adventures. In this manner, no doubt, were derived the scraps of southern information which John of Hexham inserts in his chronicle. He would learn at York what St. William and Murdac had done in their controversy ; and if a life of Henry II. by one of the Priors had come down to us, we should have found in it intelligence illustrative of northern history of a still more interesting and authentic kind.^j

ⁱ Appendix, pp. xli-iv, lii-iii, xciii-iv.

^j This sketch of the Priors and their duties, which is meagre in itself, is only



There was an official seal attached to the office of Prior, of which there is an unique impression among the archives of the dean and chapter of Durham. I give an engraving of it. It represents St. Andrew upon his cross. The legend is unfortunately imperfect.

I now give what, there is every reason to believe, is a complete list of the Priors of Hexham. The information appended is principally chronological, and I regret that it is so meagre and dull.

ASKETILLUS or ASCHETILLUS, the first Prior, was appointed by archbishop Thurstan about the year 1114.^k He was a canon, in the first instance, of the Austin house at Huntingdon, a place of some repute for discipline; and on that account, probably, Asketill was brought into the North to organize the infant establishment at Hexham. He did his work well, for he was a zealous and an active man. He was also a person of tact and kindly disposition; and in this way he won the good opinion of the persons among whom he was thrown, whether gentle or simple. The Priory prospered under his care, and many flocked to it, and bound themselves to the rules which Asketill introduced and enforced. Before he came, the buildings devoted to

a fragment of an account of the discipline and working of the Augustinian order, which it was my intention, at one time, to have appended to this volume. Want of space and lack of information have obliged me to omit it. No one can write a full and proper history of the northern houses without seeing the statutes of Helaugh, by which they were regulated; and these have still to be discovered. No one must imagine that the Constitutions of Benedict XII., or any pontifical Constitutions and rules for any order, were exactly adhered to in the north of England, or even in the South. Local usages and customs prevailed extensively, and could not be eradicated. There was no exact uniformity either in discipline or ritual.

^k Asketill is mentioned at pp. 107, 192-3.

the canons were of wood;—he left them of stone. He was the means, also, of making some additions to the treasures of the church; and, especially, of securing for it some relics of St. Andrew. Asketill died on the 18th of March, 1129-30, leaving a good name behind him.

ROBERT BISETH, a canon and chamberlain of Hexham, succeeded Asketill in 1130, having been elected by the brotherhood. He had taken the vows within the Priory, and was a person of education as well as a disciplinarian.¹

In 1138, soon after the battle of the Standard, the Prior witnessed a disastrous affray at Dissington, in which three of his attendants were killed by Edgar the son of earl Cospatric, and Robert and Uctred the sons of Meldred; and he himself was grievously insulted by them. Shortly afterwards, Alberic, the cardinal-legate, was at Hexham, and heard the complaints of the brotherhood. Robert went with Alberic to Carlisle to state his grievances to king David of Scotland, and justice was done to him. Later, as it seems to me, in the same year, the Prior visited the dying Eilaf at Durham, and received at his hands the possessions of his church, which had been assigned to him for his maintenance.

Unlike his predecessor Asketill, who was full of activity, Robert was of a more contemplative disposition; and he would watch, no doubt, with interest and admiration the great movement that the Cistercians were making in the church. He would become better acquainted with the Bernardine system after the colony from Fountains had come to Newminster near Morpeth. In 1141, when it became known that William fitz Herbert had been elected to the see of York, and that there was a struggle for the office, Prior Robert, perhaps in disgust, took a decisive step. He gave up the charge of Hexham, and his order, and went off to Clairvaux, to subject himself to St. Bernard. Whether the personal influence of that Saint had

¹ See pp. 55, 95-6, 100, 107, 139-40, 193.

fallen on Robert or not, we have never been informed. Aelred of Rievaulx, a Cistercian himself, says quietly that his brother-convert was fonder of religious exercises than of an active life: but John, who afterwards held the office which he resigned, was probably only giving utterance to the common voice of the brotherhood when he tells us that his predecessor “*domum suam exposuit et fratres.*” A canon who became a monk was, in the opinion of the abbat Rupert, an apostate.

RICHARD was the successor of Robert Biseth, and is the historian to whom we are indebted for two of the Chronicles that are printed in this volume. We know very little, generally, about our early annalists; for, however much they say about others, they mention scarcely anything about themselves. The two Hexham writers are no exception to the rule, and we have much reason to regret the obscurity in which they are enveloped. Scraps and fragments make up the biography of them which is now given.

In 1138, when Eilaf, the old priest of Hexham, was sick at Durham, and wished to surrender the property of the church which had been allotted to him, there went with his superior to Durham a certain canon of Hexham, by name Richard; “*quidam canonicus nomine Ricardus.*”^m This is the simple and modest way in which the historian speaks of himself. In 1141 Prior Robert deserted Hexham for Clairvaux, and Richard was appointed his successor. On the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in that year (September 8) he, in his capacity of head of that house, and his brethren, granted a lease of their land in Stonegrave, co. York, to William de Stonegrave.” At the time that this was done, Richard, although elected by the canons to the Priorate, had not been formally admitted by the northern primate. The ceremony was no doubt delayed on account of the struggle which was going on for the see; and it

^m Prior Richard, p. 55.

ⁿ Coll. Top. et Geneal., vi., 42. Extracts from a chartulary of Hexham, in the possession of Mr. J. G. Nichols.

was not until 1142 that the dean and chapter of York, the deputies of the archbishops on such occasions, confirmed the Prior-elect in his office.^o They would admit him, at the same time, to his prebend of Salton in their cathedral.

I find Prior Richard occurring as a witness to a deed whereby Agnes de Holme granted to his Priory a little island called Edolfholme.^p Between 1143 and 1153 he was present when William of St. Barbe, bishop of Durham, confirmed the grant of Wingate in that county;^q and, some time within the same period, he and Benedict, one of his canons, were in York minster when William fitz Ulf confirmed the gift of land in Givendale on the Wolds, which he had previously made to Hexham; and, as a token, laid upon the high-altar a knife and a piece of money.^r Richard was likewise a witness to the deed by which Walter de Bolbec, the founder of the Premonstratensian Priory of Blanchland in Northumberland, made over Matfen, Fenwick, and other estates in the same county, to William de Insula.^s These are small matters; but, in want of more important information, we must be content with them; and they are of some consequence in connection with an historian of repute.

Richard was Prior in 1151, when John Paparo, a cardinal, visited Hexham; and, in the following year, he received archbishop Murdac when he paid his regality a visit, and appalled the canons, as it seems, by attempting to stretch the cords of discipline to their very utmost limit.^t In 1154, Richard was assenting and aiding in the translation of the relics of the Saints of the church, which took place in that year; and in his own history he gives a very brief notice of that ceremonial.^u We may infer from this that his account of the church of Hexham, in which that notice occurs, was written subsequent to the year

^o Prior John, p. 140.

^p Coll. Top. et Geneal., vi., 40.

^q The Priory of Finchale, 1.

^r Coll. Top. et Geneal., vi., 41. Prior Richard, 59.

^s Hodgson's Northumberland, i., part ii., 167.

^t Prior John, pp. 163, 166.

^u Prior Richard, p. 49.

1154. In that work it was the author's intention, as he tells us, to have drawn up some biographies of Acca and the great bishops of Hexham, with the miracles which they wrought. This design seems to have been prevented by death,^v and Richard's friend Aelred of Rievaulx carried it out in its stead. Aelred in his tractate, which must have been composed prior to 1167, speaks of Richard as dead; and on that account, probably, he had taken up the subject which his friend had purposed to treat of. He records no event posterior to 1154, so that we learn nothing of the circumstances of Richard's decease, or of his successor. The abbat of Rievaulx pays a brief but striking tribute to the memory of his old associate. From his youth up, we are told, he was a person of honest and grave deportment; and, whilst he was in this world, so great was his chastity and sobriety that he was almost regarded as a monk.^w A Cistercian could bestow no higher commendation than this upon a canon. Richard, we see therefore, must have died between 1154 and 1167, the year of Aelred's own decease.^x

I now proceed to consider the two works by Prior Richard which are printed in this volume, the History of the Church of

^v Prior Richard, p. 36.

^w Aelred, p. 193.

^x Bale (Cent., iii., 231) gives the following account of Richard. I print it here as a curiosity, as it is scarcely possible to find a greater number of errors in a few lines.

"Ricardus Hagustaldensis, Northumbriorum alumnus, et in ea provincia natus, ejusdem cœnobii monachus et Prior, ut vocant, post prædictum Joannem fuit. Juvenis, eidem Joanni, viro insigniter docto, juxta ac integro, ut apparet, tradebatur, qui in eodem tunc monasterio juniores instituerat cœnobitas. Crevit adolescens sub eo præceptore, literarum et prudentiæ successit felici, tandemque post illum eidem præfuit loco. Studuit ipse prædecessoris ac magistri sui exempla imitari, ac ei per omnia simillimus inveniri, quod non tantum in monasterii gubernatione, sed et in moribus, vita, doctrina, et scriptis libris, præstitit. Cum enim Hagustaldi Prioratum aliquot annos tenuisset, ad historiarum studia conversus, ætatis suæ chronicon per lvi annos collegit, ab anno scilicet Domini 1134, usque ad annum Domini 1190, et ita in libros divisit.

"[I.] Gesta regis Stephani. Lib. i. (beginning thus), '*Anno Verbi Incarnati* 1135, *ab.*' (This chronicle is printed in this volume, pp. 63—106.)

Hexham and his Account of Stephen and the Battle of the Standard.

I. Prior Richard, in his History of the Church of Hexham, copies the plan which is used by Simeon in his History of the Church of Durham. From that work he derives the arrangement of his chapters and prologue; and he has also endeavoured to imitate his style. Richard has made great use of the labours of his predecessors. He was well acquainted with the writings of Bede, from whom he borrows much of what he says about Acca. The Life of St. Cuthbert, also, gave him some valuable information about Eata and Cuthbert. From Eddi's account of Wilfrid he took the description of the first church at Hexham; and he likewise mentions a Life of St. John of Beverley. To Simeon he is greatly indebted, as he makes a free use of all his

“[II.] *Gesta Henrici Secundi*. Lib. i. ‘*Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis 1156.*’ [No such work now exists; and, supposing that it ever was written, if it ended in 1190, Prior Richard could not be the author, as he was dead long before that year. It is likely enough that Prior John, his successor, would take up such a subject.]

“[III.] *De Bello Standardico*. Lib. i. ‘*Mox, autem, aliqui eorum in medio.*’ [This is the latter part of No. I., and the catch-words given by Bale occur at page 90.]

“[IV.] *Chronicon parvum ab Adam*. Lib. i. ‘*Centum et triginta annorum.*’ [This work, consisting only of a few pages, is in the library at Corpus Christi College, in F, v, 139, the same MS. which contains No. III.: and it is this propinquity only which makes Bale ascribe the tract to Richard of Hexham. In the same MS. are one or two tracts of Aelred of Rievaulx, and Henriquez, imitating Bale, assigns the chronicle to Aelred (*Fasciculus Ord. Cistert.*, ii., 260, and *Phoenix Reviviscens*, 33). The chronicle is a mere record of the dates of events from the Creation to the time of Henry, emperor of Germany. The same work, described as coming down to the time of the emperor Frederick, is assigned to the pen of Richard, a Cluniac monk and writer (*Vita Petri Venerabilis*, apud Migne, tom. clxxxix., 34).]

“*Aliaque nonnulla scripsit. Claruit anno a veri Messię nativitate 1190, in quo sua finiebat Chronica, sub Ricardo Primo, Anglorum rege. Et cum postea persolvisset commune debitum naturę, in suo cœnobio sepultus est.*”

Bale, it will be observed, says nothing of the History of the Church of Hexham. It is quite unnecessary to refer to what is said about Prior Richard by other writers.

writings: the notices which he gives of the bishops of Hexham are derived almost *verbatim* from the Chronicle of that author: and there is some evidence to shew that he saw the missing *Gesta* of the Northumbrian kings, which Simeon appears to have copied. Within the walls of his own church he would find much historical information on record, in the shape of Lives of Saints and Legends.

The object of Prior Richard in writing his work, was to put together all the notices of Hexham and its history that he could discover. He professes to be a transcriber and an abridger, and nothing more. His account, therefore, of the Church of Hexham is very brief and concise; and his style is often constrained and stiff. Towards the end of that work he depends upon himself, and on no preceding author; and his notices of archbishops Thomas II. and Thurstan, and Eilaf II., test his powers as a writer. In them he evinces greater ease of composition; and his Latinity, although by no means good, is pretty much on a par with that of our other historians. The nature of his materials and his method of arranging them seem to necessitate some repetitions and recapitulations; but they are not introduced unpleasantly. It is evident that the writer had mastered his subject, and that he was striving to give a plain and succinct account of Hexham for the benefit of those who came after him. His arrangement is very systematic and orderly. Richard was speaking, as it were, *ex cathedra*, and it was needful for him to be careful in what he said. With the exception of some traditions about Acca and Tidferth, nothing seems to be stated without historical evidence or personal knowledge. A kindly spirit, also, runs through his narrative. There is a total absence of unfriendly criticism and censorious remarks. The author certainly exhibits a little partiality towards his own church, when he asserts that the extinct bishopric of Hexham was continued at Chester-le-street, to the detriment of the claims of the see of Lindisfarne.

Two manuscripts of the History of the Church of Hexham

have been discovered. The first is among the MSS. given by archbishop Parker to the Public Library of the University of Cambridge, the class mark of which is Ff., i., 27; and this I make my text. It is in a large collection of historical pieces which the donor seems to have huddled carelessly together under one cover; and, judging from the manipulation, it is very probable that the tract was at one time a part of the volume in the Library of Corpus Christi College, the gift also of Parker, which contains the History of the Battle of the Standard and the work of Prior John. All three seem to have been written in the early part of the thirteenth century. The MS. in the University Library is in double column, on a quarto page, and in a large clear hand.

The other MS. is at York in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, and is marked XVI., I., 12. It is in a hand of the fourteenth century, and is neatly but not very well written. The volume is of the octavo size; and, judging from the tracts relating to the North which it contains, may perhaps have belonged to the Priory of Durham. There is in it no preliminary list of chapters between the prologue and the text, and there are no divisions either into chapters or books. It is to be remarked, that the three last chapters in the second book, which occur in the Cambridge MS., are wanting here. It is possible that they are interpolations. They relate solely to the possessions of the monastery and the privilege of sanctuary, and could easily be compiled and appended to Prior Richard's work. I am inclined to think, however, that Richard wrote them. They are to be found in the Cambridge MS., which is by far the earliest in date. They are germane to the subject, and are in Richard's usual style. The York MS. seems to have been transcribed by some one who studied brevity. He omitted the headings of the chapters; and, for the same reason perhaps, he shortened the work. The persons for whom he wrote might not care to hear of the lands of Hexham, and its rights of sanctuary. In lieu of these chapters there comes the Life of Eata,

which is printed among the *Anecdota*. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that this was composed by Richard. He announced his intention on one occasion of writing the lives of the Saints of his church; and this may be one of them. It is, however, of no value, as it is merely a compilation from Bede.

This work of Prior Richard on the church which he governed is of no general value; and, in the first book, there is little that may not be learned from other sources. In the second, there is some valuable information for the canons of Hexham, for whose behoof it seems to have been written, about the refoundation of their house, its benefactors, privileges, and endowments. We do not possess the text as the author left it. Even in the earlier MS. of the two there are passages which can only be explained by this supposition.

The History of the Church of Hexham has been printed by Twysden, on the whole, pretty correctly. It would be ungenerous to point out ostentatiously the errors of a work to which English scholars owe so much. A comparison of Twysden's text and my own will shew wherein they differ. I have taken the liberty of breaking up the narrative into paragraphs; of altering the stops used by Twysden; of inserting the diphthong in lieu of the vowel when it was required; and of substituting *t* for *c* when necessary. One uniform system has also been followed in regard to dates and figures. The dates have been given in Roman numerals; the years of reigns, months and days, have been written at length in Latin. When any peculiar alteration has been attempted in the text, the attention of the reader has been directed to it in a note. No other change has been made, save on three or four occasions, in which a letter has been omitted where it was not required. When there is a letter wanting, it has generally been inserted in the text between parentheses. The same treatment has been applied to the other chroniclers in this volume. My desire was to make the History of Hexham, as well as the other works, as clear and as intelligible as possible. Any various reading, worth mention-

ing, that the York MS. presents, is given below ; and the chief object of the annotation has been to illustrate the text, and not to bury it ; by shewing the authorities which the writer has used, and in what points he differs from, or falls short of, his brother-historians.

II. The second work of Prior Richard that appears in this volume is his History of the Acts of king Stephen, and of the Battle of the Standard. It commences with the reign of Henry I., and ends with an account of the negotiations that followed the battle near Northallerton, which was so disastrous to the Scots. That great fight is made the chief point in the picture, and everything else is subordinated to it. After a description of the character and deeds of Henry, the author turns to his successor Stephen, shewing the way in which he acquired the crown, the means he took to keep it, and how he was opposed by the friends of the empress Maude. The battle of the Standard was a result from that opposition, and it was expedient for Prior Richard to shew why it was fought.

The few scraps of southern information that Richard inserts, he would find, probably, in Malmsbury or William of Jumièges ; the remainder of his work consists of a description of what he had seen or known of himself. This is of great value, as he tells us much that no other person has recorded. If Richard's name were not appended to the Chronicle, internal evidence would shew that it had been written at Hexham. The feats of William fitz Duncan and his men ; the privileges conceded to Hexham by David, and their result ; the wrong done to the Prior of Hexham and his retainers at Dissington ; and the visits of Alberic the cardinal-legate, could not have been told by any one but a Hexham historian. Richard's intercourse with the northern nobles and ecclesiastics would make him acquainted with the adventures of the Scottish invaders before the Northumbrian castles, as well as in Yorkshire. From some one of the sheriffs he would procure a copy of the great charters of Henry I. and Stephen. The extract from the letter which

Innocent II. wrote to the last-mentioned monarch was probably made from some transcript of it which was shewn, for political purposes, in the North. Of this epistle no other trace can be discovered; and the letter of the same pontiff about the anti-pope, Petrus Leonis, which Richard quotes, is also lost. The statutes enacted at the council of Westminster, in 1138, exist in this chronicle only. Richard would get them from some one who was present at the meeting; perhaps from the dean of York. On the whole, therefore, the information which the learned Prior presents to us is of singular novelty and value. This is also the best written of his works, as it is the earliest. Of course there are constructions and expressions in it from which every classical scholar will shrink; but in some respects this is not to be regretted. The work gives us a specimen of the prose composition of a plain simple Northumbrian Prior, who was able to think as well as to write in Latin.

The battle of the Standard has also been described by Aelred of Rievaulx, but in a different style, and at another time. Aelred seems to have had the work of Richard before him, as he mentions little or nothing that his friend has recorded. The simplicity which characterizes Richard is not to be found in Aelred. His object in picturing the battle-field seems to have been to glorify his own monastery of Rievaulx in the person of Walter l'Espec, its founder. Richard not only depicts the fight, as far as he was acquainted with it, but also gives a quiet and clear account of the state of parties and events in the North, anterior and subsequent to it.

This work gives us some farther glimpses into Richard's disposition and political opinions. It is pleasant to see with what pride he puts down all the information that he could collect about Alberic the legate, who had honoured his monastery with his presence. Richard's veneration for Hexham was immense, and his confident dependence upon the Saints of his church reveals itself again. The amiability of his disposition is also evident. In writing the history of a time when every one

was compelled to become a violent partizan, few persons perhaps would strike the beam more gently. Richard has good words for Henry I., and for David of Scotland; but none at all for his subjects. The outrages they had committed evoked the reprobation of the Prior. No one could deplore more sincerely the state of anarchy and wretchedness that ensued on the death of Henry I., and Richard does not conceal the sympathy that he felt for Stephen. He regarded him, perhaps, as the only hope of honest and moderate men, and as the rallying point in the midst of disunion to which they could resort. The suave manner of that king, and the kindness that he shewed to Hexham, would tend to secure to him the good opinion of the literary Prior of that house. And yet Richard's praise is tempered with characteristic caution. He says that the beginning of Stephen's reign had been signalized by so much misery and discord, that no one knows how it will end, or what opinion should be passed upon it.^y These words go far to prove that this chronicle was written prior to 1140. It stops, perhaps prudently, before the greatest of Stephen's misfortunes came upon him. In 1141 Richard was appointed Prior of Hexham, and his literary studies, for the future, were in a different direction. In his subsequent work, the History of his Church, he eschewed politics; and he wrote it with the intention of increasing the devotional feeling with which Hexham was regarded. The History of the Battle of the Standard was written probably in Richard's youth; the other in maturer life.

Only one MS. of Prior Richard's Account of Stephen and the Battle of the Standard is known to exist, and that is in the collection of books given by archbishop Parker to the Library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge. It is to be found in a volume marked F. v., 139, in which there is an invaluable gathering of the works of northern historians, several of which, like this, are unique. The Prior's narrative is in a hand of the early part of the thirteenth century, clearly and legibly written

^y See p. 70-1.

in double column. This has been printed, as I have stated elsewhere, by Sir Roger Twysden; and it has appeared, also, in a translated form in the Collection of Church Historians which has been edited by Mr. Stevenson. The edition by Twysden is tolerably correct, but there are in it some errors of importance.

JOHN seems to have been the successor of Richard, and he inherited not only the office, but also the literary tastes of his predecessor. We know, unfortunately, very little about him; and we are not acquainted either with the year of his accession to the Priorate or of his decease. Not a single chronicler ever alludes to him; and, to detect the period in which he lived, we have to rely entirely upon the evidence of charters. Let us see what testimony they give.

The countess Ada, mother of William the Lion, king of Scotland, granted to Prior John and his convent the manor of Whitfield in Tynedale, which they made over to Matthew, son of Robert her chaplain. The king confirmed the gift of his mother.^z As William came to the throne at Christmas 1165, and his mother died in 1178, this deed must have been executed between those years.

Prior John and his brotherhood quit-claimed to Roger, archbishop of York, the sum of 100*s.* which they received out of the archdeaconry of the West Riding.^a Roger was primate from 1154 to 1181.

John and his house granted to William, chaplain of Geoffrey archbishop of York, some property in Goodramgate, York. Simon de Apulia, who is styled chancellor of York, witnessed the gift.^b Geoffrey became archbishop in 1189; and Apulia

^z Orig. penes Rev. Joann. A. Blackett Orde, de Whitfield. See Vol. II.

^a See p. 58 and note.

^b See p. 59 and note. Prior John witnessed a grant of the manor of Gosforth from Walter fitz William to Robert de Insula. Odonel d'Umfreville was a witness, and he died in 1182 (Hodgson's Northumberland, ii., part ii., 127). Geoffrey and Henry the "pueri" of John, Prior of Hexham, witness a deed in connection with Gevendale (Coll. Top., vi., 40).

would be obliged to give up the chancellorship when he was made dean in 1194.

Prior Richard seems to have died about the year 1160, and in 1209 a person of the name of William is mentioned as ruling over Hexham; but he may have governed it for some time previous to 1209. It may, I think, be fairly assumed that the Priorate of John filled up the vacant space between Richard and William.^c To supply the void, it is not necessary to suppose that John was ruler of the monastery for more than thirty years. If this time were divided between him and some other person, it is scarcely possible that the name of that official should have escaped observation among the witnesses to early deeds, or in some other place. Nor is it probable that two canons of the name of John were successively Priors of Hexham

^c Bale (Cent., iii., 230-1) gives the following account of John of Hexham. It is of little value and less authority. I have appended one or two notes to it:—

“Joannes de Hexham, sive Hagustaldensis, in septentrionali Anglorum patria, diocesi vero Dunelmensi oriundus, monachus eruditus, ordinis Benedictinorum; et ejusdem cœnobii præses olim floruit. Inerant ei severitas in vultu, et in externis moribus candor, cum dicendi ac disputandi facultate non modica, dum esset in suo monasterio variarum artium prælector, ut produnt scriptores. Amator historiarum atque rerum insigniter gestarum fuit, et cultor antiquitatis non minimus, quamvis a sui temporis et sectæ superstitionibus non immunis. Bedam de Anglo-Saxonum Gestis frequenter in manibus habuit; ac Simeonis Dunelmi præcentoris 400 et 30 fere annorum additiones, quibus et ipse 25 annos apposuit.

“Scripsit enim Continuationes ejusdem Simeonis, ab anno Domini 1130, usque ad annum Domini 1156; quod opus vocabat Historiam 25 annorum. Liber i. (beginning) ‘*Anno Domini 1130, Asketillus primus.*’ (This is the chronicle printed in this volume.)

“De Signis et Cometis. Lib. i. ‘*Anno Domini 1133, stella cometis.*’ (This is merely the passage about the comet of 1133, which is printed at pp. 110-112. I am inclined to think that the whole of it is an interpolation, and that John was not the author of it.)

“Descriptionem Scotici Belli. Lib. i. ‘*Eodem anno quo mortuus est.*’ (I know nothing of this or of the next.)

“Conciones Aliquot. Lib. i. Sed et alia composuit. In præfato Chronicorum auctario celebriora principum facta descripsit. Et claruit anno ab Incarnato Dei Verbo 1160, sub rege Henrico Secundo, fuitque in suo cœnobio tandem sepultus.”

without some easily discernible distinction being made between them, as was always the case. If, then, there was but one John on the list of Priors before the year 1200, he was the historian; because, subsequently, every Prior with that Christian name had a surname likewise. It is observable that when one chronicler arose, there were generally one or two in the same generation who were influenced by his tastes, and followed his example and style. There were no historians in the North in the thirteenth century; but in that which preceded it there was a little circle of authors of which Simeon was the centre. After Simeon's death the chronicle which he gathered together would, probably, be soon continued by one of his admirers. There is, I think, internal evidence in the narrative of Prior John to shew that he had personal knowledge of some of the events which occurred in the last years of his history; and it is probable, therefore, that his work was written during the reign of Henry II.

The chronicle of Prior John is professedly a continuation of that which was compiled by Simeon of Durham, and it extends from 1130 to 1154, a period of twenty-five years. It is easy to trace the *impetus* that seems to have been given to historical pursuits in the North by the writings of Simeon, and we have to thank him for evoking the works not only of the Durham annalists, but of the Hexham Priors. Richard compiled his account of Hexham on Simeon's plan, and John carried on the work of that author, adopting his system, and imitating his style with some success. In addition to the original information that John acquired, he had evidently read and used the works of William of Malmsbury and Florence of Worcester, and the *Gesta Stephani*. He also quotes the lives of archbishop Thurstan by Hugh the Chantor and Geoffrey Turcople: indeed, John tells us so much about the northern primates and their diocese, that his chronicle might well have been written by a Yorkshireman. This is easily accounted for by the fact that John was a member of the York chapter, and he would in

that way be brought into connection, more or less, with the metropolitical city. The information which he thus acquired constitutes the most valuable portion of his chronicle. The main thread of the politics of the country runs on in John's work, but the details which cluster around it relate, for the most part, to the North. Of course it is impossible to suppose that John was ignorant of many of the events in the South which he omits, as chronicles in those days were copied and scattered through the monasteries with a marvellous rapidity. John wished to write briefly, and, therefore, discarded as superfluous what was to be found elsewhere. He seems to have wished that his work should be supplementary to those of others. It has, also, a strongly ecclesiastical character; but this is to be expected when we consider the profession and the feelings of the writer, and the secluded life that he must necessarily have lead. Little scraps of monastic history are constantly appearing in the chronicle; notices of the founding of several religious houses, and of the deaths of prelates. Robert bishop of Hereford, of whom the Austin order was so proud, is mentioned more than once. We hear of the fortunes of the primates and the bishops of Durham; of the disastrous feud between Murdac and St. William; of the misfortunes of Puiset and Prior Lawrence of Durham; and of the violence of Cumin. It is with much apparent pain, also, that the good Prior records the want of respect for sacred persons and things which the nobles of his time, with all their religious fervour, were too frequently evincing.

In the early part of his chronicle, from 1130 to 1139, John travels over the same ground which Prior Richard covered before him. He does not repeat what his predecessor narrated, but simply carries on the thread with a few additions, now and then, which shew that he had access to some independent sources of information. Whilst recording the events of the year 1138, at the end of his description of the battle of the Standard, the author, or rather his transcriber, severs the

chronicle in two, and inserts in the interstice the account of the same struggle by Aelred of Rievaulx, and the poem by Serlo on the same subject, which is written in leonine verse. There is no other copy of the poem in existence; and this is the best and almost only MS. of Aelred's tract. The question now arises, how did they find their way to their present position? I believe that they owe their presence there to a freak of the copyist. John's account of the battle of the Standard is very meagre; and the transcriber may have thought fit to supplement it by inserting two descriptions of the fight, which contain much that does not appear in the works of John and Richard. This view is borne out by the way in which the copyist has treated the MS. in other places. Immediately preceding the tractates of Aelred and Serlo, there is inserted among the events of the year 1138 a long account of the eclipse of 1133. I have ventured to transfer this to its proper position, but it is very probable that it is not drawn up by John at all, but that it is merely an interpolation. The transcriber, also, by dividing the year 1140 into two, has antedated by a year all the historical events to the close of his work. This has caused much confusion in the printed text, and has brought upon John some censure for chronological inaccuracy, which properly belongs to the scribe. But, even with this imputation hanging over him, the learned Pagi pays John the compliment of excusing him.^d That great scholar has derived from the work of the Hexham Prior some information which throws light upon the history of the church at large.

Occasional glimpses into the thoughts and life of John may be found in his work. He resembles his predecessor in his caution, and the brevity of his style. The most pleasing specimen of his writing is the account of archbishop Thurstan; but in the greater part of his work there is very little anima-

^d "Auctor iste res suo tempore gestas narrat, neque mirum si aliquando in errorem labatur; cum id non raro aliis scriptoribus æqualibus accidat, uti passim monuimus." (Baronius, xix., 72.)

tion, but a conciseness and a precision which are almost painful. If John were a great scholar, he scarcely does himself justice in his chronicle, for there are few traces of reading apparent in it. He gives us the impression of being a dry sententious person, careful of what he said and did, and with no grain of poetry in his composition. His leaning towards Scotland peeps out when he commends, without reserve, king David and his son Henry. About Stephen himself he says but little, and that is in his favour; but he mentions the empress Matilda once or twice in a somewhat censorious tone. He reprobates the discord that was caused by the anti-pope Anacletus. John seems to have been a lover of peace and quiet. The disasters of the times; the injuries inflicted by one party or another upon his suffering country; the deeds of sacrilege and violence that were so rife; all these things vexed and grieved him. In his secluded home in Tynedale he would wonder how these things could come to pass. The same fondness for repose and dislike of innovation made him somewhat conservative in his views of church reform. St. William was evidently his favourite in the great York controversy, although he shewed himself fully alive to the defects in his amiable character. He tells us that pope Eugenius would as soon have become an Arian as disobey St. Bernard. A gentle reproach accompanies his notice of Prior Biseth's desertion of Hexham; and the severity of archbishop Murdac is alluded to in a manner which implies, rather than expresses, the dislike with which it had inspired the writer.

One MS. only of Prior John's work is known to exist, and that is to be seen among the volumes given by archbishop Parker to the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is under the same cover which contains the account of the battle of the Standard, and is in the same hand. The description already given of Richard's work will apply to this. The errors in chronology and arrangement that have been already alluded to, shew that it is only a somewhat careless copy of the original MS. It was this volume that Leland saw and examined

for his Collectanea. The whole work, as is well known, has been published in Sir Roger Twysden's collection; and the transcript of it that he used is, I believe, among the Clarendon MSS. At the end of the biographical work by Hugh the Chantor, which is to be found in the Great White Register at York, some one has inserted, in a consecutive form, the account which John of Hexham gives of the struggle between archbishops William and Murdac. The hand, however, is not an early one.

WILLIAM was Prior of Hexham in 1209, when he and his convent bought of Ralph de Clere, for forty marks, two carrucates of land in Edston, and 6s. rent in Holme.^e He was living in the time of archbishop Gray, who became primate in 1215. After that year he was a witness to a deed of exchange between Sampson fitz Sampson and the archbishop;^f and he was also present when Malcolm, son of Waldeve, quit-claimed to the primate all his interest in Tockerington in Northumberland.^g Prior William and his convent gave up to archbishop Gray the whole of Eskingseles, which they had bought of Thomas de Devilston for some other property.^h

BERNARD was Prior in August, 1226, when he and his convent made an exchange at Hexham with archbishop Gray.ⁱ He was the head of his house at Michaelmas, 1242, when he made an arrangement with the Prior and convent of Malton about some property at Edston.^j In conjunction with his brotherhood, Prior Bernard allowed Peter de Insula and Robert his son to have a chantry at Chipchase, within the parish of Chollerton;^k and he was a witness to deeds granted by Richard fitz Alexander and R. de Catteden; and to an arrangement between

^e Coll. Top. et Geneal., vi., 40.

^f MSS. Cotton, Claudius, B, iii., 29 a. Reg. Magnum Album, part ii., 35 b.

^g MSS. Lansdowne, ccccii., 18 a.

^h MSS. Cotton, *ut supra*, 29 a.

ⁱ Ibid., 43 b.

^j Cart. de Malton; inter MSS. Cotton, Vesp. D, xi., 114.

^k MSS. Dodsworth, xlix., 3.

archbishop Gray and Nicholas de Vipont.¹ It was during the Priorate of Bernard, in all probability, that the greater part of the present church of Hexham was constructed.

JOHN DE LASENBY was, as we may infer, a Yorkshireman by birth, for he bears the name of a village in that county. In 1251 John Prior of Hexham, and his convent, granted a lease of some land in Yorkshire to John de Newton.^m I consider that he is the same person as John de Laysingby, Prior of Hexham, who witnessed the deed made at Hexham on the Sunday before the feast of St. Margaret, 1271, by which one of the Umfrevilles conveyed the manor of Chollerton to William de Swinburn.ⁿ

Prior John witnessed a deed between archbishop Gray (who died in 1255) and the abbat and convent of Newminster;^o and another, probably about the same time, whereby Roger de Merley the Third granted to Walter de Corbet common of pasture in Stanton, and other privileges.^p He, also, and his convent, leased to John, son of Richard de East Swinburne, divers lands in that place;^q and I find him witnessing the grants made to archbishop Gray by Adam Bertram and William, son of William of Haliden.^r

¹ MSS. Lansdowne, cccci., 15-16, 18 b. He is mentioned in Coll. Top., vi., 42, and in Rot. Parl., i. 159. ^m Coll. Topogr., vi., 42.

ⁿ MSS. Lansdowne, ccxxvi., 138 a. Hodgson's Northumberland, iii., part ii., p. 13. ^o MSS. Lansdowne, cccci., 15 b.

^p Hodgson's Northumberland, ii., part ii., 118. This Walter Corbet is mentioned in an early deed which I found among the evidences in the muniment-room at Belvoir castle. "Frater R. Teshaurarius, fratrum Hospit. Ierl'm in Anglia humilis Prior—concessi Patricio, clerico de Neutun in Glendale, terram nostram, quam habemus in villa de Longton ex donatione Walteri Corbet—reddendo inde domui nostræ annuatim 13d. Testibus fratre Hugone abbate; fratre Will. de Senegrave, fratre Ricardo de Rotundo, Fulgereto capellanis; fratre Galfrido Escrop; fratre Henrico Harundel; fratre Simone Escrop, tunc temporis procuratore." The seal is defaced, but on the obverse there are the remains of a noble head of St. John. The reverse is an ancient gem.

^q MSS. Hodgson; from the Swinburne Evidences.

^r MSS. Lansdowne, cccci., 17-18. See, also, Hodgson's Northumberland, iii., part ii., 366.

HENRY died Prior in 1280-1. It is not exactly known when he was appointed to that office. There was a vacancy about 1271, when the convent postulated Richard de Ebor one of their brethren; but there were objections not only to the candidate, but also to the manner of the election; and it was set aside.^s Henry, I presume, was then chosen in his stead.

WILLIAM DEL CLAY succeeded Henry. On the Wednesday before the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, 1280-1, the sub-prior and convent of Hexham sent two of their canons, William del Clay and Richard de Tyverington, to the archbishop to announce the death of Henry their Prior, and to ask his leave to make a new election. On the feast-day (Feb. 2nd) the primate, who was then at Bishopthorpe, assented. They returned; and one of the messengers, William del Clay, was elected; and, on the 28th of the same month, the archbishop confirmed the choice of the canons, and sent word to the keeper of the spiritualities of Hexhamshire that he might be installed; and, also, to the Chapter of York, that they might admit Clay to the prebend of Salton.^t On the 13th of June, 1286, archbishop Romanus made Prior Clay his penancer within the liberty of Hexham.^u

THOMAS DE FENWICK, the next Prior, was perhaps a member of a knightly Northumbrian family; but the clan of Fenwick was at all times an extensive one. Fenwick, I believe, became Prior in 1292-3, although he is not then mentioned by name. We are told that on the 5th of March, in that year, the Prior was confirmed in his office; and installed as canon of Salton on the same day by the vicar-general of the archbishop, John de Craucumbe. This was allowed as a special favour, with the understanding that the privilege should not be regarded as a precedent; and that the new prebendary should abide by the orders of the dean and chapter of York in the claim of the cope and palfrey, which were due to the minster from each new canon.^v

^s Appendix, p. xxii.

^u Reg. archiep. Romani, 91.

^t Reg. archiep. Wickwaine, 2 a, 36 a.

^v Acta Capit. Ebor., T, 5 a.

On the 26th of May, 1295, a writ was issued to the bailiff of Hexham, empowering him to take means for having a case tried at law. Gilbert de Lutton, clerk, complained that Prior Thomas and two other persons had disseised him of his free tenement in Hexham.^w In November, 1300, the Prior was a party to another suit relating to the stall of Salton.^x

In 1310, Prior Thomas was summoned to the great council against the Templars, which was to be held at York.^y About this time Fenwick seems to have been an old man, and things were not going on at Hexham as pleasantly as could be wished. There seems to have been some opposition to the archbishop, who visited the Priory on two occasions; and, in April 1311, Fenwick resigned his office, worn out with age and labour. Ample provision was made for him in his retirement;^z and he deserved it well, for he steered his house through the misfortunes that were consequent upon the Scottish invasions of 1296 and 1297.

GILBERT DE PONTEBURGH, or BOROUGHBIDGE, a Yorkshireman by birth, and a canon of Nostell in that county, was appointed Prior of Hexham by archbishop Greenfield, in his own right, on the 4th of July, 1311. On the same day the primate wrote to the sub-prior and convent, ordering them to receive and obey Ponteburgh; and directing the keeper of the spiritualities at Hexham to install him.^a Greenfield thus interfered with the rights of the canons to elect their own superior. He did not state the reasons for his conduct, but he was probably desirous of introducing reforms into the Priory.

The canons were sturdy, and would not surrender their privileges. Vexed at their contumacy, Greenfield wrote from Laneham, on the 17th of July, to Robert de Pickering, his vicar-general, desiring him to act vigorously in behalf of Ponteburgh; and to deliver to the brethren an archiepiscopal mandate, ordering them to receive Ponteburgh as their Prior within three

^w Reg. Romani, 93.

^x Reg. archiep. Corbridge, 77 b.

^y Appendix, p. xliii.

^z Ibid., xxxiv, xlii, xlviii, xlix-l.

^a Ibid., pp. l-liii.

days; otherwise, they should be excommunicated and the Priory placed under an interdict. In reply, the sub-prior and convent said that they were afraid of injuring their rights by such a precedent. Pickering met this by another letter written on the 22nd of July; in which he promised that for the future the power of the convent to elect their own superior should not be interfered with. There is no evidence, however, to shew that this concession ever reached the canons, as Pickering enclosed his missive to Roger de Thornton, keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham, and desired him to put it into the hands of the sub-prior and convent, if they manifested any disposition to give way. This was not apparent; and, accordingly, on the 2nd of August, Pickering wrote to the keeper of the spiritual jurisdiction of Hexham, ordering him to announce the excommunication of the canons; and this sentence continued in force until the 20th of November. A compromise seems now to have been made. On the 5th of December the sub-prior and convent sent William de Bergh and Hugh de Houghton, two of their canons, to Pickering, to ask him for leave to elect a new Prior; and, on the Sunday before St. Thomas' day, the permission was given. On the 12th of January, 1311-12, Pickering wrote to the keeper of the spiritualities at Hexham to tell him that the canons had fixed upon Robert de Whelpington, and to desire him to summon all opponents of this selection to appear before him in the chapter-house at York on the Friday before the feast of St. Vincent. On that day, Ponteburgh appeared and opposed the confirmation of the election of Whelpington. There were two or three other adjournments; a proof that a great struggle took place. At last the disputants agreed to abide by the decision of Pickering, which was given on the Wednesday before the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. He decreed that Ponteburgh should resign his right to the Priorate, receiving in lieu of it an annual pension of £10, and then Whelpington was confirmed^b in

^b Reg. Greenfield, part ii., 34 b, *et seqq.* The confirmation of Whelpington was made in the following manner; and the mode of taking the oath is described.

the office. It is difficult, therefore, to say whether Ponteburgh should be regarded as a Prior of Hexham or not.

ROBERT DE WHELPINGTON takes his name from a little village in the western part of Northumberland.

We hear of him for the first time on the 21st of August, 1308, when the Prior was ordered by the archbishop in a peremptory manner to send Whelpington to him, that he might be forwarded to St. Oswald's, Gloucester, to go through his penance.^c

"In Dei nomine Amen. Præsentata nobis, Roberto de Pykering, canonico Ebor., venerabilis patris domini Willelmi vicario generali, electione facta per suppiorem et conventum ecclesiæ conventualis monasterii de Hextildesham,—de fratre Roberto de Whelpington, canonico dicti monasterii, in Priorem et pastorem ejusdem monasterii celebrata; quam electionem, tam de forma quam de persona electi, examinavimus diligenter. Quia invenimus eandem electionem de persona idonea rite et canonice celebratam, electionem ipsam, auctoritate dicti patris, confirmamus; ipsum præficientes in Priorem pariter et pastorem.

"Qua confirmatione facta, concanonici, sui vicarii, et alii presbiteri et clerici decantarunt voce præconia *Te Deum laudamus*, ipsum electum ad altare Beati Nicholai in ecclesia Ebor. solempniter deducendo; quo cantu finito, ipsum reduxerunt coram nobis loco quo prius; et tunc commisimus eidem curam et administrationem bonorum spiritualium et temporalium monasterii memorati; et incontinenti juravit domino Ebor. archiepiscopo supradicto, et ejus successoribus canonice intransibus, officialibus et ministris, fidelitatem et obedientiam ad sancta Dei Evangelia, corporaliter tacto libro; cui injunximus et quod ita curaret de cura sibi commissa quod posset in die Judicii pro domino archiepiscopo, nobis, et seipso respondere. Tractavimus etiam postmodo cum dicto procuratore, et electo, ac fratre Gilberto, olim in Priorem dicti monasterii præfecto, de statu ipsius Gilberti, juxta submissiones suprascriptas in nos factas; pensata utilitate dicti monasterii de Hextildesham, et aliis quam plurimis causis in hoc facto pensandis: habitaque deliberatione nobiscum cum discretis viris dominis decano ecclesiæ Ebor. et officiali Ebor., nobis in hac parte assidentibus, decrevimus, et ordinavimus quod Prior et conventus monasterii de Sancto Oswaldo de Nostell percipiet singulis annis a præfato monasterio de Hextildesham, videlicet ad festum Pentecostis, x.li sterling, pro sustentatione dicti fratris Gilberti, qui a dicto monasterio Sancti Oswaldi in præfectione sua absolutus recessit, per totam vitam ipsius Gilberti; nisi ad aliam dignitatem in vita sua promotus fuerit: et injunximus dictis Priori et procuratori quod super hoc faciant literam sigillo suo communi signatam, et ad illam ordinationem observandam tam Prior de Hextildesham quam procurator juramentum præstiterunt corporale."

^c Appendix, pp. xli-ii.

It appears that the primate was greatly offended at his conduct ; for he seems to have been guilty of contumacy and insubordination. When Fenwick resigned in 1311, Whelpington was selected as his successor by the canons ; but the primate put in Ponteburgh. This made a great quarrel, and Whelpington was one of those who were excommunicated for his demeanour. When this formal sentence was withdrawn, a compromise was effected ; and the canons withdrew their election of Whelpington, but chose him again, and with better success. He was confirmed in the office of Prior ; and, on the 26th of January, 1311-12, Robert de Pickering, the vicar-general, ordered the keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham to install him, and directed the dean and chapter of York to admit him to Salton.^d On the 26th of April, 1318, Prior Whelpington was made keeper of the spiritualities at Hexham.^e

Whelpington's official career, which began thus unhappily, was beset with misfortunes. He saw his house ruined by Scottish invasions, and was obliged to desert it to save his life. On his return there would be many struggles with poverty and much unhappiness. Whelpington, however, seems to have contended manfully with misfortune, and to have been true and steadfast to his duties, until better times came round. He worked till he could work no longer. On the 12th of September, 1328, old age and sickness obliged him to resign the Priorate ; and, on the 9th of November, the convent made an ample provision for him during the remainder of his life.^f

In 1313, Prior Whelpington, in conjunction with the Prior of Bolton-in-Craven,^g had the honour of being one of the presidents of the chapter-general of his order within the northern province.^g

THOMAS DE APPLETON, who seems to have been a Yorkshireman, was made Prior on the cession of Whelpington. He was

^d Reg. Greenfield, part ii., 34 *b*, etc.

^f Appendix, pp. lxxiii-iv.

^e Reg. Melton, 400 *b*.

^g Ibid., p. liv.

an active and energetic man, and moderated Hexham in times of difficulty and peril.

On the 23rd of June, 1311, archbishop Greenfield granted letters dimissory to Appleton, and three other canons of Hexham, to enable them to receive all the minor degrees of orders;^h on the 23rd of September, 1312, he was made keeper of the spiritualities there;ⁱ and, on the 18th of April, 1313, he and Richard de Langton, clerk, were appointed receivers and keepers of the spiritualities at Hexham.^j On the 21st of October, 1315, he and Ralph de Empingham, another canon, had the charge of the same post given to them.^k In fact, Appleton seems to have been one of the regular officers of archbishops Greenfield and Melton. On the 15th of January, 1322-3, the primate desired him to send the money obtained from the sale of grass and other things;^l and, on the 16th of April, he was made receiver at Hexham, a post which he occupied for some time.^m On the 15th of May, 1327, he was appointed penancer in Hexhamshire.ⁿ

Upon the 12th of September, 1328, the sub-prior and canons sent Appleton and Richard de Alwenton, a brother-canon, to archbishop Melton for leave to elect a Prior on the resignation of Whelpington. The required permission was granted on the 18th. Appleton himself was chosen; and, on the 10th of October, all opponents of the election were ordered to appear. He was admitted; and, whilst the primate was at Elveley on the 21st of October, he ordered the sub-prior and convent to receive him as their head; the keeper of the spiritualities to install him; and the dean and chapter of York to admit him to Salton.^o

We know very little of Appleton's official career. On the 27th of August, 1331, he and his convent were made the arch-

^h Reg. Greenfield, part ii., 54 *a*.

ⁱ Ibid., 37 *b*.

^j Ibid., 40 *a*.

^k Ibid., 49 *a*. Appleton was again appointed to the same post on the 19th of March, 1315-16 (Reg. Dec. et Cap. Ebor., sede vacante, 148 *b*).

^l Reg. Melton, 413 *b*.

^m Ibid., 414 *b*, 417 *b*.

ⁿ Ibid., 422 *b*.

^o Ibid., 427 *a*.

bishop's receivers at Hexham;^p an office of which the Prior had some experience. On the 10th of April, 1340, Appleton was appointed keeper of the spiritualities during the vacancy of the see;^q and on the 30th of January, 1342-3, he and the convent were constituted official and penancer in the regality of Hexham.^r

JOHN DE BRIDEKIRK, who took his name from a Cumbrian village, of which he was probably a native, succeeded Appleton. The formal document recording his admission to his office, and his oath of obedience to the archbishop, may be seen in the Appendix. It is dated on the 22nd of October, 1345.^s On the 23rd of November, he came to the chapter-house at York, and claimed to be installed as prebendary of Salton. The ceremony, however, was delayed until December the 20th, the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle. He was then admitted; and the chapter ordered the vicar to give him the revenues of the stall.^t On the 19th of December, archbishop Zouche appointed him penancer within the regality of Hexham.^u Whilst Bridekirk was Prior, David of Scotland was for some days in possession of Hexham in 1346.

JOHN DE WALWORTH was the next Prior, succeeding Bridekirk in 1349. The little slip of parchment to which his cross is appended in token of his subjection to archbishop Zouche is in the register of that prelate.^v On the 10th of October he appeared in the chapter-house at York, and begged to be installed to his prebend. This was appointed to be done on the Wednesday after the feast of St. Luke.^w On the 28th of January, 1356-7, Prior Walworth and Walter de Bridlington, keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham, were fixed upon by the

^p Ibid., 30 *a*.

^q Reg. Dec. et Cap. Ebor., sede vacante, 80.

^r Reg. Zouche, 291 *b*.

^s Appendix, pp. lxxvi-vii.

^t Libri penes Dec. et Capit. Ebor. intitulat., G^oy, 23 *a*; L, 7 *a*.

^u Reg. Zouche, 292 *b*. At Pentecost, 1346, that prelate ordained John de Bridekirk, an inmate of the monastery of Burscough, a priest.

^v Reg. Zouche, 294 *b*.

^w Acta Capit. Ebor., L, 66 *b*.

primate to visit the hospital of St. Giles at Hexham.^x On the 30th of September next ensuing, Walworth was made receiver at Hexham; and he was appointed, also, keeper of the spiritualities there on the 12th of January, 1357-8.^y Walworth was probably born at a little village of that name, close to Darlington, in the county of Durham.^z He was ordained sub-deacon in Carlisle cathedral on the Saturday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1339;^a and priest at Dalston in 1340, on the Saturday after St. Matthew's Day.

WILLIAM DE KENDAL, no doubt a Westmerland man, came after Walworth. On the 16th of November, 1334, he was ordained sub-deacon at Corbridge by the bishop of Carlisle; and deacon priest by the same prelate at Dalston on the Vigil of the Feast of the Trinity 1336.^b On the 16th of August, 1358, he was admitted to the prebend of Salton in the person of John de Walworth, canon of Hexham, whom the Prior made his proxy at Hexham, on the 30th of July. On the 26th of June, 1366, the fruits of the prebend of Salton were sequestered at his death.^c

ALEXANDER DE MARTON is next on the list; and he, judging from his name, seems to have been a Yorkshireman. He succeeded to the Priorate on the death of Kendal, giving up at that time the vicarage of Warden, to which he had been pre-

^x Reg. Thoresby, 301 *a*.

^y Ibid., 301-2. Torre (MS. History of York Minster, 1203) says that Walworth was made keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham on the 7th of August, 1352.

^z A person bearing both his names was canon of Hexham about this time. In 1364 the priory of Coldingham owed 60*s.* to John de Walleworth, canon of Hexham, Robert de Walleworth making up the account (Priory of Coldingham, appendix, xliii.).

^a Reg. bp. Ross at Carlisle, 205 *a*, 212 *b*.

^b Ibid., 158 *b*, 171 *a*.

^c Acta Capit. Dec. et Capit. Ebor., G^oy, 28 *b*. In 1323 a William de Kendal was archdeacon of Carlisle (Le Neve, iii., 249). Torre, in his History of York Minster (1203), says that Kendal was appointed penancer at Hexham on August 7th, 1352.

sented by his convent in 1359.^d On the 22nd of July, 1367, archbishop Thoresby commissioned William de Farneham, a lawyer, and rector of Walkington in Yorkshire, William de Wrelton, rector of All Saints, North Street, York, and Thomas de Bridekirk, keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham, to confirm Marton's election; which they did on the 29th of July. On the 30th of July, the chapter of York were requested to admit Marton to Salton, and this they did on the 14th of August.^e In 1368, the Priors of Hexham, Barnwell, and Huntingdon, were appointed by the provincial chapter to receive in the church of St. Michael, at Cambridge, the tax of a halfpenny in each pound which was laid upon the order in behalf of its students.^f On the 5th of September, 1376, archbishop Neville made Prior Marton the chancellor of the liberty of Tynedale.^g The king, however, secured the appointment in consequence of the attainder of that primate. He then re-appointed Marton on the 1st of June, 1388.^h In this office the Prior would be brought forward somewhat prominently, and we find his name mentioned in a suit connected with Kirkhaugh.ⁱ

^d Reg. Hatfield at Durham, 63 b. Randal's Northumberland Churches, 40.

^e Reg. archiep. Thoresby, 305 a. ^f MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 57 a.

^g Reg. archiep. Geo. Neville, pars i., 101 b.

^h Rot. Pat. 11th Richard II., pars ii., memb. 8. *De cancellario libertatis de Hexhamshire constituendo* :—"Omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod constituimus dilectum nobis in Christo Alexandrum, Priorem de Hexham, cancellarium libertatis de Hexhamshire, in manu nostra ratione iudicii versus Alexandrum archiepiscopum Ebor. in presenti parlamento nostro redditus existentis, quamdiu nobis placuerit. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, primo die Junii. Per billam thes?"

ⁱ Misc. Doc. penes Dec. et Capit. Dunelm., No. 5264, a letter from the duke of York to Prior Marton, on paper. The French is very bad :—

"Le duc d'Everwyk.

"Chier et bien amc. Pur ceo quu Thomas de Claxton ad pursur a nous par bille grevousment compleignant, q'il est par certaines gentz torteuusement ouste et espoille de son famil tenement deniz notre seigneurie de Tyndale, et q' vous ne luy voulliez grauntier briefs d'assise, ne autres briefs, accordantz a la commune ley, ne assigner justices pour sez cases; surmettant pour votre cause



There is a very mutilated impression of Marton's official seal as Prior among the muniments of the dean and chapter of Durham. It represents St. Andrew with his cross. It is appended to a document dated on the 9th of August, 1380, from which it appears that the Prior of Durham was indebted to the Prior of Hexham in the sum of £20.^j

On the 2nd of March, 1396-7, whilst the see of York was vacant, the dean and chapter made Marton a keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham.^k On the 24th of April, 1397, archbishop Waldby sent a commissioner to Hexham to enquire into the state of the Priory, which seems to have been bad indeed; and this appears to have been due to the neglect of Marton.

qⁱ vous n'aves a ceo poair, sanz assignement ou comandement de nous, come en la dicte bille quelle vous envoyons enclose deniz y cestes est contenu pluis a plein. Sy vous mandons et chargeons qⁱ par garrant dycestes en salvacion et mayntenance de notre fraunchise, et de la commune ley, deniz ycelle vous grantez et facez le dit Thomas avoir briefs d'assise et toutz autres briefs resonables et busoignables, acordantz a la commune ley. Et outre ceo, qⁱ vous assignez justices convenables et indifferentz pour tenir lour sessions et lieu et temps convenables deniz notre dite seigneurie, tange la suyte du dit Thomas soit termine, come droit et reison demandent. Ensy qⁱ nous ne oyons eut autrefoyz clamor pour defaute de justice deniz notre dicte seigneurie.

"Chier et bien ame, Dieux soit garde de vous. Escrit a Loundres, le xvij^{me} jour de Junn.

"A notre chier et bien ame Alysandre Marton, Prior de Exham, notre chancellor de Tyndale."

The title of the duke of York to the rule of Tynedale was the following document (Ex Rot. Pat. 47th Edward III., memb. 8), *Pro Comite Cantebriegia; Tyndale*:—"Rex, omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod, de gratia nostra speciali, dedimus et concessimus carissimo filio nostro Edmundo comiti Cantebriegia manerium et dominium nostra de Werk in Tyndale, ac manerium de

He must have been a very old man and quite unfit for work.^j No immediate result of this enquiry is recorded; and, when the primate died, on the 16th of January, 1397-8, the dean and chapter of York made Marton a keeper of the spiritualities of Hexhamshire, during the vacancy of the see.^m Soon afterwards he resigned his office, and we hear nothing more of him.

JOHN DE HEXHAM, was installed prebendary of Salton on the 19th of February, 1398-9,ⁿ the stall being vacant by the resignation of Marton. On the 5th of November previous, William de Woodhorne and Richard Hemeswell received, in behalf of the subprior and convent, the archbishop's leave to elect a Prior. He confirmed the choice of the canons on the 9th of December; and, on the 16th, Prior Hexham granted the

Grandon, manerium de Belestre, et pelum de Staworth; una cum aliis membris et pertinentiis suis quæ habemus infra libertatem de Tyndale: habenda et tenenda eidem filio nostro, ad totam vitam nostram, simul cum feodis militum, advocacionibus abbatiarum, prioratuum, ecclesiarum, capellarum, necnon parcis, chaceis, boscis, warennis, piscariis, escaetis, forisfacturis, terris et tenementis jam forisfactis de guerra, seu alio modo, in manu nostra existentibus, feriis, mercatis, regalitatibus, dominiis, libertatibus, et omnibus aliis ad dicta maneria et pelum spectantibus sive pertinentibus; et omni eo quod habemus in dominico dominio, et reversionibus terrarum et tenementorum, quæ per feodum talliatum sive per legem Angliæ in dotem vel alias ad terminum vitæ vel annorum de prædictis maneriis et pelo tenentur, seu alio modo, in comitatu Northumbriæ, infra libertatem de Werk, quoquo modo: adeo plene et integre, cum regalitatibus, dominiis, libertatibus, et omnibus aliis supradictis, sicut ea ad præsens tenemus, seu dominus Edwardus nuper rex Angliæ, pater noster, ea aliquo tempore habuit; aut Johannes Darcy, le cosyn, ea ex nostra concessione tenuit de nobis, per servicia inde debita et consueta. Ita quod post mortem nostram dicta maneria, dominium et pelum—ut prædictum est, ad hæredes nostros integre revertantur. In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Wyndesore, xxij die Aprilis.”

Prior Marton is also mentioned as chancellor of Tynedale in Hodgson's Northumberland, iii., part ii., 34.

^j Misc. Doc. penes Dec. et Capit. Dunelm., No. 4355.

^k Reg., sede vacante, 207 b.

^l Appendix, pp. xci-ii.

^m Reg., sede vac., 224 b.

ⁿ MSS. Torre, penes Dec. et Capit. Ebor., i., 1204. Torre had access to MSS. which are now lost.

usual pension of five marks per annum to Roger Haward, chaplain, at the request of the primate.^o

We learn from the register of the bishop of Durham when Hexham received his orders.^p In 1365 and 1366 he was ordained deacon and priest by the suffragan of that prelate.

In 1408 Prior Hexham and his convent got into a sad scrape. When the earl of Northumberland and his Scottish allies arose against Henry IV., the Prior, aided and joined them, welcoming them in his house, and afterwards deserting it, perhaps in fright, to follow them. On the 31st of April, archbishop Bowet wrote very angrily and severely, appointing some commissioners, and authorizing them to deprive Hexham of his office. The storm, however, passed away, as the king granted the Prior and his convent a full pardon on the 2nd of August.^q On the 15th of December the primate shewed that he had forgiven him by making him chancellor of the liberty of Hexham.^r Hexham died soon afterwards.

WILLIAM DE WOODHORNE succeeded Hexham. He seems to have sprung from a little village in Northumberland which lies between Morpeth and the sea. He was installed prebendary of Salton on the 1st of July, 1409.^s

^o Reg. archiep. Scrope, 106-7.

^p Reg. Hatfield, 107-8. Sub-deacon at Gateshead "die quo cantatur officium Sitientes, Matt. Langon. episc. offic.;" deacon in Durham cathedral, "die sabbati quatuor temporum in sept. Pentecostis;" and priest at Gateshead in 1366, "die sabbati quo cantatur Sitientes," by the same bishop. In 1340 a John de Hexham, canon of Hexham, was ordained sub-deacon at Carlisle (Reg. Ross, 216 *a*). On the 21st of September, 1342, John de Hexham, canon of Hexham, was ordained priest at Durham (Reg. Bury, 292 *a*). On "die sabb. quatuor temp. in sept. Pentecostis," John de Extildesham, a canon of Gisburgh, was ordained priest at York (Reg. Zouche).

Mr. Charlton, in his History of Whitby, says that one "John Topcliffe, *alias* John Hexham, who was born at Topcliffe, and afterwards resided many years as a canon in the Priory of Hexham," was made abbat of Whitby in 1527 (History of Whitby, 277). If this were the case, Hexham must have left the Austin order, and become a Benedictin.

^q Appendix, pp. xciii-iv.

^r Reg. Bowet, pars i., 270 *a*.

^s MSS. Torre, *ut supra*, 1204.

Woodhorne and three other canons of Hexham were ordained acolytes by bishop Hatfield in Durham cathedral in September, 1370; and he was made deacon in the church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, by Hugh bishop of Lethlin, on the Saturday on which "*Sitientes*" was sung.^t In 1397, Woodhorne appears as a culprit, but his offence, which was a serious one, was no bar to his subsequent promotion.^v On the 1st of December, 1423, during the vacancy of the see of York, the dean and chapter made Prior Woodhorne the keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham.^w

The name of Prior Woodhorne seems to be alluded to on a piece of crest work carved in wood, which recently was in the church of Hexham. I give an engraving of it.



JOHN DE BRAWBY, the successor of Woodhorne, takes his name from a small village in Ryedale, co. York, where the convent of Hexham had an estate. All we know of him is that on the 23rd of February, 1427-8, he was installed prebendary of Salton in the person of John Anistarley, canon of Hexham.^w On the 17th of May, 1443, archbishop Kempe empowered the canons to elect a new superior as Brawby was dead.^x

^t Reg. Hatfield, 109 *a*, *b*.

^v Reg. Dec. et Capit., sede vac., 322 *b*.

^w Acta Capit. Ebor., 1427-1504, 5 *b*.

^u Appendix, p. xcii.

^x Reg. archiep. Kempe, 45 *a*.

THOMAS FERRER, or FERROUR, became Prior on the death of Brawby. He, being then a canon of Hexham, was ordained sub-deacon on the 1st of May; deacon on the 24th of May, 1429; and priest on the 10th of June, 1430.^y

On the 28th of June, 1443, Robert Dobbess, vicar-general of archbishop Kempe, appointed Mr. John Norton, doctor of decrees, John Marchall, doctor in both laws and canon of York, and Robert Thorneton, bachelor of decrees and advocate in the court of York, his commissioners to confirm Ferrer's election to the Priorate. On the 29th of June, Marchall made proclamation at Hexham for the confirmation. Ferrer was confirmed and made his obedience, and was installed on Monday, the 1st of July.^z On the 5th of September, he was installed prebendary of Salton in the person of Thomas Wardell, canon of Hexham; and in his own person, Sept. 3rd, 1453.^a On the 30th of September, 1446, he was made keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham; and chancellor of the liberty and official of the court there on 31st October, 1452.^b On the 22nd of February, 1455-6, he was appointed penancer there.^c In 1457, he resigned his office, and was duly provided for in his retirement.^d

JOHN WELLES was the next Prior. On the 1st of December, 1457, Mr. William Brand, archdeacon of Cleveland, registrar, and domestic chaplain of archbishop Booth, was ordered to confirm the election, which he did. The Prior made his obedience, and the primate announced the confirmation from Southwell on the 20th of December.^e On the 17th of June, 1458, Welles was installed prebendary of Salton.^f On the 26th of November, 1462, he was made commissioner to punish the offences of the archbishop's dependents at Hexham;^g and in 1464-5, he was similarly engaged in a suit to which the Priory of Cold-

^y Reg. Langley, at Durham, 168 *b*, 298 *a*.

^z Reg. archiep. Kempe, 398 *a*.

^a Acta Capit. Ebor., 1427—1504, 81 *b*.

^b Reg. Kempe, 105 *a*. Reg. Will. Booth, 123 *a*.

^c Reg. Booth, 129 *a*.

^d Appendix, pp. xcvi-ix.

^e Reg. Will. Booth, 131 *a*.

^f Acta Capit. Ebor., 1427-1504, 100 *a*.

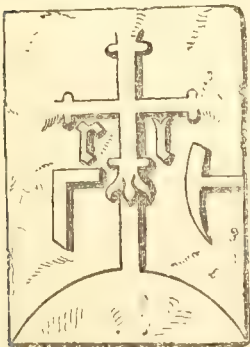
^g Reg. Booth, 144 *a*.

ingham was a party.^h Prior Welles died on the 27th of December, 1475, and was interred in his church on the same day.ⁱ

WILLIAM BYWELL, who took his name from a little village near Hexham, succeeded Welles. At that time he had been a priest and a resident at Hexham for more than half a century. On the 23rd of September, 1424, he was ordained sub-deacon, the sub-prior of Hexham giving him a title; deacon at Durham in the same year by Robert bishop of Elphin; and priest on the 2nd of June, 1425.^j

The process of Bywell's election to the Priorate is described at length in one or two interesting documents in the Appendix.^k On the 22nd of February, 1475-6, the sub-prior and convent sent John Barton, and Rowland Leschman, two of their canons, to tell the primate that Bywell had been chosen on the 20th.^l He was vicar of Stamfordham at the time of his election.

Bywell was installed prebendary of Salton on the 8th of May, 1476, in the usual way, "*per libri et panis traditionem.*"^m He did not long enjoy his office, as he died on the 16th of February, 1479-80, when he must have been about eighty years of age. On the 20th, the sub-prior and convent asked leave to elect his successor, and, four days afterwards, the archbishop accorded his assent.ⁿ



ROWLAND LESCHMAN succeeded on the death of Bywell. I am inclined to think that he was a Northumbrian and a native of Hexham. This cut represents an old gravestone, now destroyed, but which was at one time in the Priory church. Judging from symbols of his art, it seems to have commemorated a mason; and the initials

^h The Priory of Coldingham, ed. Surtees Society, 193.

ⁱ Reg. archiep. Geo. Neville, pars ii., 246.

^j Reg. Langley, at Durham, 122 b, 290 b, 292 a.

^k Appendix, pp. cxiii-xx.

^l Reg. Geo. Neville, pars ii., 24 b.

^m Acta Capit. Ebor., 1427—1504, 156 a. ⁿ Reg. Laur. Booth, pars ii., 126 a.

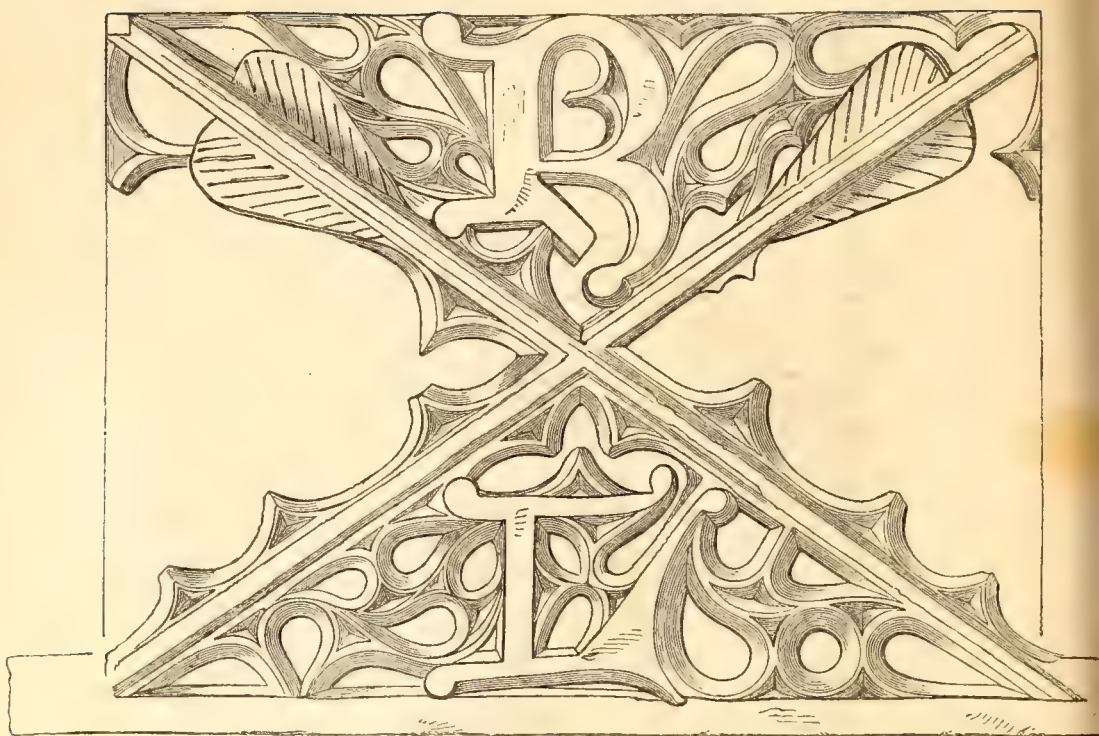
R. L. are indicative of the names of the deceased. When we recollect how fond Prior Leschman was of alluding in a like manner to himself, there is a bare presumption that this sculptured stone preserved the memory of one of his ancestors. Some years after his decease, in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, there was a person living at Hexham called Rowland Leschman, so that there was, probably, a family of that name settled there.

On the 4th of March, 1479-80, the sub-prior and convent made Christopher Worthington, their proctor, to announce to the primate their election of Leschman. On the 22nd of the same month, the archbishop made his kinsman, Mr. Ralph Booth, bachelor of laws and archdeacon of York, his commissioner to confirm their choice; and, on the 28th, the confirmation took place in the presence of Mr. Thomas Neville, William Hyne, Richard Twedell, Nicholas, John and Clement Ridley, Christopher Worthington, John Swynburn, and others.^c On the 6th of June, Leschman was installed prebendary of Salton in the person of John Hert.^p

Leschman seems to have been an active superintendent of the fabric of his church, and he did nothing without stamping upon it in some form or other his own monogram. Generally, the initial letters of his name are represented as piercing one another, and presenting a strange similarity to two cross bones. The beautiful little cut on the title page shows a shield of wood which was at one time on the roof of his tomb. In the churchyard the same device may be seen among the tracery of a perpendicular window. There is, also, a panel of a screen which commemorates Prior Leschman in a still more graceful manner. Two feathered arrows cross the panel diagonally, and in the compartments which they form are the well known characters R. L.

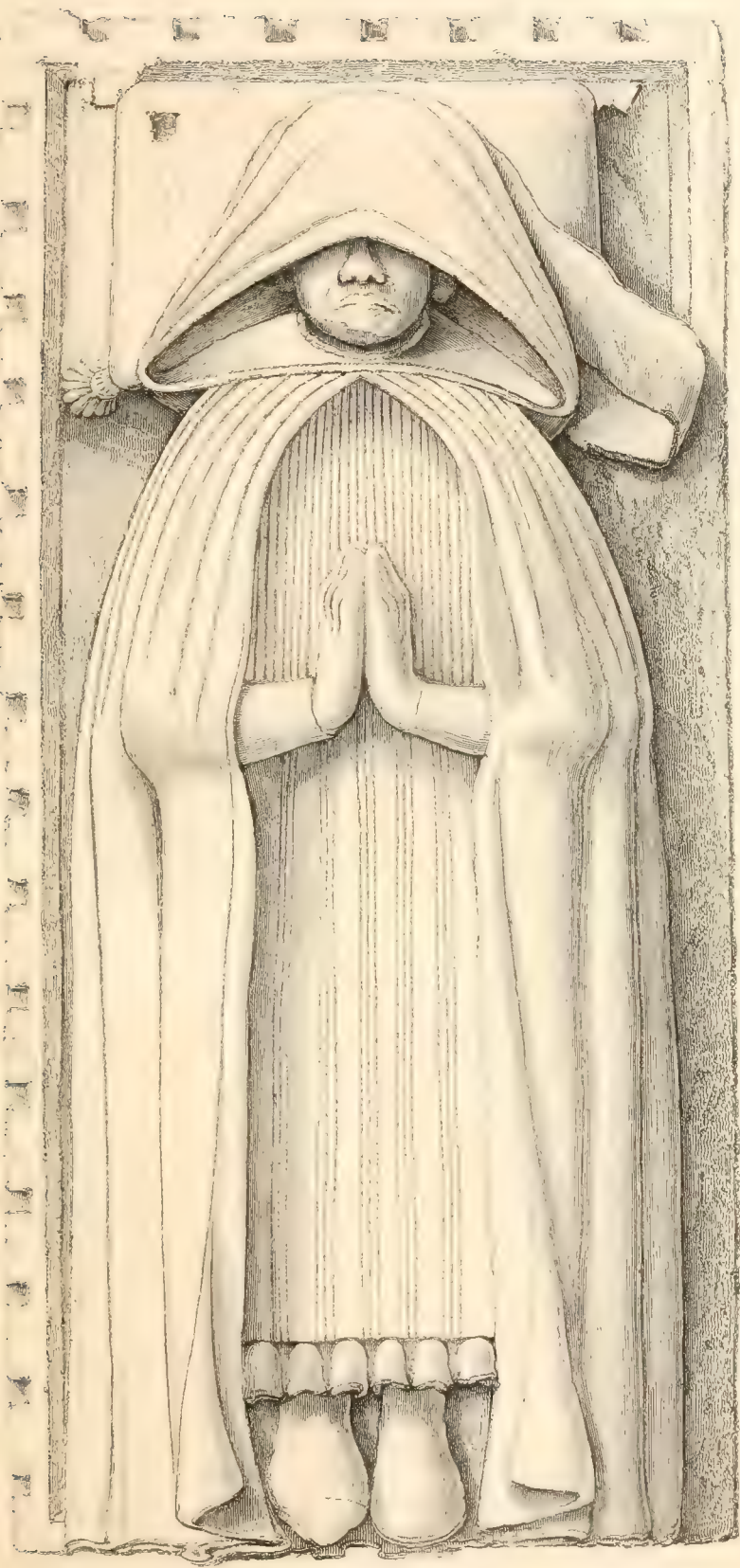
^c Reg. Laur. Booth, part ii., 128 *b*, 131 *a*.

^p Acta Capit. Ebor., inter 1427—1504, 169 *b*.



Prior Leschman is the only superior of Hexham of whom there is a sepulchral memorial in existence ; and it has owed its preservation more, perhaps, to its massive character than to any other cause. It stood originally on the north side of the choir, in the second bay as you came westward ; but, during the recent restoration of the chancel, it was ejected from that position, and was severely injured in the removal. It has been put together and set up again in the south transept, at the corner of the choir aisle, and there it still preserves the appearance of a small chantry chapel. The popular voice has claimed it as a memorial of Prior Richard, the historian, but the style of architecture, and, above all, Lechman's monogram, forbids the supposition.

In the centre, on a stone platform, is laid the rude effigy of Prior Leschman, carved in freestone, of which I give an etching, dressed in his choir habit. The native artist seems fully to have caught the spirit and character of the man, and represents him, as he must have been, a plain simple Northumbrian. Judging from the marks at the edges of the slab on which the



EFFIGY OF PRIOR ROWLAND. LECHMAN

figure lies, I should say that it had been surmounted by a hearse.

At the east end of the little enclosure is an altar where mass was probably said for the Prior's soul. The west end is open. On the north and south sides there is a low stone basement, carved in a singular manner with curiously grotesque figures, and imitations of the interlacing work which was so common in Saxon times. The roof of the little shrine or chapel is of wood, and its supports are resting upon the stone basements. This is also carved; but its decorations have been seriously injured. One of the bosses was the shield bearing the monogram of the Prior, and held lovingly by an angel's hands, of which there is a representation on the title-page. The original has unhappily disappeared.

I shall have occasion to return to the works of Prior Leschman, in my architectural description of the church in the Preface to Vol. II.

It must be observed that the great survey of the property of the monastery, which is called the Black Book of Hexham, was made in 1479, during Leschman's Priorate. He must have been a most energetic and careful Prior.

THOMAS SMITHSON, who bears a Yorkshire name, was elected Prior when Leschman died. On the 4th of June, 1491, a commission was issued to Mr. Martin Colyns, doctor of decrees and official, and John Reynald, bachelor of laws and canon of York, empowering them to confirm the election of Smithson.^q On the 12th of June, 1499, he was installed prebendary of Salton, in the person of Peter Symson, vicar-choral of York; and, in his own person, on the 28th of June.^r

On the 3rd of September, 1507, during the vacancy of the see, the dean and chapter of York made him keeper of the spiritualities of Hexham.^s In 1518, he was appointed by the

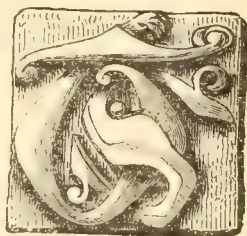
^q Reg. archiep. Rotherham, 190 *a*.

^r Acta Capit. Ebor., inter 1427—1504, 221 *a*.

^s Reg. Dec. et Capit. Ebor., sede vacante, 513 *b*.

provincial-chapter at Leicester one of the regular visitors for Yorkshire. The Prior of Newstead was his fellow.^t

Prior Smithson's monogram appears twice in Hexham. We find it on a piece of stone sculpture upon a house in the town, in connection with the arms of the see of York and St. Andrew's saltire. It is also by itself on the great screen which divides the choir from the transepts. This was probably constructed during Smithson's Priorate.



EDWARD JAY succeeded to the Priorate on the death of Smithson, and was the last person who held that office. His election was confirmed by William Clifton, canon and subchanter of York, and Brian Higden, dean of the same church. On the 9th of May, 1524, the sentence of confirmation was read at Hexham in the presence of John Faceby, rector of Rungton, Richard Philipson, chaplain, and Mr. William Blithman, notary public, and Jay made the customary obedience." On the 16th of May he was installed prebendary of Salton in the person of Mr. John Chapman, notary public; and, personally, on the vigil of the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 1525."



Upon a *miserere* on the north side of the choir of Hexham there is the device of a popinjay, which may probably be referred to this Prior.

Prior Jay, as tradition has it, did not

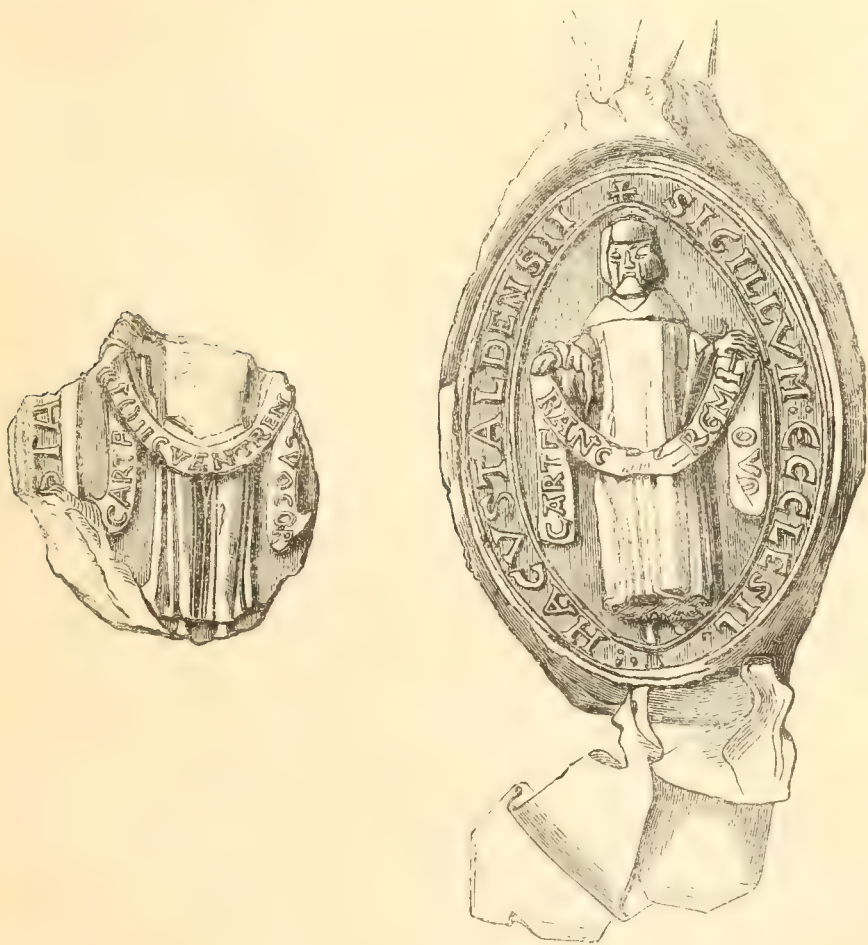
^t MSS. Cotton, Vesp., D, i., 70.

["] Reg. Wolsey, 16 a.

["] Acta Capit. Ebor., intitulat. G. y^b., 128 a, 135 a.

survive the ruin of his house, but was hung in 1536 or 1537, at the gate of his own Priory.

I regret that it is not in my power to give a perfect and faithful representation of the conventual seal of Hexham. The fragment below is appended to a deed of Prior John the historian, and his convent, and is in the possession of the dean and chapter of York. The perfect seal, alongside of it, is a clumsy forgery executed in the seventeenth century. The forger, however, has had before him a genuine seal to imitate. Another impression of it, in the possession of the dean and chapter of Durham, shews that this was the case. It is too much decayed to use for the purposes of illustration. I cannot make out the words upon the scroll.



Thus terminates the First Part of the History of the Priory of Hexham. Its length, and the labour required to complete it, will excuse, I trust, the delay in its appearance: works such as this, and the Memorials of Fountains Abbey, cannot be done in a day. The Second Part will contain the Black Book of Hexham, and a body of original evidences relating to the conventual and archiepiscopal lands. In the Preface there will be, I. An architectural description of the church, with numerous illustrations. II. An account of the temporalities of the Priory, the manners, agriculture, etc., of the district. III. Notices of the archbishop's estates in Hexhamshire, with lists of his bailiffs, justices of assize, etc., etc.;—all of which are prepared.

The most pleasing words in a work of this character are the last; as the author has then an opportunity of acknowledging a debt of gratitude which has been long due. The Surtees Society may be justly proud of the uniform kindness and encouragement which are accorded to its efforts.

To W. B. Beaumont, M.P., the Lord of the manor of Hexham, the Society is very deeply indebted. Not only has he placed at its disposal the celebrated Black Book of Hexham, and other muniments that he possesses, but he has enabled it, by a munificent donation, to illustrate this work in an ample and unusual manner. No one could have carried out Mr. Beaumont's wishes and intentions more kindly and more sedulously than Mr. Dees; and the editor takes this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness and hospitality.

The pencil of Mr. Longstaffe has ornamented this volume; and no one but a sincere friend to the writer and the Surtees Society would have taken so deep an interest in this work, or contributed so largely to its interest and value.

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J. R.

YORK, OCTOBER, 1864.



A SILVER PLATE FOUND IN HEXHAM CHURCH.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH OF HEXHAM,
AND OF THE BISHOPS OF THAT PLACE.

BY RICHARD, PRIOR OF HEXHAM.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS^a OPERIS SEQUENTIS.

De tempore Regum.^b

GENERALI nomine, regio Northanhymbrorum, tempore regum,

^a The author begins his work with a Preface or Prologue, in which he states summarily the boundaries of Northumbria in his day and before it; the period of the conversion of the kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira; the establishment of Hexham and its early rulers; and then, before he proceeds to examine several of these points in greater detail, he briefly alludes to the sources from which he has derived his narrative. He shews that he is the master of his materials, and uses them like a person who is perfectly familiarized with system and order. It must be remarked, however, that there are some repetitions, as for instance in chapters i., ii., vi., and vii.

^b The text of this work is derived from a manuscript in the collection given by archbishop Parker to the Public Library at Cambridge, the class mark of which is Ff, i., 27, or No. 247 in Smith's catalogue of MSS. The MS. seems to have been written towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, and is in good condition.

I have collated it with a MS. in the library of the Dean and Chapter of York, the class mark of which is xvi., I, 12. This was written in the fourteenth century, and any various reading that it presents is given with the reference *MS. Ebor.* The York manuscript commences with the Prologue; but it has no list of chapters, and there is no distinction either of books or chapters throughout the work. The three last chapters contained in the Cambridge MS. are wanting in it, but in their place are found an unique life of Eata, and the account of the threatened attack upon Hexham in 1138 by David king of Scotland.

No other MSS. of this work are known to be in existence.

The Cambridge MS. has been faithfully followed, save in the following points. Wherever it is required, the *diphthong* has been substituted for the *vowel*, and *t* for *c*. The dates, also, have been given in Roman numerals, for clearness.

I must not forget to observe that the work is printed among the *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem*, which were edited for Sir Roger Twysden. It has also been announced to appear, in a translated form, in *The Church Historians of England*, of which Mr. Stevenson is the editor.

In my annotations it has been my wish to illustrate and elucidate the text.

vocabatur quicquid erat ab Humbra flumine usque ad alium fluvium, qui vocabatur Tweda.^c

Hæc autem subdivisa erat in duas provincias, scilicet in Deiram, quæ ab Humbra incipiens, ad Tesam fluvium terminabatur; et in Berniciam, quæ a Tesa usque ad Twedam protendebatur. Unde etiam quidam reges Northanhymbrorum regnabant super solos Deiros, sicut Elle; quidam super solos Bernicios, sicut Adda, filius ejusdem Elle; quidam super utrosque, sicut Edwinus, filius ejusdam Elle, et Sanctus Oswaldus, et, post eum, frater ejus Oswius. A tempore cujus Oswii utraque regio sub uno regno remansit.

De tempore Consulum.

Deinde, tempore consulum,^d cœpit vocari Northumbria terra illa quæ erat inter Tinam et Twedam. Hodierno vero tempore provincia Northanhymbrorum appellatur terra illa quæ a fluminibus Tina et Derewentione incipit. Sunt etenim illi fluvii metæ, ex illa parte, inter terram sanctam Cuthberti et comitatum Northumbriæ, quæ usque ad Twedam perveniens, ab occidentali parte habet Westmeriland et Cumberland, et, ab orientali, mare quod Oceanus dicitur.

Illæ autem supradictæ provinciæ diversis temporibus Christi fidem susceperunt. Namque anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCXXVII^o, regni vero sui undecimo, rege Edwino in die Paschæ Eboraci baptizato per beatum Paulinum, Sancti papæ Gregorii discipulum, Deira ad fidem Christi catholicam conversa est; et ab eisdem, eodem anno, ecclesia in honore Sancti Petri Apostoli in Eboraco fundata est.^e At deinde, septem annis transactis,

It is quite unnecessary to supplement it, except in cases where the history of Hexham itself, its neighbourhood and its worthies, is especially alluded to. In a great part of his work the author merely professes to copy, or abridge, from others, and the editor need not do more than point out the authorities which Prior Richard makes use of.

^c The period of the Saxon and Danish kings of Northumbria extends from the sixth century to the tenth. It would be unfair to examine these two prefatory chapters too closely, for Richard does not profess to write here with minute accuracy. For instance, in the first sentence, he says nothing about Lothian and other districts having been a part of the kingdom of Northumbria. Lothian was not finally separated from it until the year 975. Mr. Hodgson Hinde gave a full account of the connexion of the two districts in a paper which he read before the members of the Archæological Institute at their congress at Edinburgh. The same gentleman has also alluded to it in his Introduction to the volume of Pipe Rolls published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1847.

^d The official earldom of Northumberland lasted, with some intervals, from the tenth century to the twelfth.

^e A far greater antiquity is given to York than this. Two lines will dispose of the claims of the poet to harmony and credibility (MSS. Cotton, Titus, A, xix., 6):—

“Dum David sanctus sceptrum tenuit Judeorum,
Inclitus Ebrancus urbem construxit Eborum.”

hoc est Dominicæ Incarnationis anno DCXXXIII^o, per prædicationem Sanctorum Oswaldi regis ac martyris, et Aidani episcopi, Bernicia Christianitatem suscepit. Mox autem, eodem anno, ipsi fundaverunt ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem in honorem Sancti Petri, Apostolorum principis. Deinde, quadraginta annorum curriculo transcurso, circa Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXIII^m annum, a beatæ memoriæ Wilfrido, Eboracensi episcopo, in honore Sancti Andreæ Apostoli, Haugustaldensis ecclesia fundata est. Igitur hæ solæ supradictæ tres ecclesiæ, in tota gente Northanhymbrorum, episcopali dignitate primitus in antiquo tempore celebres fuerunt. Inter quas, Haugustaldensis, licet erat tempore posterior, non tamen in possessionum habundantia, vel in ornamentorum copia, vel in dignitatum gloria, inferior habebatur, excepto quod Eboracensis semper erat metropolitana ;^f quoniam prædictus pater Wilfridus, et beata Etheldrida regina, cum, et in terrenarum divitiarum opulentia ditissimi, et in Dei cultu devotissimi essent, summa mentis intentione, ac tota animi alacritate hanc magnificare et exaltare sategerunt.

Igitur Sanctus Wilfridus episcopalem sedem in ea sedit primus. Quo expulso et exulante, Tunbertus, Eata, Johannes, in eadem sibi per ordinem successerunt. Deinde ipse pater rediens, plene illam recuperavit. In qua, post mortem suam, Sanctum Accam, presbyterum suum, successorem habuit. Isti, igitur, et alii sancti ac venerabiles viri, qui prædictæ ecclesiæ episcopali jure præfuerunt, gloriosa vita atque conversatione sua prædicali illam illustrem ac laudabilem reddiderunt. Quinetiam de factis et dictis suis quam-plurima memorabilia, et in ea, et in aliis locis, post se reliquerunt. Quæ fere omnia tam regionis crebra vastitas, quam temporis longa vetustas, delevit. Pauca, tamen, quæ in antiquorum scriptis sparsim invenimus, prout potuimus, in unum collegimus. In quibus quanta et qualis illa ecclesia antiquitus fuerit, qui ex minimis majora perpendere exercitati sunt, saltem aliqua ex parte cognoscere possunt.

EXPLICIT PRÆFATIO OPERIS SEQUENTIS.

^f Some little allowance must be made for Richard's partiality towards Hexham. He ought to have mentioned that there was at one time a bishop at Ripon, and that Beverley was a church of renown.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA.

CAP. I.

Quomodo, et a quibus, et quando Haugustaldensis ecclesia sit ædificata, et quare Hestoldesham sit appellata.

II.

Quare, quibusve causis, in tempore beati Wilfridi, duo episcopi ad ecclesiam Eboracensem consecrati fuerunt, ad quam ipse electus et consecratus fuit.

III.

De constructione et mirabili opere Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ.

IIII.

De aliis ecclesiis ejusdem loci: de surdo, muto et tineoso, per miraculum Sancti Johannis sanato.

V.

De pace inviolabili per unum miliare circumquaque ipsius ecclesiæ, et de auctoritatibus, et de confirmationibus archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, de privilegiis Apostolicorum, et de libertatibus regum, de largitionibus principum eidem ecclesiæ collatis, et de terminis episcopatus ecclesiæ ipsius.

VI.

Quomodo beatus Wilfridus ad episcopatum accesserit, sive in episcopatu se habuerit.

VII.

Quod Sancta Etheldrida dedit Sancto Wilfrido, quem familiariter et specialiter diligebat, Hestoldesham cum circumjacente regione, quam a rege Ecfrido in dotem acceperat, ut ibi episcopatum sibi faceret.

VIII.

De prima expulsionem Sancti Wilfridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

IX.

Quoto anno ab Incarnatione Domini Sanctus Cuthbertus ad conversionem venit; et quomodo abbas Eata ecclesiam Lindisfar-nensem ad regendum, sicut Melrosensem, recepit; et qualiter Sanctum Cuthbertum de Melros ad Ripum transtulit, ac deinde

ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, ut in Prioris auctoritate præset, redire fecit.

X.

Quomodo Sanctus Cuthbertus ad ecclesiam Haugustaldensem electus fuit, et quare Lindisfarnensem recepit; et de quatuor Sanctis episcopis qui contemporanei fuerunt.

XI.

Quomodo Sanctus Wilfridus, post expletionem octo annorum primæ expulsionis suæ, episcopatum Haugustaldensem recepit; Sanctus vero Johannes, de Haugustaldensi ecclesia translatus, Eboracensem suscepit.

XII.

De secunda Sancti Wilfridi exultatione, et revocatione, ac ejus felici morte.

XIII.

Recapitulatio annorum prædictorum sanctorum episcoporum, Johannis et Wilfridi.

XIII.

Quando Sanctus Acca, presbyter, vir strenuissimus, coram Deo et hominibus magnificus, cantator peritissimus, in literis sacris doctissimus, ecclesiam Haugustaldensem suscepit in suæ sedis ecclesiam; et quam mirifico ac multifario decore adornavit, et magnificis muneribus ampliavit, et multimoda largitate ditavit.

XV.

Quomodo Sanctus Acca episcopus de sede sua fugatus est; et quod, in testimonium sanctitatis ejus, sudarium, casula, et tunica, quibus corpus ejus involutum fuerat, cum pristina pulcritudine et fortitudine, post multa temporum curricula, reperta sunt.

XVI.

De temporibus trium episcoporum, scilicet, Frendberto, Alcmundo, et Tilberto.

XVII.

De miserabili morte Elfwaldi regis Northumbriæ; et regno regis Osredi; et de sinodo apud Aclech.

XVIII.

De curriculo annorum trium episcoporum, videlicet, Ethelberto, Headredo, et Eanberto; et quomodo Ethelbertus sedem suam in Candida Casa reliquit, et ecclesiam Haugustaldensem suscepit.

XIX.

De ordine, et numero, et annorum curriculo Haugustaldensium episcoporum, ante devastationem miser(r)imam, et desolationem maximam regionis Northumbriæ, factam a rege Haldano Danamarchiæ.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI PRIMI.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI SECUNDI.

CAP. I.

Quomodo Eardulfus episcopus, et abbas Eadredus de insula Lindisfarnense incorruptum corpus Sancti Cuthberti exportaverunt, et per septem annos de loco ad locum cum illo discurrerunt.

II.

Quomodo per Eardulphum Lindisfarnensem episcopum, Haugustaldensis episcopatus apud Cestriam restauratur; et qualiter postea, per Aldunum episcopum, ad Dunelmum corpus Sancti Cuthberti transportatur.

III.

Quod Haugustaldensis ecclesia ex illa antiqui honoris prærogativa hanc libertatem optinet, quod nec propter sinodum, nec propter crisma, nec propter aliquam causam, episcopo Dunelmensi aliquod debitum debet, nisi forte ob aliquam ecclesiasticam causam discutiendam ipse episcopus ecclesiæ mandaverit; et tunc Prior vel frater aliquis ipsius ecclesiæ veniet.

IIII.

Quod ecclesia Haugustaldensis nunquam patronorum suorum, episcoporum, scilicet, Sanctorum Eataë, et Accæ, et Alchmundi, et cæterorum venerabilium præsulum Fredberti et Tilberti, Divina pietate protegente, sit deserta, nec unquam eorum sacris reliquiis sit destituta.

V.

Quomodo illa quondam inclita, et multiplici cultu possessionis et religionis magnifica, Haugustaldensis videlicet ecclesia, ecclesiæ Eboracensi, cum quadam villa, nomine Holm, in præbenda sit data.

VI.

De quadam re, digna memoriæ, archiepiscopi Thomæ, et ab

eo quod Deus non per offensionem ad iram est provocandus, sed potius per bonam operationem ad misericordiam inclinandus, ut suæ creaturæ misereatur propitiatus.

VII.

De electione Secundi Thomæ, Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

VIII.

Quando Hagustaldensis ecclesia, post secundam devastationem a rege Danorum, Haldano, factam, ut prædictum est, ad religionem est conversa.

IX.

Quomodo Ailavus presbyter, pater Etheldredi abbatis Rievallis, prædictam ecclesiam liberam et quietam Deo obtulit; in manu Prioris, Rodberti Biset, per pulchrum philaterium, cum magna devotione reddidit.

X.

Quomodo prædictus presbyter apud Sanctum Cuthbertum Dunelmi habitum monachilem suscepit; et qualia dona, ad decorem domus Domini, Secundus Thomas, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, prædictis canonicis donavit.

XI.

De morte piæ memoriæ prædicti Thomæ, Eboracensis archiepiscopi; et de ejus successore Turstino; et de bonis quæ præfatis canonicis fecit.

XII.

De libertatibus regum, et largitionibus principum, ac de elemosinis aliorum fidelium.

XIII.

Quantæ venerationis ac dignitatis Haugustaldense monasterium apud antiquos fuerit, quam mirifice fundatum, quam magnifice ornatum, et quam gloriosissime exaltatum extiterit.

XIV.

De pace quæ a regibus et principibus Haugustaldensi ecclesiæ, et omnibus ad eam confugientibus, antiquitus data fuerit; et quæ vindicta illis sit injuncta qui eam infregerint.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.

INCIPIT QUÆDAM BREVIS ANNOTATIO BONÆ MEMORIÆ
RICARDI, PRIORIS HAGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIÆ,
DE ANTIQUO ET MODERNO STATU EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ,
ET DE PONTIFICIBUS EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ.

[CAP.] I.

*Quomodo, et a quibus, et quando, Hagustaldensis ecclesia sit
ædificata, et quare Hestoldesham sit appellata.*

Est in Northanhymbrorum provincia, haud procul a Tina flumine, ad austrum sita, villa quædam, nunc quidem modica, et raro cultore habitata,^g sed, ut antiquitatis vestigia testantur, quondam ampla et magnifica.^h Hæc autem a rivulo ibi decurrente, et quandoque ad modum torrentis exuberante, Hestild nomine, Hestoldesham, quasi prædium Hestild, vocatur.ⁱ Beata vero

^g The population of Hexham at that time must have been very small. Aelred says that when Hexham was renovated about the beginning of the twelfth century, the whole place and neighbourhood were deserted, and the re-founder of the church maintained himself and his family for two years by hunting and hawking. Aelred also records a miracle wrought upon a smith. All the inhabitants of the place were alarmed at his illness, because he was the only smith there (De Sanctis, etc.). This shews how scanty the population was. The neighbourhood at the present day is only thinly peopled. In 1801 there were 3427 persons in the township of Hexham.

^h Richard speaks of Hexham as a town full of ruins, which he could see around him; Roman, no doubt, as well as Christian. Many remains therefore of the old town, which Aelred describes as having been “ab antiquissimis fundata regibus,” had survived the ravages of the Danes.

ⁱ This brook runs on the west side of the town, and its deep banks and rocky bed shew that in flood-time the scanty stream swells rapidly into a raging torrent. It is now known as the Cockshaw burn.

In old times it was called the Hextild or Hextold, an *s* frequently taking the place of the *x*; and from this word the present name of the town, Hexham (Hextildesham), is taken. The place is called Hestaldesige by Simeon in his Chronicle of the Kings, on more occasions than one, and he is the earliest authority who uses the word.

The Saxon adjective *hext* or *hexta* signifies highest. There is a learned note upon it by Hearne in the glossary appended to the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (*n. e.*, 656). We associate it with ideas of a rugged elevated country.

Hextilda, the wife of Richard Cumin, and connected by blood with the Scottish princes, was a great lady in Tynedale in the beginning of the twelfth century, and, with her husband, was a benefactress to the monastery of Hexham,

regina Etheldrida, Annæ regis Orientalium Anglorum filia, primo Australium Girvisorum principi, nomine Tunberto,^j sed illo post modicum defuncto, deinde Ecfrido, Northanhymbrorum regi, desponsata fuit. Quæ tamen integritatis virginalis gloriam semper intactam, Deo protegente, servavit. Hæc itaque Sancto Wilfrido, quem plurimum dilexit, illi, inquam, jam existenti Eboracensi episcopo, prædictam villam cum circumjacente regione, circa annum Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXIII^m, in perpetuam elemosinam dedit, ut eam episcopali cathedra sullimaret; quam ipse primus, et, post eum, alii jure ecclesiastico sederent.

[CAP.] II.

Quare, quibusve causis, in tempore Beati Wilfridi, duo episcopi ad ecclesiam Eboracensem consecrati fuerunt, ad quam ipse electus et consecratus sit.

Igitur Eboracensem ecclesiam, ad quam primo electus et consecratus fuerat, sed, illo demorante, vel potius exulante, in transmarinis partibus, alii pro eo in eadem consecrati sunt antistites, illis eam tandem concessisse creditur. Ipse vero, tum ob amorem dilectissimæ dominæ suæ, prædictæ scilicet reginæ, tum propter secretiorem et quietiorem vitam quam ibi agere poterat, tum quia in illis partibus Christianitatis religio rudis adhuc et novella erat, tum etiam quia ex Decretis Patrum noverat absque magna necessitate non licere unum episcopum duos episcopatus simul possidere, tum quia Agatho papa in Romano concilio ei (*eum*) laudaverat, ut, ipsius concilio, in Eboracensi ecclesia alius pro eo episcopus substitueretur, et ipse novum episcopatum suum consideret et restauraret, ad prædictum locum construendum et ædificandum omnem curam et operam suam impendit.^k

as she was also to Durham, where her name is enshrined in the Liber Vitæ (Hodgson's Northumberland, iii., part ii., 325, 417). It was about this time that the old name of the place, Halgutstadt, seems to have fallen into disuse, and the more modern one of Hextildesham came into vogue. Could the change have been made, to a certain extent, as a compliment to the countess? This is of course a very fanciful conjecture, as the mere existence of the brook of Hextild is sufficient of itself to account for Hextildesham without imputing its origin to the flattery of the canons.

There was a "Hexam" ford on the Tweed, near Wark, which is mentioned in the great Border survey of 1560 (Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. ii., part iii., 200).

^j Tymberto (MS. Ebor.).

^k This is scarcely probable, and we cannot really look upon Wilfrid as the first bishop of Hexham.

Hexham was given to Wilfrid by Etheldreda in 674; in 678 he went to Rome to appeal against the decision of Theodore and Ecgfrid (Saxon Chron., apud Mon. Hist. Brit., 321). During these years Wilfrid was bishop of York, and he

Quod autem cultus fidei Christianæ tener adhuc in partibus illis erat, ex hoc maxime manifestum est, quod, quasi circa quadraginta annos antea, fidem Christi regio illa susceperat. Gens quippe Berniciorum per prædicationem Sanctorum Oswaldi, regis et martyris, et Aidani, Lindisfarnensis episcopi, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCXXXIII^o, ad fidem Christi conversa est.

[CAP.] III.

De constructione et mirabili opere Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ.

Sanctus igitur Wilfridus, circa Dominicæ Incarnationis annum DCLXXIII^m, et ætatis suæ quasi quadragesimum, et episcopatus sui quasi decimum, et regni Ecfredi quasi quartum, in prædicta villa ecclesiam in honorem Dei et Sancti Andreæ Apostoli, ad rependendum beneficium quod ejus intercessione consecutus est, artificiosissima structura construxit. Nam cum primo Romam venisset, ejus ecclesiam frequentans,¹ de remissione peccatorum suorum, pro qua instantius orabat, per hoc certificari postulabat, si de ingenii sui tarditate, et linguæ suæ

could only be bishop of Hexham in the same sense that the bishop of Durham is bishop of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He could not take his title from two places.

In 678 Eata was made bishop in Bernicia, having his *cathedra episcopalis* at Hexham or Lindisfarne (Vita S. Eatæ, apud Biogr. Misc., ed. Surtees Society, 123). We know, however, that Trumbriht was consecrated bishop of Hexham in 681 (Saxon Chron., 321), and he is the first person who can be safely said to have been bishop there.

Wilfrid had the possession of Hexham from 674 to 678, during which period he probably built the monastery; but he could scarcely spend as much time there as Richard represents, as he had the charge of Bernicia and Deira, and the building of Ripon minster and the restoration of that at York were upon his hands. He recovered Hexham in 686, and held it, under the see of York, for about five years. After another long absence, he resided entirely at Hexham and Ripon between 705 and 709.

¹ The church of St. Andrew at Rome does not now exist. It is said to have been near the church of St. Petronilla. It was built by pope Symmachus, who gave to it a ciborium of pure silver. He held a synod there, and there was another in the same place in 531, in the time of Boniface III. There is some doubt about the site of this church. Mallius supposed that it occupied the building once called the Vestiarium Neronis, and Grimaldi thought that it was the sacrarium of the Vatican basilica (De Sacris Ædificiis Synopsis Hist. Joannis Ciampini, Romæ, 1693, 86-8. Liber Pontificalis Joann. Vignolii, 4to, 1724, i., 176). In consequence of his residence at Lindisfarne, Wilfrid would learn to pay special reverence to St. Andrew, the patron of the Scots; and some feeling probably of this kind would lead him to the church of that saint in Rome. The fact of St. Andrew being the patron of Hexham was probably one reason why some of the Scottish kings shewed that monastery so much respect. This feeling had entirely disappeared in 1296, when the Scots tore down the image of St. Andrew at Hexham, cut off its head, and said derisively, "Ut ad suum solum conculcandum inde recedens remearet" (Chron. Lanercost, 175). Five Northumbrian parish churches are dedicated to St. Andrew, viz., Corbridge, and Bywell near Hexham, Bolam, Shotley, and one at Newcastle. One only, that of Kirkharle, has St. Wilfrid for its patron.

rusticitate, ipsius interventu, absolvi mereretur.^m Nec mora: precibus dilecti Apostoli sui, tantam gratiam fidei suo contulit propitia Dei bonitas, ut ad quælibet discenda promptissimam ingenii vivacitatem, et, ad quælibet intellecta explicanda, congruam sermonis fecunditatem se habere sentiret, ut, postea, per innumerabilium animarum salutem, quas Deo lucratus est, efficacissime in sancta ecclesia claruit.

*Descriptio Augustaldensis ecclesiæ.*ⁿ Igitur profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum anfrac-

^m Taken from Eddi, cap. v., where Wilfrid's visit to St. Andrew's is described.

ⁿ A curious passage, and one which it is difficult to understand. It is not easy for any one, perhaps, to give a perfectly clear description of the architectural features of a building, but we could wish that Richard had possessed a little of the technical knowledge of William of Worcester.

The church built by Wilfrid, and decorated by Acca, was greatly injured by the Danes. Aelred says that everything in which there was any wood was burned, and, in the beginning of the twelfth century, the church was roofless and floorless, with trees growing in and about it. The conventual buildings, probably, had for the most part disappeared, and some of the appendages of the church itself, *e.g.*, some of the porches and chapels, seem to have been in ruins. The main walls, however, were strong and entire, and, with mending and patching, the church was made fit for use. A new edifice was not begun until the end of the twelfth century, for there is no trace of Norman work to be found at Hexham.

The church, therefore, on which Richard looked, was, in the main, the work of Wilfrid, and, as the Lanercost chronicler tells us, it was a "basilica Romano opere insignita" (Chron., 175), having been reared, no doubt after the fashion of an Italian temple, by the masons who were attached to Wilfrid after his consecration (Eddi, cap. xiv.). With the exception of two or three sentences which are taken from Eddi, the description proceeds from Richard's own pen.

The church, probably, was in the form of a cross and ended in an apse. The walls were of three stories, very high and long, the capitals of the pillars being sculptured, and colour seems to have been freely used. There is no account of any windows, but towers are mentioned. Appended to the body or nave of the church, in various parts, were porches and chapels, some of which seem to have perished before Richard's day, but the height and the length of the whole church, with the fineness and skilfulness of the stone-work, seem to have been its chief features.

One most striking point about the church, and it is one that Richard dwells upon with evident admiration, was the attention that had been paid to what we may call the security of the inmates of the monastery in their devotions and their lives. The walls were pierced in every direction with galleries and flights of steps, secret passages, and mysterious places of all kinds, in which a host of men could hide themselves. Under ground there was the same mode of intercommunication with various parts of the church by dark ways and crypts and oratories. It is not too much to say that one great reason for all this labour was that the church might effectually shelter its inmates in the time of danger, and that the treasures and relics might be safely stowed away. It is certain also that these subterranean chambers were used as oratories for secret and solitary devotion,—a purpose to which they are still devoted in some of the continental churches. Some traces of an altar are to be discerned in the crypt at Hexham.

We may regard Hexham as the finest church that Wilfrid built. It was entirely of his own creation, and he would do his best to erect a building to awe as well as delight the rough, rude people who saw it rising. Wilfrid merely restored York, and Ripon was too near to that city to render the construction of another elaborate shrine necessary. Hexham was the only church of Wilfrid's

tibus, inferius cum magna industria fundavit.^o Parietes autem quadratis, et variis, et bene politis columpnis suffultos, et tribus tabulatis^p distinctos, immensæ longitudinis et altitudinis, erexit. Ipsos etiam, et capitella columpnarum quibus sustentantur, et arcum sanctuarii, hystoriis, et ymaginibus, et variis cælaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus, et picturarum, et colorum grata varietate mirabilique decore decoravit. Ipsum quoque corpus ecclesiæ appentitiis et porticibus undique circumcinxit, quæ, miro atque inexplicabili artificio, per parietes et cocleas inferius et superius distinxit. In ipsis vero cocleis, et super ipsas, ascensoria ex lapide, et deambulatoria, et varios viarum amfractus, modo sursum, modo deorsum, artificiosissime ita machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi existere, et ipsum corpus ecclesiæ circumdare possit, cum a nemine tamen infra in eum (*eo*) existentium videri queat.^q Oratoria quo-

own erecting in Bernicia. Lindisfarne, in those days, must have been a very rudely-executed structure.

^o I give the passage in Eddi, so that my reader will at once see to what extent Richard is indebted to him (Appendix, iv, v): "Domum fundavit, cujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum columpnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam, et variis linearium anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum aliquando deorsum, per cocleas circumductam, non est meæ parvitatibus hoc sermone explicare—neque ullam domum aliam, citra Alpes montes, talem ædificatam audivimus."

In the chronicle ascribed to Simeon of Durham (col. 111) it is said of Wilfrid's church at Hexham, "præcellit opus ipsius cœnobii cætera ædificia in gente Anglorum, licet multa sint et inedicibilia in plerisque locis; sed in eo loco longitudines latitudinesque atque pulchritudines excellunt. In quo cœnobio sunt parietes variis coloribus exornati, et historiæ depictæ, sicut supradictus Wilfridus episcopus instituit."

One crypt only is known now, but the words of the chroniclers would imply that others did exist, and perhaps may one day be found. Many of the stones in this crypt are decorated with that curious work which some consider to be Roman. These perhaps are the "lapides mirifice politi," of which Eddi speaks.

^p A tabulatus, or table, is a "horizontal moulding on the exterior or interior face of a mediæval wall, placed at different levels, which forms a basement, separates the stories of a building, and crowns its upper portions." The modern name for it is string-course. Tabulatus, also, means a story, and that probably is the signification here. The author refers to the usual divisions, the arcade, triforium, and clear-story.

^q The cocleæ were the towers, which were ascended by winding stone stairs, and contained rooms and hiding-places in which a little garrison might be safe. The towers of many of the parish churches in Northumberland and Cumberland were used for purposes of defence; upon some of them a beacon used to be placed. Richard had probably seen the abbey-towers crowded when the Scots were close at hand in 1138, and he would learn then how many they could shelter. There were passages from the towers leading in all directions, so that the defenders were able easily "corpus ecclesiæ circumdare."

Instead of "in ipsis vero cocleis," the York MS. reads, "in ipsius vero cocleis."

Malmsbury, speaking of Wilfrid and Hexham, says, "Ibi ædificia minaci altitudine murorum erecta, et diversis anfractibus per cocleas circumducta, mira-

que quam-plurima, superius et inferius, secretissima et pulcherrima, in ipsis porticibus cum maxima diligentia et cautela constituit, in quibus altaria in honore Beatæ Dei genetricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, Sanctique Johannis Baptistæ, et Sanctorum Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, atque Virginum, cum eorum apparatibus, honestissime præparari fecit. Unde etiam, usque hodie, quædam illorum, ut turres et propugnacula, supereminent. Quas autem, et quorum Sanctorum reliquias, et quas et quam religiosas personas, et quantam ministrorum copiam Deo devote servientium ibi congregaverit, et quam magnifice et religiose pretiosis thesauris librorum, vestimentorum, et quorumcumque utensilium, et cæterorum ornamentorum, usui sanctæ ecclesiæ congruentium, ipsam basilicam interius^r ornaverit, nostræ exiguitatis sermociunculus explicare non sufficit. Atrium^s quoque templi magnæ spissitudinis et fortitudinis muro circumvallavit. Præterquam, in alveo lapideo aquæductus, ad usus officinarum, per mediam villam decurrebat.^t Multiplicem autem et copiosissimam ædificiorum structuram, quæ vastatio et vastitas delevit, supersedemus, cum tamen fundamenta plurima adhuc ibi passim reperiantur.” Sicut enim antiquæ Historiæ et Cronica testantur, inter novem^r monasteria, quibus prædictus præsul pater

bile quantum expolivit” (Lel. Coll., ed. 1774, iii., 259). Higden also mentions that there were once at Hexham “artificiosa ædificia Romano more coeleata” (Gale, i., 199).

The word cochlea is a peculiar one, but it is thus satisfactorily explained by Isidore in a passage quoted by Ducange: “Cochlæe sunt altæ et rotundæ turres, et dictæ cochlæe quasi cycleæ, quod in eis, tanquam per circulum orbemque, conscendatur.”

^r Intentius (MS. Ebor.).

^s An atrium, in early Christian times, was the enclosed court which surrounded the principal entrances to a church. This can scarcely be the meaning of the word here.

Another meaning of atrium is a cemetery, and that, I believe, is its meaning here (cf. Ducange sub voce Atr.). Aelred of Rievaulx tells us that the atrium at Hexham was between the east end of the monastery and the church of St. Mary, *i. e.*, at the south-east corner of the Priory, just where the burial-ground generally is, and where, in this particular instance, sepulchral remains of various kinds have been discovered.

^t Some years ago “a connected chain of earthenware pipes lying *in situ*” was found near the Manor office at Hexham. “Two of these are now in Mr. Fairless’ possession.” Dr. Bruce, whose words I am now quoting, considers that these were Roman; Prior Richard says differently.

^u The Saxon conventual buildings seem to have been destroyed by the Danes, or to have perished through the neglect of succeeding years. At the restoration in the twelfth century, in the time of archbishop Thomas Junior, Ailavus “officina lignea propriis construxit manibus” (Aelred).

^v To make up this number we must count *Hexham, Ripon, and York*, in the North. The other six are in the South.

Oundle, where Wifrid died: “monasterium ejus, quod in Undolum positum erat, in quo olim Andreæ Apostoli dedicavit ecclesiam” (Eddi, cap. lxii.).

et patronus præerat, et inter omnia alia totius Angliæ, artificiosa compositione, et eximia pulcritudine, hoc præcellebat. Denique, citra Alpes, nullum tale, tunc temporis, reperiri poterat.¹⁰

[CAP.] IV.

De aliis ecclesiis ejusdem loci; de surdo, muto et tineoso, per miraculum Sancti Johannis sanato.

Sunt autem, præterea, in eadem villa duæ adhuc aliæ ecclesiæ, una haud procul a muro matris ecclesiæ mirandi operis, et ipsa, scilicet, in modum turris erecta, et fere rotunda, a quatuor partibus totidem porticus habens, in honorem Sanctæ Mariæ^x semper

Selsea. "Ibi, fratribus suis congregatis, cœnobium ad requiem fundavit" (Eddi, cap. xl.). "Sedit Wilfridus episcopus in episcopatu de Selesi v annis, scilicet, usque ad mortem Ecfredi regis Northanhimbrorum" (Ann. Winton., apud MSS. Cotton, Vesp., A, xvii., 9 b).

Stamford in Lincolnshire. "Stamforth est cella in honore S. Leonardi per S. Wilfridum primo constructa, post per regem Willelmum Conquestorem, et Willelmum Dunelm. episcopum, Priori et Conventui Dunelm. donata, monachis inhabitanda" (Collect. de Monach. Benedictin. per Joann. Wessington, Prior. Dunelm., sæc. xv., MS. in bibl. Dec. et Capit. Dunelm., B, iii., 30). Bede says that Alefrid gave Wilfrid land in Stanford (v., 19), and Eddi calls the place Æstanforda (cap. viii.). Wessington settles its locality.

Evesham. This is said to have been consecrated by St. Wilfrid in the Life of St. Egwin, bishop of Worcester (Acta SS. ord. S. B., sæc. iii., pars i., 321). This could scarcely be *our* Wilfrid.

Ely. Wilfrid aided Etheldreda in founding her monastery, and brought from the pope "privilegium super Elge monasterium. Attulit de Roma, ad munimentum quorundam cœnobiorum, privilegia, quæ, hactenus diligenter et cum sollicitudine servata, magnam locis firmitatem conferre noscuntur" (Acta SS., ut supra, sæc. iii., pars i., 725).

Medeshamstead. Wilfrid is said to have brought from Rome the papal privilege for this house, and to have witnessed the royal grant to it (Saxon Chron., apud Mon. Hist. Brit., 318, etc.). This passage is considered to be an interpolation.

There is little evidence to regard Wilfrid as the founder of the three last-mentioned monasteries, but Prior Richard would not weigh the proofs very carefully when he said that Wilfrid founded nine houses. It is more probable that he began those at Corbridge and Gateshead.

¹⁰ The words of Malmsbury are to the point, and testify, besides, to the Roman origin of Hexham. He says that Wilfrid built "arbitratu quidem multa proprio, sed et cæmentariorum, quos ex Roma spes munificentiae attraxerat, magisterio. Ferebaturque tunc in populo celebre, scriptisque etiam est inditum, nusquam citra Alpes tale esse ædificium. Nunc qui Roma veniunt idem allegant, ut, qui Hagustaldensem fabricam vident, ambitionem Romanam se imaginari jurent. Adeo tot temporum et bellorum injuriæ vetustatem ædificiis non tulere" (Lel. Coll., iii., 259. This passage does not occur in the printed edition of Malmsbury).

^x The remains of the old church of St. Mary lie at the south-east corner of the chancel of the Priory, and, at one time, when the old school was in existence, there must have been only a very narrow passage between the two buildings.

The church must have been a copy in miniature of some Italian basilica constructed by the masons whom Wilfrid brought with him from Rome. The plan was a simple one. A dome like a tower was in the middle, and at each point of the compass there was an apse; the altar probably would be in the centre. Prior

Virginis dedicata. Altera, in honore Sancti Petri Apostoli, aliquantulum remotior.^y

Est etiam oratorium quoddam in veneratione Sancti Michaelis Archangeli dedicatum, ultra flumen Tine, in monte ripæ ejusdem amnis imminenti, qui Anglicè Erneshou, Latinè Mons Aquilæ, dicitur, ad septentrionem situm.^z Ubi etiam Sanctus

Richard says that it was begun by Wilfrid, and finished by Acca, but Aelred ascribes the work to Wilfrid only. "Construxerat quondam beatus Wilfridus in eodem vico ecclesiam in honore B.V.M., opere rotundo, quam quatuor porticus, quatuor respicientes mundi climata, ambiebant." The church, he also tells us, was destroyed by the Danes, but was restored by a priest of the place (De Sanctis Eccl. Hagust.).

The same writer mentions the church of St. Mary whilst he describes two miracles. In one instance, a young man attempts to enter into the church by shattering the door with a stone, and he is said to have been stricken with madness for his impiety.

Whilst the Priory was undisturbed, St. Mary's church was one of the chapels subordinated to it, having no regular endowment, and being served, in all probability, by one of the canons of the monastery. Before the Reformation, it seems to have been regarded as the parish church of the town, but, after that great change, the want of funds would render it difficult for the townsmen to keep it, as well as the abbey church, in repair. In 1698, therefore, an arrangement was made between the impropiator of the Priory and the inhabitants of Hexham by which St. Mary's was to be suffered to go into decay and the Priory was to take its place; the impropiator taking upon himself the sustentation of the choir, and the parishioners that of the other parts of the church (Wright's History of Hexham, 55).

After this, the old church of St. Mary seems to have been partly destroyed, partly occupied as dwelling-houses. Some arches, seemingly of an early English character (shewing that there had been a restoration in mediæval times), may be observed. Traces of Saxon work have also been discovered. "In 1854, in repairing a house of Mr. Bell, the chemist, in St. Mary's chare, a window of the usual Saxon triangularly-headed form, six feet by seven inches, was laid bare" (Mr. Longstaffe's paper on Hexham). Mr. Fairless has in his possession a piece of a Saxon cross which was found on the site. There is an engraving of this in the Preface.

^y The very site of this church or chapel is unknown. It was not in existence in 1310, when we have a list of the sacred buildings belonging to the Priory in Hexham and its vicinity. Possibly it had been destroyed in some inroad of the Scots, and had not been restored. It is more probable, however, that the canons found that one church was sufficient for the worshippers in Hexham, and that, on that account, the church of St. Peter was allowed to go into decay, just as in later times the old parish church of St. Mary gave way to the Priory.

^z Herneshau (MS. Ebor.), Arneshange, quod interpretatur Mons Aquilæ (Stubbs, col. 1692), Carnesboc (Folcard apud Bolland., sept. Maii). The latter word, by substituting E for C, a manifest error, becomes Earnesboc. The Saxon *boc* is equivalent to the Latin *fagus*. There is now no place of this name near Hexham.

Herneshou, as Richard tells us, was, in his time, on the north side of the Tyne, on the crest of a steep hill overhanging the river, and he tells us elsewhere (De Gestis) that it belonged to the church of Hexham. He says that there was an oratory there dedicated to St. Michael. Bede wrote down an account of the same place from the lips of Bercthun, St. John's deacon:—

"Est mansio quædam secretior, nemore raro et vallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagustaldensi ecclesia, id est, unius ferme milliarium et dimidii spatio interfluente Tino amne separata, habens cœmeterium Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, in

Johannes, primo prædictæ, deinde Eboracensis ecclesiæ episcopus, mutum et tineaosum sanasse legitur.^a Ibi, quoque, Dei

qua vir Dei sæpius, ubi opportunitas adridebat temporis, et maxime in Quadragesima, manere cum paucis, atque orationibus ac lectione quietus operam dare consueverat" (Hist. Eccl., v., 2).

We have here a description of what seems to be an hermitage surrounded by a ditch and a hedge of brushwood, and close to a burial-ground. Bede then goes on to describe the cure of the dumb boy which was wrought here. Folcard says that St. John dedicated in this place a church in honour of St. Michael. This is what Richard in after days called an oratory, ascribing its construction, however, to the pious care of Wilfrid and Acca.

The only church near Hexham, dedicated to St. Michael, is that of Wardon, which is distant about two miles from that town. Wardon church, however, lies at the foot of a steep hill, and not on its crest, and, besides, it is at some distance from the river. It cannot, then, be Erneshow. Again, Prior Richard says that Erneshow in his day belonged to his monastery, from which it was distant about a mile, whereas Wardon was not given to it until some time afterwards.

It seems to me that there is only one place that *can* be Erneshow, and that is St. John's Lee. This place exactly tallies with the descriptions of Erneshow. It lies at the distance of a little more than a mile from Hexham, on a lofty position on the north bank of the Tyne, and the chapel has been subordinated to Hexham from the remotest times. "Capella beati Johannis de Lega," it is called in 1310, thus connecting it at once with John of Beverley. This is no proof, however, that it is dedicated to him; it merely means, I believe, the chapel of St. John's Lee (*Lega*, Saxon, our *lee*). If this conjecture is correct, the patron saint of the chapel is probably not John but St. Michael, and the present fabric is the successor of the oratory of which Prior Richard spoke.

The structure is modern and is beneath criticism, but the spire, for miles around, is a pleasing and conspicuous feature in the landscape. Trees surround the church on every side, but the spire overtops all of them. The burial-ground, which bears many traces of great antiquity, runs to the very verge of the bank, which breaks away abruptly, falling among rocks and shingle. It is the very place for a hermit's cell, and you think of what it was twelve centuries ago, with the eagles swooping to their eyrie over the solitary graveyard.

A grave-cover or two of the usual shape, and decorated with crosses, which are now almost obliterated, are lying about, and in the corner of the cemetery there is an upright stone upon which I can scarcely venture to pass an opinion. It bears the appearance, in some respects, of a Roman altar; it might perhaps be of Saxon workmanship—but—it might also be what remains of a sun-dial set up in the seventeenth century.

Under the crest of the hill, very charmingly situated, is a mansion-house, which in its name of "The Hermitage" appropriately preserves the old traditions of the place.

The word hernesshaw, I must add, also signifies a heron.

^a This is thus described by Bede (Hist. Eccl., v., 2):—

"Cumque, tempore quodam, incipiente Quadragesima, ibidem mansurus adveniret, jussit suis (*suos*) quærere pauperem aliquem majore infirmitate vel inopia gravatum, quem secum habere illis diebus ad faciendam eleemosynam posset: sic enim semper facere solebat.

"Erat autem in villa non longe posita quidam adolescens mutus, episcopo notus (nam sæpius ante illum percipiendæ eleemosynæ gratia venire consueverat) qui ne unum quidem sermonem unquam profari poterat; sed et scabiem tantam et furfures habebat in capite, ut nil unquam capillorum ei in superiore parte capitis nasci valeret, tantum in circuitu horridi crines stare videbantur. Hunc ergo adduci præcipit episcopus, et ei in conseptis ejusdem mansionis parvum tugurium fieri in quo manens quotidianam ab eis stipem acciperet. Cumque una Quadragesimæ esset impleta septimana, sequente Dominica jussit ad se intrare

miseratione, et Sanctorum suorum intercessione, virtutes, et miracula, et morborum curationes, usque hodie crebro fiunt. Unde etiam, moderno tempore, dum David rex Scotiæ, graves inimicitias exercens contra Stephanum regem Angliæ, Northumbriam devastaret, duo Picti de ejus exercitu forte ad idem oratorium venientes, hostium ejusdem fregerunt, et quod ibi invenerunt secum abstulerunt. Sed vindicta Dei non defuit, nam mox, dæmoni traditi, sensu privantur; et, prout furor eorum illos exagitabat, in conspectu omnium passim per nemora et rura discurrentes, alter ipse sibi os primo lapidibus conterens, deinde amputatis femoribus, alter seipsum in Tine fluvium submergens, uterque miserabiliter utraque morte dampnati perierunt.^b Igitur idem locus in magna veneratione habetur, et, cum creberrime aliis temporibus, præcipue tamen in vigilia et natale Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, innumeris tam sanorum quam infirmorum hominum turbis frequentatur.^c A prædicta autem villa quasi per unum miliare distat.

pauperem, ingresso eo linguam proferre ex ore ac sibi ostendere jussit; et adprehendens eum de mento, signum sanctæ crucis linguæ ejus impressit, quam signatam revocare in os, et loqui illum præcepit: 'Dicito,' inquit, 'aliquid verbum, dicito *Gae*,' quod est, lingua Anglorum, verbum affirmandi et consentiendi, id est *etiam*. Dixit ille statim, soluto vinculo linguæ, quod jussus erat. Addidit episcopus nomina litterarum: 'Dicito A;' dixit ille A; 'Dicito B;' dixit ille et hoc. Cumque singula litterarum nomina dicente episcopo responderat, addidit et syllabas ac verba dicenda illi proponere. Et cum in omnibus consequenter responderet, præcepit eum sententias longiores dicere; et fecit: neque ultra cessavit tota die illa et nocte sequente, quantum vigilare potuit, ut ferunt qui præsentibus fuere, loqui aliquid, et arcana suæ cogitationis ac voluntatis, quod nunquam antea potuit, aliis ostendere; in similitudinem illius diu claudi qui curatus ab Apostolis Petro et Johanne, exsiliens stetit et ambulabat; et intravit cum illis in templum ambulans, et exsiliens, et laudans Dominum; gaudens nimirum uti officio pedum, quo tanto erat tempore destitutus. Cujus sanitati congaudens episcopus præcepit medico, etiam sanandæ scabredini capitis ejus curam adhibere.

"Fecit ut jusserat, et, juvante benedictione ac precibus antistitis, nata est cum sanitate cutis venusta species capillorum, factusque est juvenis limpidus vultu et loquela promptus, capillis pulcherrime crispis, qui ante fuerat deformis, pauper, et mutus. Sicque de percepta lætatus sospitate, offerente etiam ei episcopo ut in sua familia manendi locum acciperet, magis domum reversus est."

Folcard gives an abbreviated account of the same miracle. Speaking of the sufferer's head he says, "Pro pilis horrebat raris et hirsutis quasi porcorum setis." There is a touch of poetry in Bede's description of the change in his personal appearance:—

— καὶ δὲ κάρητος

Οὐλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας.

This and other miracles are commemorated by Alcuin in his poem, *De Pont. et SS. Eccl. Ebor.*, and in the *Life of St. John by Folcard*, which is printed by the Bollandists under the 7th of September.

^b Prior Richard has given a much fuller account of this scene in his record of the events of the year 1138 (*De Gestis*, etc.) I also find the story in the *York MS.* of this present chronicle. It stands in it as the last chapter.

^c The 23rd and 24th of June. From the very earliest times it was customary

Has vero tres ecclesias Sanctus Wilfridus incepisse creditur, sed beatæ memoriæ Acca pontifex, successor ejus, illas consummavit; unam, ut supradictum est, ad honorem Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et aliam ad honorem Sancti Michaelis, quia ejusdem Dominae intercessione et ipsius Archangeli visitatione, de quadam sua maxima infirmitate, quam in Gallia apud Meldim^d passus est, convaluit; tertiam vero ad Sancti Petri Apostoli honorem, quia totiens ad ejusdem sedem pro necessitatibus suis remeans, per ipsum ab ipsius successoribus honorifice susceptus, de omnibus injuste sibi adversantium calumpniis cum magno honore est liberatus. Præter has, autem, multas alias, et hostilis crebra destructio, et plurima temporum revolutio consumpsit.

to observe this festival as a kind of religious wake; and as St. John Baptist was regarded as a "lucerna mundi," the use of fire was especially connected with it, partly to keep this in mind, and partly to counteract the supposed agencies of evil spirits, who were said on this night to injure the water in the wells. In Northumberland, during the last century, it was customary for the people to light bonfires on the vigil, and to roam about with blazing torches. In fact, the night was given up to boisterous and roistering merriment, in which the religious element entirely lost its place. Such, probably, to a great extent, was the scene in Prior Richard's days at Erneshow, and the canons, from their monastery across the water, could hear the shouts of the revellers, and watch the torches as they flashed and glimmered among the green leaves amid the twilight of the short night in June.

St. Augustine, in one of his discourses to the people of Hippo (*Orat.*, tom. v., append., *serm.* cclxxvii.), chides them for bathing on St. John's day: "*Hoc enim deprecor, et per tremendum diem judicii vos adjuro, ut omnes vicinos vestros, omnes familias, et cunctos ad vos pertinentes admoneatis, et cum zelo Dei severissime castigetis, ne ulli, in festivitate S. Johannis, in fontibus, aut paludibus, aut in fluminibus, nocturnis aut matutinis horis, se lavare præsumant; quia hæc infelix consuetudo adhuc de Paganorum observatione remansit.*"

This point is also treated of in the work, *De Lustrationibus Veterum*. The whole subject of the observances and excesses, etc., on St. John's day and vigil is entered into at length in that learned treatise, *Pauli M. Paciaudii de cultu S. Johannis Baptistæ Antiq. Christianæ*, 4to, Romæ, 1755; pp. 343—350.

In the *Pœnitentiale* of archbishop Ecgbert a fast of three years is enjoined to those who watch at wells (*Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ii., 211).

^d Meaux, near Paris, which is also called Meldi or Meldum. The story of this incident is told by Eddi in the fifty-fourth chapter of his life of Wilfrid. Wilfrid was returning in 704 or 705 from his last journey to Rome when he fell sick at Meaux, and the Archangel Michael appeared to him and said that four years more should be added to his life. "*Jam enim memento, quod in honore Sancti Petri et Andreæ Apostolorum domos ædificasti: Sanctæ vero Mariæ semper Virgini, intercedenti pro te, nullam fecisti. Habes hoc emendare, et in honorem ejus domum dedicare.*"

And he did so. The date of the commencement of the building of St. Mary's church can thus be fixed between 704 and 709, and it was regarded as a thank-offering. Wilfrid also expressed his gratitude to the Archangel by specially dedicating a church to him. So Richard says, but Folcard tells us that John was the consecrator of that church.

It is worthy of notice that the greater part of the parish churches in Northumberland are under the patronage of SS. Mary, Michael, or Peter.

[CAP.] V.

De pace inviolabili per unum miliare circumquaque ipsius ecclesiæ, et de auctoritatibus, et de confirmationibus archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, et de privilegiis Apostolicorum, de libertatibus regum, de largitionibus principum eidem ecclesiæ collatis, et de terminis episcopatus ecclesiæ ipsius.

Hoc quoque monasterium sæpedictus pater, ex liberalitate et auctoritate regum ac principum, pace excellenter nobilitavit.^e Omnibus namque venientibus et redeuntibus circumquaque, per unum miliare ab ipsa ecclesia, pacem inviolabiliter custodiri, et suo tempore fecit, et posteris contuendam constituit. Quod institutum auctoritate et privilegiis Romanæ sedis Apostolicorum, et archiepiscoporum, et episcoporum, et regum et principum, tam Scotiæ quam Angliæ, confirmatum, (quæ privilegia in eadem sunt ecclesia) hodierno quoque (tempore) immutabiliter conservat, et, Deo propitio, perpetualiter conservabit.^f

Sunt etiam ibi quædam loca a quatuor partibus ipsius ecclesiæ, quæ quasi signa et metæ ipsius pacis publicæ a populo ex

^e We now come to the privilege of sanctuary possessed by Hexham, and which was acquired for that church by Wilfrid himself. It was a prerogative that was frequently troublesome, and as early as 687, the year in which St. Cuthbert died, the inconveniences attending it had been discovered in the North. That Saint, on his death-bed, desired to be buried on one of the desolate islands of Farne, that his brethren might be spared the trouble of interceding for the culprits who would probably flock for protection to his grave (*Vita S. Cuthberti*, apud Bedam, ed. Smith, 257). The privilege, however, had its benefits, especially in a wild and barbarous district, and it spread through the North. York, Hexham, Ripon, Beverley, and other places possessed it. Hexham seems to have acquired the privilege first of all, and it was given to the two last-mentioned places by Athelstan. Around the centre of each of these churches there were six degrees of propinquity, within any of which the fugitive was safe.

The Frithstool, or seat of peace, still remains at Hexham, and I shall elsewhere allude to it, and try to shew where the sanctuary-chamber was. In the last chapter of this account of the church Prior Richard reverts to the subject of the sanctuary, and mentions the penalties to be exacted from those who rescued a fugitive at any one of the six degrees of propinquity.

The names and offences of the sanctuary-men at Durham and Beverley have been preserved, and have been printed by the Surtees Society in their volume, *Sanctuar. Dunelm. et Beverlac.* I have never met with any similar documents in connection with Hexham. We know, however, that the sanctuary in that place was resorted to, probably to too large an extent. In the sixteenth of Edward III., Edward Balliol, king of Scotland, was authorized by the English monarch to carry away for military service in Scotland all the "grithmen" at Beverley, Ripon, Tynemouth, Hexham, and Wetheral (*Rot. Scotiæ*, 16^o Edwardi III., membr. 12).

^f All these grants were probably consumed with the other muniments of the church in 1296. The charter of Henry I., to which I shall allude when we arrive at the last chapter of this work of Prior Richard, enumerates the penalties to be exacted from those who paid no attention to the boundaries. This is preserved at York.

nomine designantur, infra quæ nulli licet aliquem temerario ausu invadere.^g Quam institutionem si forte aliquis temerarius infringere audebit, et magnæ pecuniæ dampno obnoxius erit, et perpetuo anathematis gladio ab ecclesia separabitur, nisi per ipsam ecclesiam ad congruam satisfactionem venerit.^h Unde, ut in gestis antiquorum et modernorum reperiri potest, tempore pacis et belli innumeras hominum catervas, cum eorum substantiis, ab hostili invasione et gladio conservavit.ⁱ

Ut autem quidam ferunt, ab oriente mare, a meridie Tesa fluvijs, ab occidente Wetherhala, a septentrione Alna fluvijs, Haugustaldensis episcopatus termini fuerunt.^j

Prædicto vero patri facile erat in Dei opere tot et tantas impensas facere. Nam cum novem monasteriorum pater, et plurimarum et amplarum et regionum et divitiarum possessor esset, in tanto honore et reverentia habebatur, ut quam-plurimi abbates et abbatissæ se suaque cœnobia suæ custodiæ sub(j)icerent et commendarent: alii vero post mortem suam eum sibi successorem, suisque rectorem substituerent. Insuper etiam insignissimorum principum nobilitas^k filios karissimosque parentes suos ejus urbanitati et sanctitati committebant, ut institutionis suæ eruditione nobilitati in provectiore ætate, aut, secundum doctrinam et consilium sanctissimi præsulis, Deo imperpetuum servirent, aut ad antecessorum suorum dignitates jure successionis promoverentur.^l De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris, ubicumque invenire poterat, cæmentarios, et quoslibet alios industrios artifices, secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat.^m

Ad majorem autem evidentiam, quomodo prædictus pater ad

^g For an account of these crosses, see the last chapter of book ii.

^h These penalties are enumerated in the last chapter of book ii.

ⁱ This makes the privilege of sanctuary at Hexham of great importance. Not only could criminals be protected by it, but it preserved numbers of others from invading armies. This seems to shew that the Tynedale villagers and their substance found safety there when the enemy was in their country, and that the Scottish kings did not interfere with this privilege of Hexham, to which they had themselves accorded their assent.

Richard (De Gestis), whilst detailing the events of the year 1138, says that king David and his son confirmed to Hexham its rights of sanctuary; "illa itaque nobilis basilica, a beato Wilfrido fundata, antiquam consuetudinis dignitatem retinens, in hac et in aliis bellorum et discordiarum tempestatibus, innumeris tam pauperibus quam divitibus facta est tutissimum asilum, quibus vitæ subsidium et rerum suarum conservationem contulit."

^j It extended over the southern portion of Bernicia.

^k This word must be regarded here as a noun of multitude.

^l These few sentences are paraphrased from Eddi, cap. xxi.

^m Eddi (cap. xiv.) speaks of Wilfrid bringing masons with him into the North, as well as other artizans, but he says nothing of their coming from Rome, Italy, or France.

episcopatum accesserit, et in episcopatu se habuerit, breviter et summamⁿ repetatur.

[CAP.] VI.

Quomodo beatus Wilfridus ad episcopatum accesserit, sive in episcopatu se habuerit.

Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXIII^o, regnante Oswio, Colmanno Northanhymbrorum episcopo, de Paschali observantia in communi concilio a Sancto Wilfrido,^o qui tunc temporis presbiter erat,^p superato, et ideo ad patriam suam reverso, Tuda pro eo ordinatur episcopus, sed mox defunctus est.^q Eodem igitur, id est DCLXIII^o Dominicæ Incarnationis, et regni Oswii vicesimo secundo, et ætatis suæ quasi tricesimo anno, unanimi consensu prædicti regis et filii ejus Al(c)fridi, et sapientum regni, in id idem concordante clero et populo, ad Eboracensem ecclesiam Sanctus Wilfridus eligitur, et ab Al(c)frido Gallias mittitur, ut ibi, quod tunc in Anglia non poterat, canonicè episcopalem consecrationem susciperet.^r Qui, jussu regis Franciæ, ad quem missus erat, ab Agilberto, olim Gewisorum, sed tunc Parisiacæ civitatis episcopo, cum eo convenientibus aliis undecim episcopis, in Compendio, regis op(p)ido, cum magno honore consecratus est.^s

Cumque redire tardaret, quidam invidentes beato Wilfrido ob victoriam quam de Colmanno habuit, Oswio regi persuaserunt, ut alium loco ejus episcopum consecrari faceret. Quorum insilio rex infatuatus,^t Ce(a)ddam,^u abbatem cœnobii de Lestinga-

ⁿ Ad summatum (MS. Ebor.).

^o An account of the council at Streanaeshalch and the defeat of Colman is to be found in Bede, iii., capp. xxv., xxvi., and Eddi, cap. x. Richard has derived his information for this and the following chapters from these two authorities.

^p Having been ordained in 664, at the request of Alcfrid, by Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons (Bede, iii., 25. Eddi, ix.).

^q After the retreat of Colman, Tuda succeeded him, but he died in the time of the great plague in 664 (Bede, iii., 27).

^r Alfrid ought properly to be written Alcfrid. Eddi (cap. xi.) describes the unanimity of the election, and Richard follows him.

Bede (iii., 28) tells us that "rex Alchfrid" sent Wilfrid to the French king, saying nothing about Oswiu. Oswiu's subsequent conduct is more readily explained by the assumption that the choice and the mission of Wilfrid were the acts of Alcfrid. Bede calls that prince king because he was deputy or regent in Deira, and he would have, perhaps, in that capacity some independent power, but it could not be great if his appointments could be altered by his father.

^s Eddi, cap. xii. Agilbert did not become bishop of Paris until 665 (Mabillon, Ann. Ben., i., 478). Radulphus de Diceto is the only chronicler who says that Wilfrid was consecrated in 665 (col. 439), and he is probably correct. Bede's words, "propter ordinationem demorante," imply that Wilfrid had some time to wait before the ceremony took place at Compiègne (iii., cap. xxviii.).

^t Bede (iii., 28) merely says, "imitatus industriam filii."

^u This should be Ceaddam, otherwise we may confound Chadd with his brother

ham, ad se vocavit, et eum Cantiam ordinandum misit. Sed archiepiscopo Deus-dedit defuncto, divertens ad Occidentales Saxones, et a Wino,^v eorum episcopo, episcopus ordinatus est, rediensque Eboracensem ecclesiam tribus sublimiter annis rexit.

Verum Sancto Wilfrido (*sic*) secundo post electionem suam anno revertenti, ut rumor innotuit Ce(a)ddam sedis suæ cathedram præoccupasse, nichil omnino turbatus, sed placido vultu et hylari pectore cœnobium suum in Ripun repetiit, ibique, cum magna mentis stabilitate, secretius Deo devote tribus annis servivit; nisi quod quandoque a Wilfario rege Merciorum, et Egberto rege Cantuariorum, ad episcopalia officia in eorum regionibus, quæ tunc episcopis carebant, exercenda, magnis precibus invitabatur.^w

Expleto vero quadriennio, hoc est Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXVIII^o, et regni Oswii vicesimo septimo, et episcopatus Sancti Wilfridi sexto anno, a Vitaliano papa ad Cantuariensem archiepiscopatum consecratus, Theodorus in Angliam venit. Ex cujus jussu, eodem anno, Ce(a)dda ab episcopatu depositus,^x et ad cœnobium suum in Lestingaham redeunte, Sanctus Wilfridus suæ, hoc est Eboracensis, necnon et omnium Northanymbrorum episcopatum^y suscepit curam.

Itaque, eo tempore, ille solus pontifex erat in toto regno regis Oswi,^z id est in tota gente Deirorum et Berniciorum, et etiam super Brittones, et super Scottos de Lindisfarnensi insula, et super Pictos, quia Candida Casa nondum episcopum proprium habuerat.^a

Cedd. Henry of Huntingdon and Brompton fall into the same error, a mistake which is committed by Prior Wessington of Durham in his unpublished history of the origin of the Benedictin order (MSS. Dunelm., B, iii., 30, fol. 18). Fuller reads them a lesson when he says, "Though it be pleasant for brethren to live together in unity; yet it is not fit by error that they should be jumbled together in confusion." (Church History, book ii., 83).

^v Wine (MS. Ebor.).

^w Eddi., capp. xiv., xv. Bede, iv., 2.

^x Eddi, cap. xv., says, "Ceaddam de aliena sede deponi jussit," and Wendover, Malmsbury, and one or two other writers follow in his wake. Eddi, however, also says that Chadd himself consented to Wilfrid's promotion over his head. Wilfrid repaid this generous act by helping on the elevation of Chadd to the see of Lichfield, for which he soon deserted Lastingham.

^y When Chadd was removed there was no other bishop in Northumbria. The word, "episcopatum," therefore seems to be wrong.

^z Bede, iv., 3. Eddi, cap. xxi. Bede says cautiously that Wilfrid was bishop not only of York and of all the Northumbrians "sed et Pictorum, quousque rex Osui imperium protendere poterat." The Britons would be those of Strathclyde.

^a In the life of St. Ninian by Aelred of Rievaulx we read that the Saint "Pictorum conversionem suscepit—cepit deinde sacer pontifex ordinare presbiteros, consecrare episcopos, cæterasque ecclesiasticorum graduum distribuere dignitates, totam terram per certas parrochias dividere" (Vitæ Antiq. SS. per Jo. Pinkertonum edit.—Vita S. Niniani, lib. ii., cap. vi.).

[CAP.] VII.

Quod Sancta Etheldrida dedit Sancto Wilfrido, quem familiariter et specialiter diligebat, Hestoldesham, cum circumjacente regione, quam a rege Ecfrido in dotem acceperat, ut ibi episcopatum sibi faceret.

Interea vero, Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXX^o, et episcopatus Sancti Wilfridi septimo, et regni sui vicesimo nono anno, mortuus est rex Oswius, cui, eodem anno, filius ejus rex Egfridus in regnum successit. Hic beatam Etheldridam, ut prædictum est, nomine tenus, conjugem duxerat. Hæc vero, assensu regis mariti sui, circa regni ejusdem tertium, et circa Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXIII^m, et circa episcopatus sui decimum annum, dedit Sancto Wilfrido, quem familiariter et specialiter diligebat,^b Hestaldesham, cum circumjacente regione, quam a rege Egfrido in dotem accepisse creditur, ut ibi episcopatum sibi faceret. Quod et ipse, sicut supradictum est, fecit. Ipsa vero, perpetuæ virginitatis integritate servata, postquam duodecim annis præfato regi sic copulata fuerat, vix impetrata licentia ab eo, suscepto habitu religionis a Sancto Wilfrido, effecta est sanctimonialis in cœnobio Ebbæ, ipsius regis amitæ.^c

The first bishop of the Picts that authentic history mentions was Trumwine, who was appointed in 681 (Saxon Chron., 321). Bede speaks of him with much respect in his life of St. Cuthbert. Trumwine retired to the monastery of Streanaeshalch in 685, having been driven from his diocese by war (Bede, iv., 26). He died there, and his bones were afterwards translated (Lel. Coll., iii., 259).

The first bishop of Candida Casa, or Whitherne, was Pecthelm. Bede observes that he was there in 731, and says of the seat of his episcopate, "quæ nuper multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in sedem pontificatus addita, ipsum primum habet antistitem" (v., 23). Pecthelm died in 735, and was succeeded by Frithwald (Flor. Wigorn., i., 54).

^b Before Etheldreda wished to take the veil, she and her husband were "in unum Wilfrido episcopo in omnibus obedientes facti" (Eddi, cap. xix.).

As long as the good queen lived, her connection with Wilfrid was maintained. He admitted her into the nunnery at Coldingham (Bede, iv., 19). When she went to Ely he made her abbess, and officiated when the nuns took the veil, because "familiarior ei extitit" (Hist. Eliensis, apud Gale, i., 510), and he aided her in founding and arranging her monastery; and, after he was driven from the North by Egfrid, "apud Ely cum beatissima Etheldreda morabatur, ubi tunc, et quoties necessitas proposcerat, quoad vixit, officii jura episcopalis administravit." (Vita S. Etheldritæ, apud Acta SS. ord. S.B., ed. 1733, sæc. iii., pars ii., 725), and (ibid., 722) "Solus Wilfridus pontifex, quem virgo regina præ omnibus in regno dilectum et electum habuerat, suis tunc necessitatibus provisorem habuit." Much of what Bede says about Etheldreda was told to him by Wilfrid himself (iv., 19).

^c This account of the chastity of the queen was given to Bede by Wilfrid (Bede, iv., 19). He said that Egfrid promised him money and lands, if he could induce the queen to change her resolve "rex vero tandem victus ipsius (reginæ) importunis precibus, licet invit, tamen eam dimisit invincibilem" (Vita S. Etheldritæ, *ut supra*, 717).

The nunnery which Ebba ruled was Coldingham.

Post hanc autem accepit rex Ermenburgam in conjugem. In cujus corde sathanas, contra prædictum episcopum odiorum et invidiæ fomenta conflans, per linguam ipsius, usque ad expulsionem pontificis, animum regis accendit.^d

[CAP.] VIII.

De prima expulsionem Sancti Wilfridi, Eboracensis archiepiscopi.^e

Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXVIII^o, et regni Egfridi octavo, et sui pontificatus quintodecimo, ab Egfrido rege de episcopatu suo Sanctus Wilfridus pulsus est,^f et octo annis exulavit. Interim vero in loco ejus a Theodoro duo episcopi ordinantur, Bosa ad Eboracensem, et Eata ad Haugustaldensem et pariter ad Lindisfarnensem, et utrasque simul tribus annis rexit. Sed, expleto triennio, ad solam Lindisfarnensem remansit, et eam tribus annis et dimidio gubernavit.

Iste vero Eata magnæ sanctitatis et religionis vir erat, et abbas cœnobii Mailrosensis, et in magna veneratione et auctoritate, et inter servos Dei et inter potentes sæculi, habebatur. Erant quoque in consortio, cui ille præerat, quam-plurimi sancti viri, sed Boisilus, sub eo præpositi officio fungens, virtutum culminibus et spiritu prophetiæ pollens,^g inter cæteros fratres præeminebat.

^d See Eddi, cap. xxiv.

^e As Wilfrid never received the pall, he was only bishop of York, and was never archbishop of the Northumbrians.

^f Bede (iv., 12) uses the words, "pulsus est," and in the Saxon Chronicle it is said that he was banished (Mon. Hist. Brit., 321.) Eddi (cap. xxiv.) leads us to infer that Wilfrid left the country not by constraint, but to prosecute his appeal at Rome.

The first scheme for the division of Northumbria was this. Eata, abbat of Lindisfarne, became bishop in Bernicia, having his seat at Lindisfarne or Hexham, as Richard says, but this is doubtful. Bosa became bishop of Deira and resided at York, and Eadhead bishop of Lindsey.

In 681 Northumbria was contracted towards the South by the loss of Lindsey, and Bernicia and Deira were subdivided. Eadhead became bishop of Ripon, sharing thus with Bosa the spiritual rule of Deira. In Bernicia the bishopric of Lindisfarne was continued in the person of Eata, whilst Trumbriht was made bishop of Hexham. A person of the name of Trumwine became at the same time bishop of the Picts.

About Eata and Boisil I shall speak elsewhere.

^g Taken from Bede, Hist., iv., 27.

[CAP.] IX.

Quoto anno ab Incarnatione Domini Sanctus Cuthbertus ad conversionem venit, et quomodo sanctus abbas Eata ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem ad regendum, sicut Mailrosensem, recepit, et qualiter Sanctum Cuthbertum de Melros ad Ripum transtulit, ac deinde ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, ubi in Prioris auctoritate præesset, redire fecit.

Igitur, fama bonitatis eorum cognita, Sanctus Cuthbertus,^h anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLII^o, et regni Oswii nono, eorum



^A The great saint of the North of England comes now upon the scene, a man full of humility in his day, an ascetic and something more, lowly in his own eyes, but great in those of his contemporaries, and greater far in the posthumous fame which was accorded to him. Wilfrid with his stout heart and his dazzling virtues pales altogether before the gentle and retiring holiness of Cuthbert, and there is no other person to whose piety, example, and renown the Northern Church is under greater obligations than to him. The number of biographers that he found is one of the surest evidences of his influence and greatness. Many of their works are in print, although not all, but it would be waste of space here were I to dilate upon a theme so large and so attractive. Of all the lives of Cuthbert that have been written the most pleasing is that by Bede. It is a very touching and a charming narrative, for there was much in Cuthbert's character and life that found its echo in the Venerable Bede, one of the most delightful of writers, and one of the holiest and most lovable of men.

To myself the name of Cuthbert will always have a peculiar charm. No one can forget it who has been nurtured under the shadow of that church in which he sleeps. Haply there would have been in Durham, if he had never

rested there, but wood and rock and water, fair indeed as they must have been at all times, yet not so fair as they are now when a religious influence has invested them with a new beauty. All the natural objects that are around you seem to be conscious of that influence, and it was this feeling, as well as the similarity in outline and feature, that has given to Durham for centuries the name of the English Sion. Those walls and towers with which the grey rock is crowned are surely meant "to stand fast for ever," and if peace and stillness are not here, where are they to be found? One there was, not yet forgotten, to whom all these things gave of their inspiration; one who was an honour to St. Cuthbert's church while

exemplo et doctrina imbui cupiens, in Meilrosensi monasterio factus est monachus. Huic quoque Eata^k, pro bonitatis et sanctitatis reverentia, rex Oswius, post mortem Tudæ episcopi, fratres Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ commendaverat, ut sicut Mailrosensi, ita et Lindisfarnensi monasterio, abbatis jure, præesset. Unde et Sanctum Cuthbertum, utpote monachum suum, primo transtulit de Mailros ad ecclesiam suam quam ei rex Al(c)fridusⁱ dederat in Ripum, deinde ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, ut Prioris auctoritate præesset, sicut in Vita ejus legitur.^j

Hic igitur beatus pater et episcopus Eata^k venerandus, postquam, ut supradictum est, ad solum Lindisfarnensem episcopatum regendum remansit, ad Haugustaldensem ordinatus est pro eo Tunbertus;^l cui, cum tribus annis præfuisset, depositus est.

he loved and honoured it. He is resting now, in accordance with his dearest wish, in the sacred earth upon that holy hill, for his pilgrimage also is over, and his wanderings are at an end.

ⁱ This should be Alfrid.

^j The Irish origin which is assigned to Cuthbert seems to be altogether fictitious. He was a shepherd on the banks of the Leader, and the cravings after the diviner life reached him among his flocks and herds, till he was drawn on, as it were by an angel's hand, to seek after it in the cloister and cells of Melrose. Boisil was there, overjoyed to welcome him, and Eata was the abbat of the house in which he took the vows. Some time after this Cuthbert and his superior went to Ripon to establish a monastery which Alfrid wished to found, but in 661 the two were sent back to Melrose. Wilfrid was their successor, with his Roman views of discipline. If they had been permitted to remain in that place, it may haply be that the church of Durham would never have existed.

Some years passed away at Melrose, and then Eata sent his monk to Lindisfarne to instruct the brethren of that house in the rules and discipline which Wilfrid had brought in, and which Eata and Cuthbert had now adopted. Cuthbert had a very difficult task, but he did what was required of him. For many years he acted as Prior of Lindisfarne, residing within the walls of that house, or leading the life of an ascetic upon one of the adjacent islands. So lonely they were that the credulous monks believed that they were haunted by evil spirits before the Saint arrived. A more desolate place it is impossible to imagine, and the rough and dangerous seas made it almost inaccessible. Rock and sand and sea-gulls were Cuthbert's sole companions, but the ducks and birds that were around him soon discovered that he was a friend. It was from this retreat that Cuthbert was torn away in 685 to become the bishop of Lindisfarne.

The "Vita" to which Richard alludes is no doubt that by Bede.

^k This word is not in MS. Ebor.

^l The Saxon Chronicle calls him Trumbriht, and says that he was deposed from his bishopric in 685 (321. Bedæ, Hist., iv. 28). The cause of his removal is not mentioned, but the sentence was probably confirmed at the synod at Twyford. In the Life of Eata Trumbriht's fault is said to have been "quædam inobedientia."

[CAP.] X.

Quomodo Sanctus Cuthbertus ad ecclesiam Haugustaldensem electus sit, et quare Lindisfarnensem recepit, et [de] quatuor Sanctis, episcopis, qui contemporanei fuerunt.

Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXXIII^o, regni vero Egfridi quartodecimo, monachatus sui tricesimo quinto, anachoreseos nono, hoc est anno proximo post depositionem Tunberti, electus est pro eo, circa hyemem, ad eandem, id est Haugustaldensem ecclesiam, Sanctus Cuthbertus:^m sed quia ille maluit ei præfici in qua conversatus fuerat, venerabili Eata, episcopo et abbate suo, reverso ad Haugustaldensem, ad quam primo, ut prædictum est, episcopus ordinatus fuerat, in Paschali sollempnitate, Eboraci, in præsentia regis Egfridi, a Theodoro ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam ordinatur.ⁿ

Hoc eodem anno, rege Egfrido circa Pentecosten occiso, mox frater suus nothus Al(d)fridus pro eo regnavit.^o Hujus autem regni principio, id est Domini Incarnationis DCLXXXV^o, defuncto venerabili Eata et in Haugustaldensi ecclesia honorifice sepulto,

^m Cuthbert was appointed to the vacant see of Hexham by king Egfrid at a synod which was held under the presidency of archbishop Theodore (at) Adtufyrði (Twyford), on the banks of the river Alne in Northumberland (Bedæ, Hist., iv., 28. Saxon Chron., 321).

The Saint was not present at the synod, for he was watching and praying, and pursuing the simple round of his daily avocations in his cell upon one of the Farne islands. He had for many years been horror-stricken at the idea that one day a bishopric might be forced upon him, as solitude had charms for him which worldly honours and distinctions could never bring. His wishes could not fail to be known to many present at the synod, and the difficulty would be to induce him to accept the proffered honour. Messengers and letters were sent to Farne, but without effect, and at last, determined to be victorious, Egfrid himself, accompanied by Trumwine bishop of the Picts, and other good and great men, sailed over the wintry sea to the cell of the recluse. It was with the utmost difficulty that they prevailed upon Cuthbert to return with them to the synod; but their entreaties and tears and adjurations were at last successful, and he went. He was most reluctantly persuaded to accept the proposed charge, but it would have broken his heart to desert Lindisfarne and its rocks and sea for the strange but more tranquil scene on the banks of the Tyne. It was happily in the power of the king and the prelates to consult the wishes of the recluse. Eata was then bishop of Lindisfarne, and, notwithstanding his own predilections for that place, he consented to give it up to Cuthbert and go to Hexham himself.

Cuthbert was only at Lindisfarne for two years, and he then returned to his solitude at Farne to spend two months in his old cell and then to die.

ⁿ This sentence is taken from the Eccl. History of Bede, iv., 28. Some months elapsed before the consecration took place: "Nec tamen statim ordinatio, sed, peracta hieme quæ imminabat, expleta est" (Vita S. Cuthb. apud Bedam, ed. Smith, p. 248). Flor. Wigorn., i., 38. Cf. Simeonis Hist. S. Cuthberti, col. 68.

^o On the 20th of May, Egfrid was slain near the north sea and a great army with him (Saxon Chron., 322. Bede, iv., 26), fighting against the Picts.

episcopatum ejus suscepit Sanctus Johannes, cui uno anno præfuit.^p

Secundo autem anno regni Al(d)fridi, qui est etiam secundus annus ordinationis Sancti Cuthberti, contemporanei pontifices fuerunt idem Sanctus Cuthbertus et Sanctus Wilfridus. Uno enim tempore isti quatuor Sancti pontifices fuerunt, Wilfridus Eboracensis, Cuthbertus Lindisfarnensis, Eata Haugustaldensis, et, ei succedens, Johannes.^q

[CAP.] XI.

Quomodo Sanctus Wilfridus, post expletionem octo annorum primæ expulsionis suæ, episcopatum Hagustaldensem recepit; Sanctus vero Johannes, de Hagustaldensi ecclesia translatus, Eboracensem suscepit.

Igitur, eodem anno, expletis octo annis primæ expulsionis suæ a Roma, Britanniam reversus Sanctus Wilfridus, auditis epistolis Apostolici Agathonis, sedem et episcopatum suum Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ recepit.^r Sanctus vero Johannes, de Haugustaldensi translatus, Eboracensem ecclesiam regendam pro defuncto Bosan suscepit, eamque laudabiliter triginta tribus annis rexit.^s

^p There are some chronological difficulties here, and I must take this opportunity of correcting one or two errors into which I have fallen in my life of St. John of Beverley in the *Fasti Ebor.* (i., 85-6).

At the beginning of the year 685 Cuthbert was bishop at Lindisfarne, Eata at Hexham, and Bosa at York.

Aldfrid came to the Northumbrian throne in the spring of 685, and in the beginning of his reign Eata died, and John succeeded him (*Bede*, v., 2. *Saxon Chron.*, 322. *Flor. Wigorn.*, i., 39), and held the see, as Richard says, for a year.

At the end of the first year of John's episcopate, Wilfrid returned from his exile, and Aldfrid seems to have given up to him at once the monastery of Hexham and its possessions, John losing his post. Soon afterwards, the council at Edwine's path took place, the end of which was that Wilfrid also recovered his monastery at Ripon, and the see of York, from which Bosa was obliged to retire (*Eddi*, cap. xlii. *Flor. Wigorn.*, i., 39).

Cuthbert all this time was bishop of Lindisfarne. On the 20th of March, 687, he died, and Wilfrid ruled his see for a year till his successor Eadbert was appointed (*Bede*, iv., 29. *Simeon*, *Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, ed. Bedford, 55).

In 692 Wilfrid was again driven into exile, and Bosa became bishop of York, dying in that post in 705. John also went to Hexham as bishop, but it is possible that Wilfrid allowed him to act there in that capacity before he left Northumbria. At the death of Bosa in 705 John left Hexham for York.

^q I do not see under what possible system of chronology it can be made out that Wilfrid, Cuthbert, and Eata held these sees at one and the same time. It might indeed be said that they were bishops at the same time.

^r See the note on the chronology appended to the preceding chapter.

^s This is an error. John did not become bishop of York until 705, Bosa not dying before that year.

Wharton is wrong when he says that Bosa died in 687 (*Anglia Sacra*, i., 695),

Deinde, cum pro majore ætate episcopali officio minus sufficeret, ordinato in episcopatu Eboracensis ecclesiæ Wilfrido presbytero suo,^t ipse ad monasterium suum, quod apud Beverli^u in silva Deirorum est, secessit, ibique Deo digna conversatione tribus annis in pace majori vivens, anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCXI^o, regni vero Osrici tertio,—nonas Maii, beato fine quievit in Domino, sepultusque est in eodem monasterio in porticu Sancti Petri.^v

[CAP.] XII.

De secunda expulsionem Sancti Wilfridi, exultatione et revocatione, ac ejus felici morte.

At beatæ recordationis supradictus Wilfridus, post quinque annos, præfato rege, scilicet Al(d)frido, et plurimis episcopis eum falso accusantibus de transgressionem præceptorum Theodori Cantuariensis^u archiepiscopi, item de præsulatu suo pulsus est. Interim vero Sanctus Johannes utramque ecclesiam, scilicet

and Smith, the learned editor of Bede, follows him (Bede, v., 3). This blunder is corrected by George Smith, the doctor's equally learned son (ibid., 759), but it is unfortunately perpetuated in the edition of Bede in the Mon. Hist. Brit., 233.

Bosa was addressed by name in the papal letter which Wilfrid brought with him when he returned last from Rome in 704 or 705, so that he was alive when it was written (Eddi, cap. lii.), and it may be inferred from cap. lviii. that he was living at the time of the synod on the banks of the Nidd.

^t This occurred in 718. From Chron. Saxon., 322. Bede, v., 6. Folcard, apud Acta SS., mense Maio. Alcuin says that Wilfrid had been the "vice-dominus et abbas" of the monastery at York (De Pontif. apud Gale, i., 724). Wilfrid was the preost, presbyter, or capellanus, of John; and Mabillon says that he had been one of Hilda's pupils (Ann. Ben., i., 474). This information he derives from a passage in Bede, iv., 23.

^u Berterlie (MS. Ebor.); an error which shews that this MS. was not written by a Yorkshire scribe. Every Yorkshireman would be familiar with the name of Beverley.

^v John went to Inderawood or Beverley,—a monastery of which he was the founder.

In the MS. there is a blank before the word nonas, as if there were some doubt or omission. The seventh of May, however, was observed as the day of John's deposition.

The Saxon Chronicle says that John was a bishop thirty-three years eight months and thirteen days (327), and that he rests at Beverley,

"Li bons Johans idonc transi,
Celui ki gist a Beverli."

(Gaimar, apud Mon. Hist. Brit., 785). Cf. Bedam, v., 6. Hickesii Dissert. Ep., 118; where there is a list of the resting-places of the Saints.

Folcard (Acta SS., Bollandists) says that John was buried in the porch of St. John the Evangelist. I have given an account of the discovery of his remains in the Fasti Ebor. (i., 89-90).

^u Eboracensis (MS. Ebor.). This is not a mere blunder, for Simeon in his Hist. S. Cuthberti (col. 68), gives Theodore the same title. Whilst Theodore administered the affairs of the Northern province, this title, in one sense, might be applied to him.

Eboracensem et Hagustaldensem, procuravit:^x sed postquam tredecim annis secundo exulavit, a Romana sede item Angliam remeans, lectis literis Johannis papæ, Al(d)frido mortuo, et Osredo filio suo pro eo regnante, primo anno regni ipsius præsulatum suum in Haugustaldensi ecclesia honorifice recuperavit;^y sicque quatuor annis in pace transactis, quadraginta quinque annos in episcopatu habens, in monasterio suo in provincia Undalum, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis dccix^o, et regni Osredi quinto, feliciter agonem suum consummavit in Domino; corpusque ejus ad ecclesiam suam in Ripum perlatum, ibidem, juxta altare beati Petri Apostoli, ad austrum, positum est.^z

[CAP.] XIII.

Recapitulatio annorum prædictorum sanctorum episcoporum, Johannis et Wilfridi.

Fuerunt itaque anni vitæ Sancti Wilfridi circiter septuaginta quinque annos, præcessitque in episcopatu Sanctum Johannem supra-memoratum viginti duobus annis, manseruntque simul in episcopatu viginti tribus annis. Postquam vero defunctus est Sanctus Wilfridus, supervixit Sanctus Johannes in episcopatu quidem decem annis et sex mensibus et tredecim diebus, de quibus nulla mentio fit in compoto annorum in Historia Anglorum.^a Forsitan ideo quia non conficiunt annum. Postquam vero episcopatum dimisit, ut prædictum est, tribus annis privatam egit vitam.

Quod autem sic se habuerint isti patres, et per annos episcopatum suorum et regum, et per annos de ordinatione Sancti Wilfridi et de morte Sancti Johannis suprapositos, et in Historia Anglorum annotatos, evidentissime probari potest. Si quis autem eorum vitam plenius nosse desiderat, vel Historias Anglorum, vel libellos de vita ipsorum conscriptos legere vel audire studeat.^b

^x There is no evidence for this statement. John was not bishop of York until 705.

^y The return of Wilfrid from Rome may be stated, in round numbers, to have taken place in 705. Hexham and Ripon were given up to him, John having been removed to York to supply the place of Bosa. There is an account of the last years of Wilfrid's life in Bede, v., 19, and Eddi, 58-62. He died, as is well known, at his monastery of Oundle on the 12th of October, 709.

^z Bede, v., 19. Mr. Walbran says (Church of Ripon, 96): "After the extension of the old presbytery, the shrine of St. Wilfrid was removed to the eastern extremity of the north side of the choir, where Leland saw it, shortly before the Reformation, under the arch by the high altar." "Reliquiæ ejus sub arcu prope magnum altare nunc sublatae" (Itin., viii., 21-2).

^a i. e., in Bede.

^b Richard here briefly refers to his authorities. The Historia Anglorum is

[CAP.] XIV.

Quando Sanctus Acca presbyter, vir strenuissimus, coram Deo et hominibus magnificus, ecclesiam Hagustaldensem suscepit, et quam mirifico ac multifario decore adornavit, et magnificis muneribus ampliavit.^e

Suscepit vero eodem, id est dccix^o Dominicæ Incarnationis, et regni Osridi quinto anno, pro Sancto Wilfrido, episcopatum Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ Acca, presbyter ejus, vir et ipse strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus,^d qui et ipsius ecclesiæ suæ, quæ in beati Andreæ Apostoli honorem consecrata est, ædificium multifario decore ac magnificis ampliavit operibus.^e

Dedit namque operam ut, acquisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum Apostolorum et Martyrum Christi, in veneratione illorum poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros ejusdem ecclesiæ.^f Sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum cæteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam^g fecit; nec-

the Ecclesiastical History of Bede. The life of Wilfrid is that by Eddi, of which Richard makes great use.

Leland (Coll., ed. 1774, iv., 99-104) gives extracts from a life of St. John. That by Folcard was written in the eleventh century, and Richard, probably, had seen it.

^c With the exception of the date at the beginning, the whole of this chapter, as far as the words "utilia didicit," is taken from Bede, v., 20.

^d Some space is devoted to Acca, the companion of Wilfrid in his travels and disasters, and his chosen successor at Hexham. Upon Acca devolved the task of completing what Wilfrid, the great designer, had begun, and he did his work well, for he was a man of taste and a scholar.

^e Opibus (MS. Ebor.). Richard has already told us (cap. iv.) that Acca finished the churches of SS. Mary, Peter, and Michael which Wilfrid begun; Bede now speaks of what he did to the Priory.

If "opibus" is the true reading, the writer would have us infer that Acca spent upon Hexham the treasure which Wilfrid bequeathed to the head of that house (Eddi, cap. lx.). It is probable enough that Acca himself was the ruler of that monastery under Wilfrid, as Bede calls him an abbat when he dedicates to him his Hexameron (Bede Opp., ed. 1563. iv., 2).

Eddi speaks thus of Acca's work (cap. xxii.): "Porro beatæ memoriæ, adhuc vivens gratia Domini, Acca episcopus qui magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus de auro et argento, lapidibusque pretiosis, et quomodo altaria purpura et serico induta decoravit, quis ad explanandum sufficere poterat?"

^f The relics, probably, had been collected abroad, and there is a passage in Eddi (cap. liii.) which shews that Wilfrid and Acca did not return to Hexham empty-handed in 704 or 5: "Ille autem sanctus pontifex—cum sociis loca Sanctorum circumiens, moreque suo ab electis viris sanctas reliquias nominatim congregans, aliaque indumenta purpurea et serica ad ornamenta ecclesiarum lucratus, cum benedictione Sanctorum patriam remeavit."

All these things must have been destroyed by the Danes.

^g Aelred speaks of the "nobilissima bibliotheca," and says that it perished in the Danish invasion. Would that these treasures, as well as those at York, had

non et vasa sancta, et luminaria, aliaque hujusmodi, quæ ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime paravit.

Cantorem, quoque, nomine Mafan,^h qui a successoribus discipulorum beati papæ Gregorii, in Cantia fuerat cantandi sonos edoctus, ad se suosque instituendos accersivit, ac per annos duodecim tenuit, quatinus et ea quæ illi non noverant carmina ecclesiastica doceret; et ea, quæ quondam cognita longo usu vel negligentia inveterare cœperunt, hujus doctrina pristinum renovantur in statum.ⁱ Nam et ipse venerabilis episcopus Acca cantator^j erat peritissimus, quomodo etiam in litteris sacris doctissimus, et in Catholicæ fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticæ quoque institutionis regulis solertissimus extiterat, et, usque dum præmia piæ devotionis acciperet, existere non destitit, utpote qui a pueritia in clero sanctissimi ac Deo dilecti Bosan, Eboracensis archiepiscopi, nutritus atque eruditus fuit. Deinde ad Wilfridum episcopum, spe melioris propositi, adveniens, omnem in ejus obsequio, usque ad obitum illius, explevit ætatem. Cum quo etiam Romam veniens, multa illic quæ in patria nequiverat, ecclesiæ sanctæ institutioni utilia didicit, et suis subjectis tradidit.

been carried off by the successful invaders, as they have been in other countries, and not committed to the flames.

Bede says little of the character of the library, about which, no doubt, he would often talk with Acca. He mentions only the Lives of the Saints, and the rest of the collection is passed over in a general way.

There would be MSS. which Wilfrid had acquired, haply as precious as the Evangelisterium, written in letters of gold and enclosed within a golden case, which that bishop gave to his church at Ripon (Eddi, cap. xvii.). The church of York possessed at the Dissolution two texts or copies of the Gospels which had belonged to the same Saint (Fabric Rolls of York Minster, 221-3), in the side of one of which there was a crucifix inserted, and both were richly ornamented with silver and gold (Hist. Mon. de Abingdon, ii., 47). If York and Ripon were thus favoured, Hexham assuredly would not be passed over.

Bishop Acca in a letter to Bede makes quotations from several classical authors, and refers to more than one of the Fathers (Bedæ Opp., ed. 1563, v., 175-7). Of course he may have seen these works when he was in Italy with Wilfrid, but it is much more probable that he had them in the library at Hexham.

^h In Bede the name is Maban.

ⁱ The passage which begins here and runs as far as "utilia didicit et suis subjectis tradidit," is in the chronicle ascribed to Simeon of Durham, col. 101. The last four words do not occur in Bede. It must be observed that Bosa was bishop, not archbishop, of York.

^j Wilfrid was especially wishful to improve the church music in the North. James the Deacon, the companion of Paulinus, is the first teacher of harmony in Northumbria that Bede mentions, "magister ecclesiasticæ cantionis juxta morem Romanorum seu Cantuariorum multis cœpit existere" (Bede, i., 20).

Eddi, Wilfrid's chaplain, was brought by him out of Kent to be the "cantandi magister Nordanhymbrorum ecclesiis" (Bede, iv., 3).

The monks of Wearmouth were taught singing by a great authority whom the pope had sent with Benedict Biscop from Rome, John, the "archicantator," as he was called (Bede, iv., 18, and Hist. Abb. Wiremuth., 295). He died in France, and was buried in the famous abbey of St. Martin at Tours.

Hucusque verba Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri de eo quem miro venerationis et dilectionis affectu excolebat et amplectebatur. Unde etiam, precibus et epistolari ex(h)ortatione ipsius episcopi provocatus, et propter ipsum, et ad ipsum, Explanatorem super Lucam et Marchum Evangelistas, et quædam alia, scripsisse cognoscitur.^k Rexit autem prædictam ecclesiam viginti quatuor annis.

^k Bede made his Commentary on St. Mark's Gospel at the suggestion of bishop Acca, and addressed him in the prologue. He says there that he wrote the work, "tuo, dilectissime antistitem, Acca, necnon et aliorum fratrum plurium, communitus hortatu" (Bedæ Opp., ed. 1563, v., 2). After this was done, Bede wished modestly to stop, because St. Luke's Gospel had been commented on by St. Ambrose. Upon this Acca wrote to him the following letter (ibid. v., 175-7), which shews that the bishop was not only acquainted with the Fathers, but also with the classical authors.

"Epistola adhortatoria Accæ episcopi ad Bedam presbyterum.

"Reverendissimo in Christo fratri, et consacerdoti, Bedæ presbytero, Acca, perpetuam in Domino salutem.

"Sæpe quidem tuæ sanctæ fraternitati et, absens scribendo, et conloquendo præsens, suggessi, ut, post Expositionem Actuum Apostolorum, in Evangelium quoque Lucæ scribere digneris. Quod ipse hactenus verecunda excusatione differre, quam facere, maluisti; attestando te, duas maxime ob causas, a tentando hoc opere deterritum. Quia, videlicet, et ipsum opus arduum, et a sanctissimo ac doctissimo antistite Ambrosio sit præoccupatum. Nec te negotium vires tuas excedens suscipere ausum, immo nec opus fore ab ullo repeti, quod a summo ingenio constaret optime completum; et esse laboris superflui, post fortissima tanti viri dicta, vel eadem aliter quasi compilatorem dicere, vel quasi minus doctum infirmiora velle subjicere. Teque multum timere, ne in reprehensionem studii veterum nova condere puteris, dicaturque tibi illud antiqui proverbii,

*In mare quid pisces, quid aquas in flumina mittas?
Larga sed indignis munera funde locis.*

Sed hujus objectioni tuæ breviter respondeo, quia juxta Comicum, *Nihil sit dictum quod non sit dictum prius*: et quod *charitas omnia sustinet*, nec Sanctis unquam moris fuerit invicem invidere, invicem provocare, sed unumquemque in ornanda domo Domini pro viribus suis obtulisse quod potuerit. Neque enim, vel beatus papa Gregorius timuit, ne offenderet Patres a quibus tot expositas Evangelii lectiones in suis ipse retractavit Homiliis, vel Augustinus, aut quilibet alius Patrum, antecedentium tractatorum intuitu, ne aut Psalmos, aut alia quæ rogabatur exponeret, aut, quæcumque sibi videbantur scriberet, manum metuendo retraxit. Quin etiam (ut idem Augustinus ait) *ideo necesse est plures a pluribus fieri libros diverso stylo, sed non diversa fide*; etiam de quæstionibus eisdem, ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat, ad alios sic, ad alios autem sic. Sunt autem quædam in Expositione beati Ambrosii in Lucam, tam diserta simul et excelsa, (quod tuam quoque sanctitatem vidisse non ambigo) ut a doctoribus solum intelligi queant; a rudibus vero fastidiosive lectoribus (quales in præsentī ævo plures invenies) præ difficultate, vel adsequendi quæ diserta sunt, vel capiendi quæ alta, ne quærenda quidem quasi se celsiora, nec quasi se fortiora putentur esse scrutanda. Nec parum dedit judicii doctissimus pater Augustinus, qui ad Paulinam, Dei famulam, de videndo Deo scribens, non aliis magis quam ex hoc opusculo, sumptis beati Ambrosii testimoniis, utendum putavit; et ea pariter non solum ponenda simpliciter, sed etiam exponenda judicavit, adeo ut, ex paucissimis memorati tractatoris sententiis, non parvum volumen retractando confecerit.

"Quod ideo commemorandum putavi, ut, et tua sancta fraternitas, et legentes, simul agnoscerent. Volo enim, completo a te per Dei auxilium opere quod postulo, hanc simul epistolam in capite præponi, te, non ob aliam quam condescen-

[CAP.] XV.

Quomodo Sanctus Acca episcopus, de sede sua effugatus sit, et quod, in testimonium sanctitatis ejus, sudarium, casula et tunica, quibus corpus ejus involutum fuerat, cum pristina pulcritudine et fortitudine, post multa temporum curricula, reperta sunt.

Anno vero Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXXXII^o, et regni Ceolvulfi quarto, et episcopatus sui vicesimo quarto, de sede sua fugatus est, et, ut quibusdam videtur, postea octo annis vixit.¹

sionis fraternæ gratiam, in Lucam scribere rogatum, ut qui ob teneritudinem ingenii sublimia vel difficilia intellectu capere nequeant, hæc simpliciori stylo exposita facilius apprehendant.

"Ergo, age, dilectissime, memorato operi sedulus insiste, beatum Lucam luculento sermone expone. Et quia Sanctus Ambrosius quædam indiscussa præterit, quæ illi, quasi summæ eruditionis viro, plana nec quæsitu digna videbantur, hæc quoque, perspectis aliorum Patrum opusculis, diligentius, vel tuis vel eorum dictis, explanare curato. Credo etiam tuo vigilantissimo studio, qui in lege Dei meditanda dies noctesque ducis pervigiles, nonnullis in locis quæ ab eis intermissa sunt, quid sentiri debeat Auctor lucis aperiet. Justum namque satis est, et supernæ pietatis atque æquitatis moderamini conveniens, ut qui neglectis ad integrum mundi negotiis æternum verumque sapientiæ lumen indefessa mente persequeris, et hic fructum intelligentiæ purioris adsequaris, et in futuro, *Ipsum in Quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ et scientiæ absconditi, Regem in decore suo, mundo corde contempleris.*

"Intimandum sane tuæ sanctitati credidi, quod movet quosdam, quare in Expositione Apocalypsis, ubi ad quatuor animalia ventum est, nova interpretatione Matthæum in leone, Marcum in homine designatum dixeris. Cum nonnulli, contra, Matthæum homini, Marcum leoni, in quo vox in deserto rugientis audiatur, adsignent. Rogoque in hoc opere plenius quid tibi de his verius videatur insinues.

"Memorem nostri tuam sanctam fraternitatem, Deus dilectionis et pacis, conservare, et ad consideranda suæ legis mirabilia semper illustrare, dignetur."

Bede, in his reply to Acca, whom he addresses as "beatissimus et nimium desiderantissimus," assents to his request, and speaks of himself as being his own dictator, notary, and librarian.

The same writer dedicates his Hexameron to Acca, "dilectissimo ac reverendissimo abbati Accæ." His address to him ends with the words, "bene vale, semper amantissime antistes, nostri memor in Domino." (Bedæ Opp., *ut supra*, iv., 2.)

The interpolator of Simeon in Twysden (coll. 95-98), who has evidently had before him a life of Acca, gives a long poem in hexameter verse addressed by Bede to Acca. The subject is the day of judgment. The last three lines are as follows:—

"Vive Deo felix, et dic vale fratribus almis,
Acca pater, trepidi et pavidi reminiscere servi,
Meque tuis Christo precibus commenda benignis."

It must not be forgotten that it was to the entreaties of Acca and Tathbercht that we owe the life of Wilfrid by Eddi. The first words of that work declare this. "Præceptorum vestrorum magnitudine, o venerabiles domini, Acca episcopus, et Tathbertus abbas, et totius familiæ ambitu superatus."

¹ Acca was driven from his bishopric in 733 (Saxon Chron., 328). He was in possession of it in 731, when Bede ended his history (Hist., v., 23). Simeon (col. 99) gives the same date as Richard, but there is a year different in his chronology. Florence (i., 53) agrees with the Saxon Chronicle in the date.

Nam anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXL^o, et regni Eadberti quarto, sicut Historiæ testantur, tertidecimo kalendas Novembris, de præsentī sæculo sublatus est; cujus spiritus ab angelis perductus est ad bravium supernæ felicitatis.^m

Qua autem urgente necessitate pulsus sit, vel quo diverterit, scriptum non repperi. Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod eo tempore episcopalem sedem in Candida (Casa)ⁿ inceperit et præparaverit.^o

Hujus vero sachrum corpus, cum honore tanto patri congruo, traditum est sepulturæ, juxta secretarium suæ, id est Haugustaldensis, ecclesiæ.^p

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^m This sentence is in the Chronicle ascribed to Simeon, col. 101. Bravium is a word made use of in early ecclesiastical Latin, being the same as brabium, and signifying a prize or the reward of a victory. Tertullian uses the word (Adv. Marc., c. iii.), "Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo brabium angelicæ substantiæ politia in cælis, gloria in sæcula sæculorum."

The word occurs in a glorious passage in which Geoffrey of Clairvaux is speaking of St. Bernard's death (Opp., ed. Mabillon, ii., col. 1156): "Felix transitus de labore ad refrigerium, de expectatione ad præmium, de agone ad bravium, de morte ad vitam, de fide ad notitiam, de peregrinatione ad patriam, de mundo ad Patrem!"

ⁿ The word Casa is supplied in MS. Ebor.

^o An obscure passage. For some cause or other Acca is said to have left Hexham for awhile. There are no traces of any invasion or commotion in Northumbria at this time to account for this, but Acca's place was certainly filled up, as Fredbert was appointed to it in 734.

If Acca had left Hexham in disgrace, he would not surely have been regarded as a Saint and with so much veneration, and the brethren of that monastery would not have allowed his bones to rest within its walls. Richard, it will be observed, calls Hexham, referring to Acca, "*sua ecclesia*," as if he had some interest in it, and from the fact of his being buried there it may be inferred that he had died at no great distance from the place.

From all that we are told of Acca it is impossible to suspect him of any misconduct. It is probable enough that he resigned his see, or was, perhaps, superseded. He had held it more than twenty years, and he must have been a very old man.

The see of Whitherne was founded, or perhaps re-established, in 730 or 731 (Bede, v., 23), and Acca could not fail to be interested in the formation of a diocese which was contiguous to his own, and in the success that attended Pecthelm's labours.

^p The secretarium of a church is the sanctuary, or the portion in which the high altar stands. The position of this building and of Acca's grave is more clearly defined by Simeon, or his interpolator, in a very valuable passage (col. 101):

"Corpus vero ejus, ad orientalem plagam, extra parietem ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis, quam xxiv annis pontificali rexit dignitate, sepultum est. Duæque cruces lapideæ, mirabili cælatura decoratæ, positæ sunt, una ad caput, alia ad pedes ejus. In quarum una, quæ scilicet ad caput est, literis insculptum est, quod in eodem loco sepultus est. De quo loco, post annos plusquam ccc depositionis suæ, a quodam presbytero Divina revelatione translatus est, ac in ecclesia intra feretrum condigno honore positus est. Ubi usque hodie in magna veneratione habetur.

"Ob cujus sanctitatis meritum omnibus demonstrandum, casula, et tunica, et sudarium, quæ cum sanctissimo ejus corpore in terra posita erant, non solum speciem, sed etiam fortitudinem pristinam usque in hodiernum diem servant.

"Inventa est etiam super pectus ejus tabula lignea in modum altaris facta, ex duobus lignis clavis argenteis conjuncta; sculptaque est in illa scriptura hæc,

Deo autem volente declarare merita dilecti famuli sui, cum, post multa temporum curricula, ejus sepulchrum aperiretur, in argumentum magnæ sanctitatis, et testimonium incommutabilis gloriæ ejus, sudarium lineum, et casula, et tunica sericæ, quibus illud sacrum corpus indutum et involutum fuerat, non solum pulcritudinem, sed, quod multo mirabilius est, pristinam fortitudinem incommutabiliter conservasse reperta sunt. Hæc autem Dei magnalia, videre desiderantibus, in eadem specie et decore, quasi incorruptibilia, perseverantia etiam usque hodie, in eadem ecclesia ostenduntur.^q

Virtutes autem, et miracula, quæ per eum et per alios fideles servos suos, quorum reliquiæ ibidem continentur, Deus crebro operatur, hic supersedemus, alibi dicturi, prout Ipse nobis dedit.^r

Almæ Trinitati; Agiæ Sophiæ; Sanctæ Mariæ. Utrum vero reliquiæ in ea positæ fuerint, vel qua de causa cum eo in terra posita sit, ignoratur. Attamen, absque rationabili devotionis causa, summæ venerationis cultu cum sancto ejus corpore nequaquam esse condita creditur.

“Vestimenta vero ejus prædicta fratres ejusdem Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ aliquotiens populo monstrare solent, a quo cum omni devotione deosculantur. Plurima vero miracula de Sancto Acca etiam vulgo narrantur, quæ omnia scripto explicare perlongum est.”

In the Preface I shall give an engraving of a cross which I suppose to have been one of those which stood at Acca's grave.

In 1383 there was among the relics at Durham “cistula eburnea cum reliquiis de Sancto Acca episcopo; et de sudario et casula ejusdem per ccc annos in terra jacentibus,” and a portion “de casula Sancti Accæ” and one of his bones (Bede, ed. Smith, 741, etc.). It is probable that these were retained at Durham in the twelfth century when the other remains of Acca were returned to Hexham, otherwise they must have been saved when the Scots destroyed the treasures at Hexham in 1296.

^q At the foot of the last page in the Cambridge MS. is the following passage written apparently as a note. Archbishop Parker, in his ruthless way of using MSS., had pasted some paper over a portion of the last page. This has recently been removed, and the following note was discovered which can be inserted more appropriately in this place than in any other:—

“... et tunica et sudarium Sancti Accæ, quæ DCCXL^o anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, cum sanctissimo corpore ejus in terra posita, ob sanctitatis merita declaranda, usque in hodiernum diem pristinam speciem et fortitudinem conservant.

“Sunt quoque in eadem ecclesia, ut Historiæ plurimæ testantur, multa corpora sanctorum martyrum, confessorum, virginum, quæ Divina pietas nondum hominibus revelavit.”

The first paragraph is almost identical with one describing the same thing in the chronicle ascribed to Simeon of Durham (Twysden, col. 101). It is evident that the whole passage in that chronicle, relating to Acca, although it is plainly an interpolation, is independent of this work of Richard, and also of an earlier date. Richard, judging from this chapter, seems certainly to have had it before him. I have given the passage, to which I refer, in one of the preceding notes.

^r Richard announces his intention of writing an account of the miracles of the Saints of his church. These miracles were, probably, duly recorded for the edification of the monks and canons, and the interpolator of Simeon and one or two others seem to have made use of the MS., for thus we may account for the occasional similarity of their language. Richard, however, seems to have wished

[CAP.] XVI.

De temporibus trium episcoporum, scilicet Frethberto, Alcmundo, et Tilberto.

Post illum autem, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXXXIII^o, et regni Ceolvulfi sexto, sexto idus Septembris, ordinatus Fredbertus^s Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ præsulatum suscepit.^t Anno vero Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCLXVI^o, et regni Alcredi secundo, et episcopatus sui tricesimo quarto, decimo kalendas Januarii, glorioso fine migravit ad Dominum.”

Hunc autem subsecutus Sanctus Alcmundus, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCLXVII^o, et regni Alcredi secundo, octavo kalendas Mai(i), consecratur in antistitem.^v Qui Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCLXXXI^o, et regni Elfwaldi quarto, et episcopatus sui tertiodecimo anno, septimo idus Septembris, extremum diem clausit in Domino.”

Post hunc vero, dilectus pater Tilbertus in episcopatum subigitur, anno eodem, hoc est Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCLXXXI^o, et regni Elfwaldi quarto; et sexto nonas Octobris consecratur; elevaturque in solio episcopalis cathedræ in loco qui appellatur Wlfeswelle,^x hoc est Fons Lupi.^y Hic, cum Eanbaldo archie-

to draw up a connected narrative which might be read beyond the walls of the monastery: we have no evidence that he did so, and the task was performed after his decease by Aelred of Rievaulx. If Richard had written what he intended, Aelred would not have paid the memory of his friend so sorry a compliment as to compose another work on the same subject so soon after his death.

^s Frethbertus (MS. Ebor.).

^t Friothuberht ordained bishop Sept. 8, 734 (Simeon, col. 100, and Wendover, i., 224).

^v Simeon (col. 106) gives the same dates, and so does Florence (i., 58). The Saxon Chronicle calls him Frithebryht, and says that he was bishop thirty-three years (334). Aelred (see afterwards) gives an account of the discovery of his remains. One of his teeth was among the relics at Durham (Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, appendix, 427). “Friothubert” had the charge of the diocese of Lindisfarne for a year, together with his own, during the disgrace of Cynewulf (Simeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 81).

^w Simeon Chron., col. 106. Wendover, i., 239. Archbishop Albert was consecrated at the same time. The Saxon Chronicle (334) makes 766 the year of his consecration.

^x 7 id. Sept., 780 (Saxon Chron., 336). “Alchmundus, Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ præsul, eximiæ religionis et magnarum vir virtutum, postquam xiiij annis sullimiter præfatam rexisset ecclesiam, regnante gloriosissimo Northanhymbrorum rege Elfwaldo, anno tertio regni ejus, viij idus Septembris, huic vitæ modum fecit; qui, pro meritis, æternæ beatitudinis est particeps factus. Sepultus vero est juxta prædecessorem suum reverendæ memoriæ Sanctum Accam episcopum.” (Simeon, col. 108). Sept. 7, 779 (Flor. Wigorn., i., 59). Wendover erroneously places the accession of Tilbert in 783 (i., 244). I shall say more about Alchmund and his translation when I print the treatise of Aelred.

^y Wlfeswil (MS. Ebor.). I do not know where this place is. There is an Ovington on the Tyne, and another on the Tees (Wlvington, ex cart. penes Dec.

piscopo, et Higbaldo præsule, in monasterio, quod Corabrigedicitur, Aldulfum episcopum consecravit.^z

[CAP.] XVII.

De miserabili morte Elfwaldi regis Northumbriæ, et regno regis Osredi, et de synodo apud Aclech.

Episcopatus quoque hujus anno octavo, et Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXXVIII^o, Elfwaldus rex Northanhymbrorum, postquam decem annis regnavit, conjuratione facta ab ejus patricio, Siga^a nomine, miserabili morte, undecimo kalendas Octobris, occisus est juxta murum, in loco qui Cithlescester^b dicitur.

Et regnavit Osredus, Alcredi regis filius, ejusdem Elfwaldi nepos, uno pro eo anno. Quo etiam anno, tertio kalendas Octobris, sinodus fuit in loco qui dicitur Aclech.^c

et Capit. Dunelm.). There is *Ulgham* near Morpeth. There is an *Uldale* in Cumberland, nor must we forget *Ulleswater*. Near *Ulva* in Westmerland there is to this day a well called *Holy-well*. There is a place called *Wolviston* in the county of Durham. Wolves were common in the North long after the Conquest.

^y Simeon uses almost the same words in his Chronicle, col. 110. Consecr. 6 non. Oct. 780 (Saxon Chron., 336).

^z *Ibid.* The place is there called Et-Corabriged. It is now Corbridge on the Tyne, close to Hexham. In 786 "Aldulf consecratus episcopus ab Eanbaldo archiepiscopo, Tilberhtoque, et Hygbaldo præsulibus, in monasterio quod dicitur Et-Corabriged, multisque muneribus ac donis ditatus, honorifice ad suam ecclesiam est remissus."

Aelred (see afterwards) describes the finding of Tilbert's bones.

^a Siggan (Simeon, col. 110). Sigga died on the 8th of the kalends of March 793 (Saxon Chron., 338), having committed suicide, and was buried at Lindisfarne (Hen. Huntingdon, apud Savile, ed. 1596, 233 b).

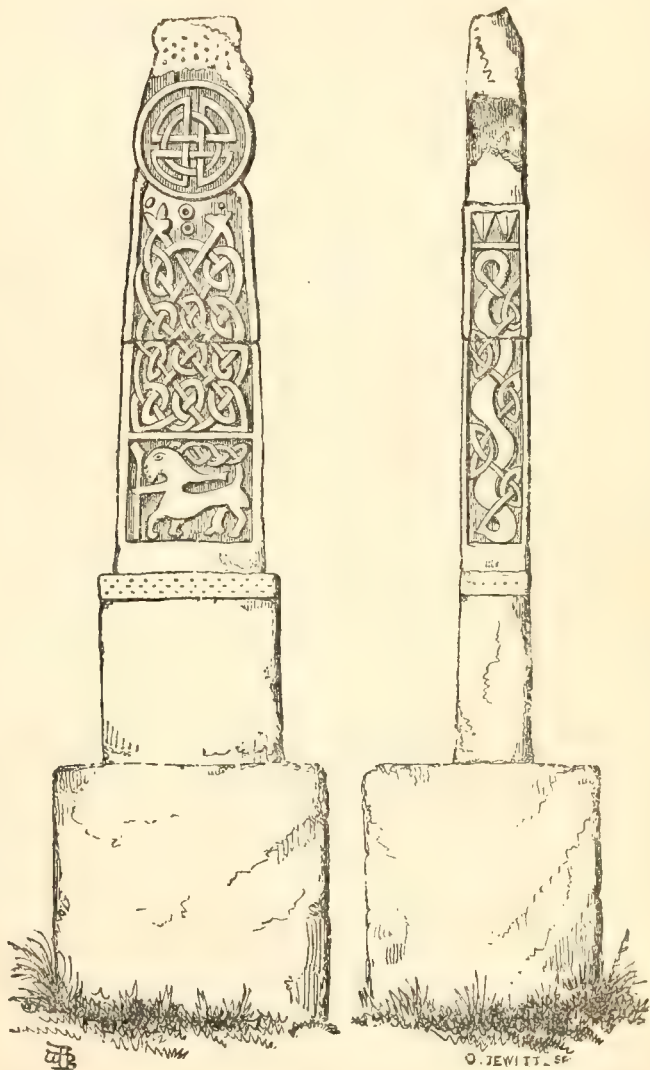
^b Scydescester (MS. Ebor.). Syltecester, *alias* Scyclecester (Hen. Huntingdon, apud Savile, 232). Scythlescester juxta murum (Simeon, col. 110). This place is, perhaps, the Roman station of *Cilurnum*, of which the present name is *Chesters*. It is situated upon the North Tyne, some five or six miles from Hexham. From the fact that the monks of Hexham went to bring the body of the murdered king to his burial, it may be inferred that the distance was not long.

A church dedicated to SS. Cuthbert and Oswald was erected on the spot, but this does not help us to identify the place. Camden says that it is St. Oswald's, which is about a mile and a half distant from Chesters (Britannia, ed. Gibson, 1082), but without authority. There is no church in Northumberland dedicated to these Saints, but this was probably one of those ancient temples to the destruction of which Prior Richard refers in cap. iv.

^c It may be inferred from the mention of this occurrence that Aclech was in Northumbria. In the Saxon Chronicle (337) the place is called Aclea, which has been clearly identified by my father with Aycliffe in the county of Durham (Auckland Castle, 3). There was another synod at Aclea in 782 (Saxon Chron., 336). Florence places it a year earlier (i., 59).

At Aycliffe, which is distant some five or six miles from Darlington, there are remains of two Saxon crosses which perhaps were erected to commemorate these ecclesiastical gatherings. Through the kindness of Mr. Longstaffe I now give engravings of them.

There was another Aclea, now Ockley, in Essex, where there was a great



CROSSES AT AYCLIFFE, CO. DURHAM.

In loco vero quo præfatus rex occisus est, lux cælitus emissa sæpissime a plurimis visa est. Unde a fidelibus illius loci ibidem ecclesia est constructa, et in honore Dei et Sanctorum Cuthberti episcopi, et Oswaldi regis et martyris, consecrata. Corpus vero eximii regis, cum magnis monachorum et clericorum cuneis, ad Hestoldesham perlatum est, et in ecclesia Sancti Andreae Apostoli, cum magno honore, sepultum.^d

Præfuit igitur Haugustaldensi ecclesiæ Tilbertus octo annis, et Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCLXXXIX^o, et regni Osredi primo anno, migravit de hac vita, sepultusque in eadem ecclesia.

[CAP.] XVIII.

De curriculo annorum trium episcoporum, videlicet Ethelberto, Headredo, et Anberto; et quomodo Ethelbertus sedem suam in Candida Casa reliquit, et ecclesiam Haugustaldensem suscepit.

Eodem anno, hoc est DCCLXXXIX^o Dominicæ Incarnationis anno, Ethelbertus, sede sua in Candida Casa relictæ,^e Haugustaldensem episcopatum suscepit, cui octo annis præfuit; et Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXCVII^o, et secundo anno postquam Eardulfus item est redditus regno, septimo decimo kalendas Novembris, mortuus est in loco qui dicitur Bartun;^f cujus corpus ad Hes-

battle with the Danes in 851 (Saxon Chron., 346. Simeon, col. 138). Simeon paraphrases the word *Campus quercus*. Oak is still generally pronounced in the North *yak* or *ake*. I see no reason to think, as some have done, that Aclech is in the south of England. Prior Richard never mentions in this Chronicle any of the southern councils or synods.

^d This account of Alfwold's death and burial seems to be derived from Simeon, coll. 110-11; Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 85. Cf. Saxon Chron., 337, and Flor. Wigorn., i., 62. Gaimar confounds Alfwold and Oswald (Hist. Mon. Brit., 789). There is a monument ascribed to Alfwold in the church of Hexham. In the Preface I shall give a cut of the richly floriated cross which decorates it.

The appearance of phosphorescent lights on a battle-field may be easily accounted for. Bede says that they shewed themselves over the body of St. Oswald (iii., 11).

^e This shews the close connection between Hexham and Whitherne. Ethelbert was consecrated bishop of Whitherne at York on 17 kal. Julii, 777 (Saxon Chron., 335). In 789 "sua sede relictæ, Sancto Tilberhto episcopo jam obeunte, episcopatum Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ recepit in propriam dominationem." (Simeon, col. 111.)

We find Ethelbert on several occasions exercising his episcopal functions. On 16 kal. Aug., 791, he and archbishop Eanbald consecrated Baldwulf to the see of Whitherne (Saxon Chron., 335) at a place called Hearrahaleh, *i. e.*, Locus Dominorum (Simeon, col. 111). On 8 kal. Junii, 795, at York, he, archbishop Eanbald, and bishops Higbald and Baldwulf, consecrated Eadulf king of Northumbria; (Saxon Chron., 338), and, on 18 kal. Sept., 796, Ethelbert, Higbald, and Badwulf consecrated Eanbald II. bishop of York in a monastery called Sochasburgh (Sockburn, Sadberge, or Sockbridge?) (Simeon, col. 114).

^f Simeon, col. 114. Saxon Chron., 340. Bartym (MS. Ebor.). There is a Barton in Westmerland, amid all the glorious scenery of Ulleswater and Patter-

toldesham perlatum est, et a fratribus ipsius cœnobii venerabiliter sepultum.

Eodem anno electus est pro eo Headredus in Haugustaldensem episcopatum; et, post excursum paucorum dierum, tertio kalendas Novembris, ab Eanbaldo archiepiscopo et Higbaldo episcopo ordinatus est, in loco qui Wudaforda^g dicitur; et prædictam ecclesiam tribus annis regens, Dominicæ Incarnationis dccc^o, et quarto anno postquam item regnavit Eardulfus, defunctus est.^h

Pro quo Eadbertus, vel Osbertus, electus et ordinatus est in loco qui Ethingaham dicitur,ⁱ anno Dominicæ Incarnationis dccc^o, et eidem ecclesiæ quatuordecim annis præfuit.^j

[CAP.] XIX.

De ordine, et numero, et annorum curriculo Hagustaldensium episcoporum, ante devastationem miserrimam et desolationem maximam regionis Northymbriæ factam a rege Haldano Danamarchiæ.

Ordo Hagustaldensium episcoporum, et quot annis fuerunt episcopi.^k

Primus, Wilfridus xlv annis

dale. Sockbridge, the ancient residence of the Lancasters, is in the parish, and, perhaps, these are the two places just mentioned. There is another Barton on the Yorkshire side of the Tees, a little above Darlington, and "Socceburg" is one of the places given to St. Cuthbert in Saxon times by Snaculf, the son of Cykell (Simeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 150). There are two places called Sockburn and Sadberge in the county of Durham, about five miles below Darlington. It is probably to this county that the chronicler refers, and not to Westmerland, as both Sockburne and Sadberge are in the old diocese of Hexham, whilst Sockbridge is beyond it. At Sockburn there are some Saxon remains.

Higbald was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne at "Soccabirig" in 779 (Flor. Wigorn., i., 59).

^g A place quite unknown to me. There is a Woodburn in Redesdale, and a Woodhorne near Morpeth. There is a Woodham in the county of Durham in the parish of Aycliffe, where there is a bridge and a passage over the river Skerne.

^h Saxon Chron., 340. Simeon, coll. 114, 116. Hen. Huntingdon, apud Savile, ed. 1596, 233 b.

ⁱ Simeon, col. 116, where the place is called Cettingaham. In north Northumberland there are places called Ellingham, Eglingham, and Edlingham.

^j The Saxon Chronicle (341) says that he died in 806.

^k A chronological table of the bishops of Hexham. My readers will be able to correct it where it is defective from the details which I have already given.

There are two or three lists of the bishops of Hexham with which this may be compared. One is in MSS. Cotton, Titus A, ii., 160-1, where this chapter is found. (In the same MS. there is a Breviarium Chronicæ Hexham, filling two pages, and of no value.) Florence, of course, has a list (i., 245), in which by inserting Wilfrid and Eata twice, he makes up the number of bishops of Hexham to fourteen. Cf. Lelandi Coll., ed. 1774, i., 338. Malmsbury makes only eleven bishops, missing out Alchmund (De gestis Pontif., apud Savile, ed. 1596, 155).

Secundus, Eata	vii annis
Tunbertus ^l	iii „
Quartus, Johannes	i „

Hi autem tres sibi mutuo successerunt, dum, ab Egfrido rege pulsus, Sanctus Wilfridus, prima vice, octo annis exulavit.

Quintus, Sanctus Acca	xxiiii (annis)
Sextus, Fredbertus	xxxiiii „
Septimus, Sanctus Alcmundus	xiii „
Octavus, Tilbertus	viii „
Nonus, Ethelbertus	vii „
Decimus Headredus	iii „
Undecimus, Eanbertus, vel Osbertus,	xiii „

Duodecimus, Tilferdus.^m Sed tempus episcopatus hujus ignoratur.

Itaque episcopatus Haugastaldensis ecclesiæ, incipiens circa DCLXXIII^m Dominicæ Incarnationis annum, duravit CXLIII annis, (excepto ultimo episcopo, cujus tempus ignoratur,) scilicet usque ad DCCCXIII^m annum Dominicæ Incarnationis.

Et nota, quod quinquaginta quatuor annis cessavit ante devastationem provinciæ Northanhymbrorum, quæ DCCCLXXV^o anno Dominicæ Incarnationis ab Haldene Dano facta est : qui, sumpta tertia parte exercitus paganorum qui totam Angliam occupaverant, cum multa classe Tinam ingrediens, circa Tinamutheⁿ applicuit, et, inde prosiliens, flamma et ferro in exterminium omnia duxit.^o

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMUS.

^l Tymbertus (MS. Ebor., and Titus, A, ii., 160 b).

^m Tydferdus (MS. Ebor., Titus, A, ii., 160 b). There was a person of this name who was bishop of Dunwich, subscribing deeds in that capacity between 798 and 816. It is scarcely necessary for Richard to say that the period of Tydferth's episcopate was unknown. He tells us twice that the bishopric of Hexham came to an end fifty-four years before the great Danish invasion, and this fixes the cessation, *i. e.*, it must have stopped in 821 or 822. Tydferth, therefore, could only have been bishop between 806 and 821. In the first chapter of lib. ii. Richard mentions a report that Tydferth had died on his way to Rome. I shall say more about this in the Preface, and give an engraving of a very remarkable inscribed stone which has been found recently at Wearmouth, and with which Tydferth's name is connected.

ⁿ Tyneamuthe (MS. Ebor.). "Tinam ingrediens, circa Tomemuthe hiematurus." (Simeonis Hist. Dunelm., 95.) This place is the mouth of the Team at Dunston, opposite to the King's meadows and close to Newcastle. Haldene would not dare to winter at the mouth of the Tyne.

^o The first book closes with the dreadful inroad, or portion of an inroad, which ruined Hexham and many a fair and famous monastery in England. It ends in blood and flames; and in the commencement of the second we see the undismayed monks of Lindisfarne, serene in the midst of darkness and tumult, bearing away with them the body of their Saint. For an account of this Danish invasion, see the Saxon Chronicle, 355; Simeon, coll. 127, 145; Reginald, 16-17; Prior Wessington's Coll. de ord. Ben., MSS. Dunelm., B, iii., xxx., 30.

INCIPIT SECUNDUS LIBER.

[CAP.] I.

Quomodo Eardulfus episcopus, et abbas Eadredus, de insula Lindisfarnensi incorruptum corpus Sancti Cuthberti exportaverunt, et per septem annos, de loco ad locum cum illo discurrerunt.

ANNO Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXV^o,^p et ex fundatione Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ ducentesimo quadragésimo primo, ab obitu Sancti Cuthberti centesimo octogésimo nono, et ex quo Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ episcopi defecerunt quinquagesimo quarto, et prioris vastationis octogésimo tertio, et episcopatus Heardulfi^q vicesimo secundo, a rege Danorum Haldane, ut prædictum est, Northumbria devastata, prædictus Eardulfus episcopus, et abbas Eadredus, de insula Lindisfarnensi incorruptum corpus Sancti Cuthberti, cum maxima parte thesauri illius ecclesiæ, exportaverunt, et ante faciem barbarorum per septem annos de loco ad locum cum illo discurrerunt.^r Deinde, in villam nomine Crecam

^p Ab Incarnatione Domini (MS. Ebor.). In this MS. there is no distinction between the two books.

^q Eardulphi (MS. Ebor.) throughout, and Haldene.

^r Richard commences his second book with an account of the escape of the monks of Lindisfarne with St. Cuthbert's body. He brings this in, not only on account of the interest with which he would regard it, but also, as he wishes to make out, that the bishopric of Hexham was re-assumed and continued at Chester by the bearers of the Saint. He admits, however, that there were no prelates at Hexham for more than fifty years before the Danish invasion. It was the bishopric of Lindisfarne, if any, that Eardulf renewed at Chester (Simeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 120). He had, no doubt, exercised his episcopal duties in the defunct diocese of Hexham before he left Lindisfarne, and he now continued to do so from a more central and a safer position.

There is no more touching and striking chapter in the whole history of monasticism than that which describes the wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body. The Danes had been at Lindisfarne in 793, when the misfortunes of its inmates elicited a kind letter of sympathy from Alcuin (Opp., ed. 1777, i., 11), and the traditions of that sad year would not be forgotten in 875. As soon as the monks heard of the approach of the barbarians, they raised the body of their Saint, and depositing in his coffin the relics of Oswald, Aidan, Eadbert, Eadfrid, and Ethelwold, they left their noble church behind them, and went forth, ignorant of what the morrow might bring forth, with trembling and yet hopeful hearts into the world (Simeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 96-7. Reginald, 17-18) "So soon did the Danes arrive, that if a monk, 'captus dulcedine loci,' had for

venientes, ibi quatuor mensibus resederunt.^s Tandem vero redeuntes ad villam, olim Kunkacestram,^t ac nunc Cestram, vocatam, deveniunt, ibique cum reliquiis quieverunt.

Et quia, sicut supradictum est, jam multo tempore Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ sedes vacaverat, quippe, ut quidam ferunt,

awhile lingered behind the sorrowful train, he might easily have seen from the hills of Kyloe the sacred structure enveloped in smoke and flame." (Raine's North Durham, 70.)

For seven years was the precious charge carried to and fro on the shoulders of seven devoted brethren, but a much longer period elapsed before the body found its final resting place. The different stages at which it halted are unknown, but the monks of Durham in a later age had the tradition that the churches in the north of England which are now dedicated to St. Cuthbert mark the places at which the wanderers rested for a while in their uneasy progress. Richard himself mentions but three halting-places prior to the settlement at Durham,—Crayke, Chester-le-street, and Ripon.

^s The village of Crayke lies about twelve miles to the north of York, on a lofty hill, peering over that fertile plain which bishop Tunstall declared to be one of the richest in the world. This eagle's nest, fit as it was either for safety or seclusion, was given by king Ecgfrid to St. Cuthbert that he might rest there as he came to, or returned from, York; and in that place, according to his wont, he established a society of monks (Simeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 47). In 867 Crayke was sacrilegiously taken possession of by the Northumbrian chieftain Ella (ibid., 94, and Hist. S. Cuthberti, col. 70). In the beginning of 883 the body of St. Cuthbert found a resting-place there for four months, the abbat Geve giving the bearers a hearty welcome (ibid., 118-19).

In 767, a century before these events took place, an anchorite of the name of Etha is said to have died at Crayke (Simeon, Chronicle, col. 106), who is commemorated by Alcuin in his poem on the Bishops and Saints of the church of York (Gale, 727), and is also enshrined in the Durham Book of Life (Liber Vitæ, 6).

"Claruit his etiam venerabilis Etha diebus,
Anachoreta sacer, eremi secreta secutus,
Terrenos fugiens jam corpore castus honores,
Ut cum rege Deo cælestes posset habere.
Angelicam terris vitam devotus agendo,
Multa prophetali prædixit mente futura.
De quo plura vetat narrari musa recurrens
Carminis ad finem, propriique ad gesta magistri."

The words of Alcuin seem to shew that he knew more of Etha than he says. Crayke at that time might well be called a desert. Tradition says that a squirrel might have hopped from tree to tree from York to Crayke without coming once to the ground. The bishops of Durham from their castle on the hill of Crayke must have had a striking view of York minster in the distance, as they looked across the forest of Galtres, when the grand old trees, which it must have contained, were still unfelled.

There is nothing now remaining at Crayke to connect it with Saxon times. The castle is a mediæval erection, and a great part of it was built by Robert Neville, bishop of Durham, as is shewn by a fabric roll of which I have a copy. I have also a ground-plan of the castle made in the reign of Elizabeth, setting forth the full extent of the buildings, most of which are now gone.

^t Cunchacestram (MS. Ebor.); the three next words being omitted. Cuncacestre, or Chester-le-street, lies about six miles to the north of Durham. The Romans had placed one of their camps there, of which traces still remain around the churchyard, and right in the middle of this camp the wanderers seem to have fixed their abode in 883; and a succession of bishops took their name from the place until a fresh invasion made them desert it in 995.

The early church at Chester was made of wood, and was removed in the ele-

Tilferdus," ultimus ejus episcopus, in itinere versus Romam defunctus erat, et propter violentiam persecutionum non erat qui in illa regione illi succederet, et episcopatum ejus pro eo susciperet, in parrochia ipsius præfatus Eardulfus episcopalia officia exercere cœpit: sicque ibi septendecim annis supervixit. Cui defuncto, octo^v episcopi ibidem ex ordine successerunt.

[CAP.] II.

Quomodo per Ardulfum, Lindisfarnensem episcopum, Augustaldensis episcopatus apud Cestram restauratur; et qualiter postea per Aldunum episcopum corpus Sancti Cuthberti transportatur.

Itaque anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXXIII^o, et ab obitu Sancti Cuthberti centesimo nonagesimo septimo, regnante Guthredo, per Eardulfum Lindisfarnensem episcopum, et ejus successores, Haugustaldensis episcopatus apud Cestram restauratur, et centum quindecim annis ibidem mansit. Anno vero Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCCXCV^o, ab obitu Sancti Cuthberti trecentesimo undecimo, regni vero Etheldredi septimo decimo, pontificatus vero sui sexto, Aldwinus episcopus, per visionem ammonitus, propter superventuram pyratarum rabiem, cum populo loci illius, corpus sanctissimi confessoris inde ad Ripum,^w tempore veris, transportavit. Post tres autem vel quatuor menses, pace reddita, cum ad Cestram remeare proponerent, ad orientalem plagam Dunelmi, de loco qui Werdelau^x dicitur,

venth century for an edifice of stone, when a treasure of gold and silver was discovered by the workmen which had been concealed in the time of bishop Sexhelm (Simeon, Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., 167-8). Some traces of the Christian worshippers in Saxon days have been recently discovered in the shape of several fine crosses which still bear traces of colour.

My readers must look elsewhere for an account of Chester-le-street in post-Norman times, with its fine collegiate church and its long array of monuments.

^v Tydferdus (MS. Ebor.).

^x Cutheard, Tilred, Wigred, Uhtred, Sexhelm, Ealdred, Elfsy, and Aldhune. Aldhune became bishop in 990, and removed the see to Durham five years afterwards.

^w For an account of Ripon, its remains and associations, I must refer my reader to the works of Mr. Walbran.

Cuthbert and Eata had the charge of the monastery at Ripon soon after it was placed there by Alcfrid in the seventh century, but they left it to make room for Wilfrid. It was perhaps the traditions of those days which led Aldhune and his monks to Ripon in 995, where they would find, perhaps, only roofless buildings and a ruined church, for the Danes had been there very recently with sword and fire. There is little now at Ripon to remind the spectator of its glories in Saxon times, save the crypt under the minster, to which I have already alluded. Within the last few months a fragment of a Saxon gravestone, sadly mutilated and broken, has been discovered on the supposed site of the old monastery of Wilfrid.

* The wanderers make but a short stay at Ripon, and turn their steps again

vehiculum sanctarum reliquiarum nullo modo promovere potuerunt. Sed, post triduanum jejunium, per visionem eis revelatum est, ut ad locum, ubi nunc Dunelmum est, divertentes, ibi requiescerent. Sicque factum est.

Hoc igitur modo, cum sancto corpore, episcopalis sedes, quæ apud Hesteldesham fuerat, per successores Lindisfarnensium episcoporum, primo apud Cestram, deinde apud Dunelmum usque ad præsens permansit. Si quis autem hæc plenius nosse desiderat, in Gestis Dunelmensium episcoporum reperire poterit.^y

northwards. They longed probably for their own country, which, rough although it was, had greater charms for them than the green slopes and pastures of Ripon and the banks of the Skell and Yore. The same Providence which had guided them into Yorkshire seems to have watched over them on their homeward journey, as no one drooped or fainted by the way. It seems to have been their intention to have gone back to Chester, but instead of taking the straight westward course that would lead them to it, they took a rough and circuitous route to the east of the present city of Durham. They reached a hill called Wardelaw, a little way from that place, when the car in which the remains of the Saint was borne would not move, probably in consequence of some accident or on account of the unevenness of the ground. What were they to do? Stricken with doubt and fear they resolved to await the arrival of some message from heaven. After a three days' fast, Eadmer, one of the party, dreamed a dream, in which it was told to him that the body of the Saint was to be carried to Dunholme, and that there was to be its final resting-place. But now they were again at fault. Though they had lived for years within a few miles of it at Chester, no one had heard that name, and they wandered about to see if they could find the place. As they are going up and down full of anxiety and fear, a milkmaid who had lost her cow was heard enquiring of her companion if it had been seen, and the reply was that she would find it at Dunholme. Thus it was that they were guided to the place with which the name of Cuthbert has always been associated. A rugged place it was, shaggy with rock and wood, but a church was soon reared and a colony established. The milkmaid and her cow were gratefully remembered by the monks, and you may still see them carved in stone on the north wall of the chapel of the nine altars in the cathedral. Such is the traditional account of the discovery of Durham.

Durham now was to the monks what Jebuz was to the Israelites, and struck as much by the similarity in the natural features of the two places as by their own wanderings, they called their resting-place in after days the English Sion. The eminence from which the pilgrims caught the first glimpse of the sacred city is called Mount Joy hill, and, remarkably enough, there is a steep knoll which bears the same name a little to the east of Durham, and on the same ridge with a fortification called Maiden castle. Can this be Wardelaw? There is a place called Wardon-law at a much greater distance.

A small fragment of a Saxon cross has been discovered a month ago at Durham in the tower of St. Oswald's church. This is the only relic of that period which is known to exist at Durham.

^y Richard, no doubt, refers to Simeon's History of the Church of Durham. That writer, however, is directly opposed to Richard when he claims the re-establishment of the bishopric of Hexham at Chester. "Sedes episcopalis, quam in Lindisfarnensi insula superius diximus, in Cuncacestre restauratur" (120), and in the very beginning of his work he speaks of "Lindisfarnensis sive Dunelmensis ecclesia." Richard in this chapter has made considerable use of Simeon's work.

[CAP.] III.

Quod Hagustaldensis ecclesia ex illa antiqui honoris prærogativa hanc libertatem optinet, quod nec propter sinodos, nec propter crisma, nec propter aliquam causam, episcopo Dunelmensi aliquod debitum debet, nisi forte ob aliquam causam discutiendam ipse episcopus ecclesiæ mandaverit, et tunc Prior, vel frater aliquis, ipsius ecclesiæ veniet.

Ab anno itaque quo pontifex Aidanus episcopalem cathedram apud Lindisfarnen primus sedit, usque ad annum quo Aldunus episcopus apud Dunelmum episcopatum incepit, computantur anni trecenti sexaginta unus; a transitu Sancti Cuthberti trecenti novem. Ex quo vero Haugustaldensis episcopatus per Sanctum Wilfridum incoavit, usque ad annum quo Aldunus eundem apud Dunelmum primo instauravit, circiter trecentos triginta duos annos fuisse creditur.

Hæc, igitur, id est Haugustaldensis ecclesia, ex illa antiqui honoris prærogativa, hanc libertatem et auctoritatem optinet, quod nec propter synodum, nec propter crisma, nec propter aliquam ecclesiasticam causam, episcopo Dunelmensi,^z vel ejus archidiacono, vel illorum ministris, aliquod debitum, sive aliquam consuetudinem, debet, nisi forte ob aliquam ecclesiasticam causam discutiendam ipse episcopus ecclesiæ mandaverit; et tunc Prior, vel aliquis frater ipsius ecclesiæ ad illum veniet.^a Quod si episcopus Dunelmensis, sive archidiaconus, forte propter aliquam causam, ad Pascha prædictæ ecclesiæ sacrum oleum dare renuerit, ex decreto Eboracensis metropolitani licet illi ab Eboracensi ecclesia illud accipere; licet etiam illi^b clericos suos ad ordinandum, quocumque vult, mittere.

^z Richard now wishes to shew that his church is independent of the bishop of Durham. The reader may infer from this chapter and from Richard's whole work that there was no connection at any time between Durham and Hexham, but this was by no means the case. The fact is, that from the days of bishop Eardulph until some time after the Conquest, the temporalities as well as spiritualities of Hexham belonged to the bishops of Chester and Durham. This is explained and detailed in the Preface.

^a The charter or bull setting forth these privileges does not now exist. The permission from the archbishop to receive the chrism from Durham looks certainly like a concession. Nothing is said of the chrism being brought from York unless the bishop of Durham refused to give it. The bishop of Durham had also the power of summoning the Prior of Hexham, or his representative, to Durham in certain judicial enquiries. There is no trace in the subsequent annals of Hexham that these rights were ever conceded to, or claimed by, the bishops of Durham. They were probably allowed in the first instance to lessen the soreness that would be felt when Hexham was joined permanently to York, but it does not appear that they were claimed or observed. There is something like a compromise here between York and Durham.

^b In later times the canons required the leave of the archbishop, when they wished to be ordained in any other diocese than that of York.

Hoc quoque privilegium ex antiquo tempore eam habere constat, quod, de quolibet Dunelmensis vel alterius episcopatus loco, quorumlibet defunctorum corpora, cum justis oblationibus illorum, tumulanda suscipere possit, qui, dum viverent, se fratribus ecclesiæ tradiderunt, et apud eos locum quiescendi elegerunt.

Ex regum, quoque, et archiepiscoporum, et episcoporum, et principum liberalitate et confirmatione, hanc libertatem optinet, quod nusquam pro traductione, vel commercio propriarum rerum suarum, aliquod tributum, sive aliquam consuetudinem, solvit. Igitur, sive in civitatibus et urbibus, sive in oppidis et villis et portibus, ministri ejus, ad opus ipsius ecclesiæ vel fratrum illius, aliquid vendant sive emant, vel cum pecunia eorum de loco ad locum transeant, sine omni exactione et consuetudine id agere solent et debent.^c

[CAP.] IV.

Quomodo ecclesia Hagustaldensis nunquam patronorum suorum episcoporum, scilicet Sanctorum Eatæ et Accæ et Alchmundi, et cæterorum venerabilium præsulum Frethberti et Tilberti, Divina pietate protegente, sit deserta, nunquam eorum sacris reliquiis sit destituta.

Anno MCXIII^o Dominicæ Incarnationis, ecclesia Sancti Andree Apostoli Haugustaldensis ad religionem conversa est.^d Nam cum, multis antea annorum curriculis, cum circumjacente regione sæpius deprædata, et depopulata, et diu deserta mansisset, nunquam tamen patronorum suorum, ejusdem ecclesiæ episcoporum, scilicet Sanctorum Eatæ et Accæ et Alchmundi, et cæterorum venerabilium præsulorum, Fredberti et Tilberti, Divina pietate protegente, nunquam, inquam, eorum sacris reli-

^c All these grants have disappeared. I shall give in Vol. II. a charter from king John, in which he frees the brethren of a hospital of St. Giles at Hexham from the tolls called passage and pontage. There is nothing to shew that the canons of Hexham were in any sense traders, and this privilege, therefore, would not avail them much. They had no large stocks of wool like the Cistercians, and their income was frequently of a most precarious description. If Corbridge had continued to be a place of importance, these exemptions would have been useful, but commerce flowed down the Tyne to Newcastle, a distance of twenty miles from Hexham.

^d Rather *re-conversa*, to coin a word. It had ceased to be a monastery since the Danish invasion in 875, and from that time it had been used merely as a parish church. It was now brought back to its original condition.

Richard now describes the positions occupied by the relics of the several bishops, as they were in his day, and as far before it as he could make out. From his account we may perhaps infer the ichnography of the church in his time. The subject of the different translations of the remains of these prelates will be best considered in the work of Aelfred, which is specially devoted to them.

quii destituta est. In quadam enim porticu juxta secretarium ejusdem ecclesiæ, versus australem partem,^e reliquiæ Sancti Eatæ, decenter in una theca collocatæ, quiescebant. A quo autem, vel quo tempore de terra elevatæ fuerint, a nobis ignoratur.

De Sanctis autem Acca et Alchmundo legitur, quod Elferdus^f filius Westou, vir quidem strenuus, et Dunelmensis ecclesiæ secretarius, tempore Egelwini ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopi,^g Divino præmonitus oraculo, de terra levaverit eos, et intra ecclesiam in remotioribus partibus collocaverat.^h Postea vero, procedente tempore, in secretario ejusdem ecclesiæ, Acca, quidem, ad dextrum cornu altaris, et Alchmundus ad sinistrum, honestius ac decentius in duobus arcubus positi sunt. Deinde, crescente devotione fidelium, ambo simul multo convenientius et honorabilius retro et juxta altare, ut in præsentì cernitur, in una theca sunt collocati. Venerabilium quoque patrum Fredberti et Tilberti reliquiæ in eodem loculo cum illis continentur. Quis autem eos de terra levaverit non est in nostra notitia. Sed quia cum prædictis patribus ubique inventi sunt, pariter cum illis levatos fuisse creditur. In illa autem theca, quæ ad austrum sita est, sunt reliquiæ Sancti Eatæ. In alia vero, versus aquilonem posita, sanctorum corporum Accæ et Alchmundi pulvis conservatur. Sunt etiam ibi multæ aliæ reliquiæ cum suis inscriptionibus quæ postea eidem ecclesiæ sunt datæ.

[CAP.] V.

Quomodo illa quondam inclita, et multiplici (cultu) possessionis et religionis magnifica, Hagustaldensis videlicet ecclesia, ecclesiæ Eboracensi, cum quadam villa nomine Holm, in præbenda sit data.

Hujus autem ecclesiæ tanto cælesti thesauro ditatæ, sub

^e This is described more fully in the life of Eata (Biogr. Misc., ed. Surtees Society, 124): "Sepultus vero est juxta sacrarium ecclesiæ præfatæ Haugustaldensis, ad plagam meridianam, et parva capella lapidea supra tumulum ejus constructa est. De quo loco incertum habetur a quo translatus sit, ac intra ecclesiam in scrinio condigno honore collocatus. Attamen verisimile videtur illum translatus fuisse ab Alfredo filio Westueor, presbitero Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, qui venerabiles ejus successores, Accam et Alcmundum, de terra levavit, ac intra ecclesiam in feretris honorifice collocavit." (MSS. Ebor., xvi., I, 12.)

^f Elfridus (MS. Ebor.).

^g Eluredus, or Aluredus, the son of Westou, made his expedition to Hexham in quest of relics, as will be seen elsewhere, in the beginning of the eleventh century. He was the secretarius, or sacrist, of Durham, and was a person, evidently, of much ingenuity and strength of character.

^h The remains of Acca were placed "super altare Sancti Michaelis in australi

Primo Thoma, Eboracensi archiepiscopo, quidam sæcularis presbyter, nomine Æillavus,ⁱ curam egit. Sed, non multo post, idem archi-præsul eam, cum quadam villa nomine Holm, dedit, in præbendam Eboracensi ecclesiæ, cuidam canonico ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis Beverlacensis, qui Ricardus de Maton vocabatur. Sub quo quidem, presbyter, nomine Æillavus, prædicti Æillavi filius, eidem ecclesiæ sumministravit, et pro suo servitio quandam partem beneficiorum habuit.

Mansit itaque in hoc miserabili statu, usque ad obitum ejusdem^j Girardi, illa quondam inclita, et multiplici cultu possessionis et religionis magnifica, sed tunc, ob incolarum perfidiam, et malitiam gravem sæcularium et carnalium hominum, oppressione divulsa ac pessumdata.^k Successit autem prædicto Girardo in Eboracensi archiepiscopatu Secundus Thomas, vir quidem magna generis nobilitate præclarus, sed multo præclarior eleganti morum probitate. Namque pater ejus Samson^l fuit de

porticu ecclesiæ." (Simeon, col. 102.) Alured put those of Alchmund "in porticu Sancti Petri, ad orientalem plagam ipsius ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis." (ibid., col. 109.) The positions to which they were subsequently removed will be described elsewhere.

ⁱ Eilav, or Eilaf, son of Alured Lauren, sacrist of the church of Durham, was "preost of Extildesham" (Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, xx.) in 1085. The charge of that place had been given to him on the death of his father by Egelric, or Egelwine, bishop of Durham, and when Hexham came into the possession of Thomas, archbishop of York, Eilav was permitted to continue there, having promised to restore the church (Aelred, *postea*). He died, according to the same authority, soon afterwards. Previous, however, to the decease of Eilav, the archbishop gave the church of Hexham to a canon of Beverley of the name of Richard de Maton. Beverley was reformed in 1092, so that this appointment was, probably, subsequent to that year. We are told, also, that Hexham and Holme in Yorkshire were made the corpus of a prebend in the cathedral of York. This arrangement, however, was afterwards altered by Thurstan. After his time the Prior was *ex officio* a canon of York, but the corpus of his stall was not Hexham or Holme, but Salton, a little village in Ryedale.

Richard de Maton did not altogether displace Eilav, but that ecclesiastic worked under him, receiving a portion of the benefice for his labours. It is probable from this that Maton was non-resident, and we know from Aelred that Eilav and his brother Aldred were very active in their work at Hexham. This, however, was most unsatisfactory, for the means of Eilav would be quite insufficient to do everything that was required, and we cannot wonder that greater changes soon took place.

^j The word *ejusdem* must be incorrect, as Gerard has not been mentioned before. Thomas I. died in 1100, and Gerard in 1108. *Cujusdam* would be better.

^k Aelred omits this, and says that Eilav wished to surrender his charge to canons-regular from a sense of responsibility, especially on account of the relics.

^l I have given an account of two members of this clerical family, both of them archbishops of York, in the Fasti Eboracenses. Of Sampson, brother of Thomas I., archbishop of York, somewhat may be said.

He was the son of two persons called Osbert and Muriel, his father being a priest (Ex Calend. vet. Eccl. Dunelm. in margine Martyrologii Ven. Bedæ, MS. Eccl. Cath. Dunelm., B, iv., 24). He and his brother Thomas were taken under the protection of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who sent them to Liège and other places to pursue their studies (Ord. Vitalis, apud Duchesne, 665), and thus he

nobilissima Normannorum prosapia oriundus, vir et ipse magnificus, et, primo, Willelmi regis Anglorum capellanus, et Baiocensis ecclesiæ thesaurarius, (cui etiam Ricardus,^m filius ejusdem Samsonis, postea pontificali dignitate præfuit,) deinde, idem Sampson Wigornensis episcopus extitit. Supradictus vero Primus Thomas, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, multimoda urbanitatis laude famosissimus, egregiæque strenuitatis et prudentiæ gloriâ dignissimus, prædicti Sampsonis frater, et prænominati sequentis Thomæ patruus fuit.

acquired his learning, for he was “non parvæ literaturæ vir, nec contemnendæ facundiæ.” (Malmsbury de Gestis Pont., apud Savile, ed. 1596, 161.) Richard says that he was chaplain to the Conqueror and treasurer of Bayeux, offices which Stubbs (col. 1705) assigns to his brother. Both may, perhaps, have held them. At all events Malmsbury (*ut supra*) calls Sampson a canon of Bayeux, and he was one of the Normans whom the Conqueror translated from that cathedral to fill the high places in the English church.

In 1073 the Conqueror wished to raise Sampson to the see of Le Mans, but he shrunk from the post, confessing that his life had been “valde reprehensibilis.” (Ord. Vit., 531.) Many years passed over, and Sampson altered his opinion. On the 8th of June, 1096, Sampson was consecrated bishop of Worcester at St. Paul’s, his brother Thomas, then archbishop of York, being one of the officiating prelates. On the previous day, “pro instanti necessitate,” Anselm had ordained him deacon and priest at Lambeth (Eadmer, apud Anselmi Opp. ed. 1721, 45).

There is a full account of his proceedings as bishop in the able and useful history of Worcester compiled by Dr. Thomas (4to, London, 1757). In 1100 he dedicated the abbey church of Gloucester (Flor. Wigorn., ii., 44), and he made several gifts to the monks at Worcester (Hemingus, 426, 575).

Sampson was somewhat concerned in the dispute for priority between the southern primate and his son Thomas; there is a letter addressed to him by Anselm on the subject, begging his assistance, and it was by Sampson’s advice that Thomas afterwards gave way (Anselmi Opp., 450. Eadmer, *ibid.*). Sampson shewed his fondness for the secular clergy by establishing them at Westbury in the room of the monks who had held it from the days of Oswald. This draws upon him the reprobation of Malmsbury (*ut supra*), who says, however, in addition to his character for learning, that he was “antiquorum homo morum, ipse liberaliter vesci, et aliis dapsiliter largiri.”

There are two letters to Sampson among those of Yves, bishop of Chartres, which shew that he remembered him with affection. In one of them the writer observes, “Quamvis ad præsens lateres oculos meos, non tamen latebas animam meam; quia bonum odorem tui nominis de transmarinis partibus olfaciebam, et olfactum intime diligebam.” (Ivonis Carnotensis Opp., ed. 1647, ii., 69, 89.)

Sampson died on the 5th of May, 1112 (Flor. Wigorn., ii., 66. Ann. Wigorn., apud Ang. Sacr., i., 474), and was buried in his own cathedral. He was a conspicuous member of a great clerical family. It is likely enough that archbishop Thurstan (a royal chaplain and a native of Bayeux) was connected with it. Thurstan’s father was a canon of St. Paul’s, and his brother Audoenus was bishop of Evreux. It is probable that Sampson had a daughter, Isabella de Douvre, the concubine of Robert of Gloucester, who was the mother of Roger, bishop of Worcester, and of Richard, who succeeded his uncle, another Richard, in the see of Bayeux in 1133 (cf. Notes and Queries, second series, v., 435).

^m Richard was bishop of Bayeux from 1108 to 1133 (Gallia Christiana, xi., coll. 360-1).

[CAP.] VI.

De quadam re, digna memoriæ, archiepiscopi Thomæ; et de eo quod Deus, non per offensionem ad iram est provocandus, sed potius per bonam operationem ad misericordiam inclinandus, ut suæ creaturæ misereatur propitiatus.

In hoc igitur Secundo Thoma, viro perspicuo, laudabilem naturæ dotem multimoda virtutum insignia affatim exornabant.ⁿ Ingenii naturalem vivacitatem litterarum scientia, et sermonis facundia commendabant. Largiendi dapsilitatem, grata vultus hylaritas, ac prompta animi benignitas magnificabant. Super egenorum inopia, mœstorum tristitia, afflictorum miseria, quam ineffabiliter totus visceribus compassionis et charitatis effluebat, ac de eximia morum ejus elegantia æstimavi potius silere quam parum dicere.

Cumque præpotentum et prædivitum parentum, et amicorum, non modica copia præemineret, et dulci juventutis gratia floreret, ac dignitatum et honorum ingenti gloria præluceret, et divitiarum magna habundantia præpolleret, supra^o graves et frequentes epatis^p molestias, quas longo tempore patiebatur, prudentiam medicorum consulit. At illi complexionis ejus conspersione, et causam, et modum morbi diligentissime explorantes, nisi pudicitiae fræno soluto naturalem carnis explendo voluptatem frequentaret, eum nullo modo sanitatem recuperare posse constanter confirmabant. Quorum consilium prorsus ab(j)iciens, et ne quis tale quid ei amplius suggerere auderet, cum anathemate interdicens, tale responsum memoria dignum eis, cum magna mentis constantia, reddidisse fertur. "Absit," inquit, "absit a me, ut pro hac momentanea corruptibilis carnis salute æternæ salutis Auctorem ac Datorem scienter offendam. Non enim per offensionem ad iram est provocandus, sed potius per bonam operationem ad misericordiam inclinandus, ut suæ crea-

* We must pardon Richard for allowing his pen to run so freely in narrating the virtues of the founder of his monastery. Others, however, join with him in commending Thomas. Malmsbury (ed. 1596, 156) says that Thomas was "dapsilis exemplo sui ad omnes, prædicandæ pietatis et favoris in clericos." Simeon is still more laudatory (col. 236): "Qui cum cæteris sanctarum virtutum operibus, etiam in virginitatis puritate perrexit ad Dominum. Quanta vero morum probitate, et vitæ innocentis puritate, ante episcopatum, et in episcopatu enituerit, nullis humanis verbis digne explicari posse arbitror." Stubbs (col. 1713) uses the same words.

Thomas's fame as an author, "litterarum scientia," seems to rest upon some Hymns and an Officiarium which he composed for the church of York. It is not known that they are in existence (Bale, cent. xiii., 102. Tanner, Bibl. Brit., 709).

^o Super (MS. Ebor.).

^p Hepar, a Latin word borrowed from the Greeks, means the liver.

turæ misereatur propitiatus.”⁷ Tunc præcepit largas elemosinas dari; et ipse, copiosissimo lacrimarum imbre faciem perfusus, ad orationem cum magna devotione se convertit, quod et more solito facere consuevit; et toto mentis affectu quem inter Sanctos Dei præcipue diligebat et excolebat, in suum auxilium, Sanctum Johannem confessorem,⁸ Beverlacensis ecclesiæ patronum, sæpius iterando invocavit. In hac autem præposituræ dignitate eo fungebatur tempore,⁹ apud quam tunc eum ægrotasse contigerat; sed mox, per intercessionem sanctissimi confessoris, Deo auxiliante, sanitatem recuperavit. Sicque, pudicitia conservata, in puritate virginitatis de hac vita migrasse pro certo creditur. Cum prædictis autem virtutum insignibus, tantam gratiam illi propitia Dei contulerat pietas, ut tam divitibus quam pauperibus gratissimus et carissimus esset. Unde, quocumque adveniebat, miro favore et gaudio suscipiebatur, venerabatur, diligebatur.

[CAP.] VII.

De electione Secundi Thomæ, Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis mcviii^o, et regni Henrici nono, quo desiderante,⁶ et unanimi consensu et desiderio cleri et populi, in Eboracensem archiepiscopatum electus, pontificalis officii dignitatem, quantum potuit, bonis operibus adimplere, cum magna cura et diligentia, satagebat. Cumque archiepiscopatus monasteria frequenter visitaret, et in eis, pro suis viribus, et pro locorum congruentia, Dei servitium exaltaret, contigit quoque eum sæpius, visitandi gratia, ad Haugustaldense monasterium devenire. Unde, Deo inspirante, cœpit crebrius ad memoriam reducere, illud quondam possessionum, et dignitatum magnificentia opulentissimum, et cultu religionis notissimum, ad quam miserrimum statum devenisset. Igitur, ob Sanctorum ibi quiescentium merita declaranda, Deo miserante, super ejus dejectione magno compassionis dolore condoluit, ac de ipsius resuscitatione ipse sedulo excogitare, et cum suis diligenter tractare ac retractare cœpit. Cognita autem ipsius voluntate, quamplures, et maxime quidam de suis clericis

⁷ Wm. de Newburgh, i., 19-20. Other writers allude briefly to the chastity of Thomas. Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says that it was the same complaint which carried off James Rossa, archbishop-elect of Lisbon.

⁸ Richard might have said *Sanctum*, as John was canonized in 1037 (*Fasti Ebor.*, i., 89).

⁹ Thomas was provost of Beverley from 1092 to 1108.

⁶ Thomas was nominated to the see of London in 1108, but the dean and chapter of York begged that he might come to them at York, and the king assented (*Saxon Chron.*, ed. Ingram, 331. Simeon, col. 231, etc.).

ei dilectissimi et familiarissimi, omnibus modis quibus poterant, ad hoc perficiendum ipsius animum accenderunt."^v

[CAP.] VIII.

Quando Hagustaldensis ecclesia, post secundam devastationem a rege Danorum Haldano, ut prædictum est, factam, ad religionem est conversa.

Anno igitur ab origine mundi v^m cccxv^o; ab Incarnatione Domini m^cxiii^o; ex quo vero Eboracensis ecclesia per prædicationem Sancti Paulini archiepiscopi fundata archiepiscopalem cathedram suscepit quadringentesimo octogesimo sexto; ex quo autem, per prædicationem Sanctorum Oswaldi regis et martyris et Aidani episcopi, Bernicia suscepit fidem quadringentesimo octogesimo; ab adventu Normannorum in Angliam quadragesimo octavo; regni Henrici quartodecimo, qui est archipræsulatus illius quintus, sæpedictus Thomas, consilio et auxilio capituli sui, videlicet ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboracensis, de manu prædicti Ricardi de Maton præfatam ecclesiam Haugustaldensem liberavit. Consensu quoque ipsorum canonicorum, in prædicta Eboracensi ecclesia, unam portionem de communi eorum, pro liberatione ipsius, illi dedit.^v

Nec mora. Eodem anno, ad kalendas Novembris, duxit illuc canonicos regulares, quibus, cum suis consuetudinibus, et cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, quietam et liberam, sicut ipse eam in suo dominio habuerat, ecclesiam tradidit, sicut cartæ ipsorum testantur.

Supradictus vero presbyter, junior Æillavus,^w curam parochiæ cum maxima parte beneficiorum, et unam carrucatam terræ, cum quibusdam mansis in ipsa villa de Hestaldasham, et sex bovatas terræ in Æilnewic, scilicet dotem ipsius ecclesiæ, cum magna pace et honore de ipsis canonicis longo tempore tenuit. Nam quamvis sæpe, et jure poli et fori,^x ei supradicta auferre possent, et quamvis multotiens magnis penuriis etiam

^v Aelred says that Eilav, who had an interest in the church, went to Thomas, and begged him to send canons regular to Hexham to take charge, especially, of the relics. Thomas, in the first instance, sent two, one from York and the other from Beverley. The name of one of them, as Simeon says, was Edric, and he was the first who arrived.

^w It seems from this that Maton was made, by way of compensation, a residentiary at York.

^x Eilav is allowed to retain a considerable portion of the possessions of the church, which at that time could not be great. He resided at Durham whilst the canons at Hexham seem to have been for some time in great distress. He was, in fact, the rector of the church. Æilnewic, or Aynewyk (MS. Ebor.) hodie Anwick, is a hamlet a little to the north of Hexham.

^y In other words, by the law of heaven and earth, or God and man.

victualium angustiantur, nunquam tamen hoc facere voluerunt, ne ipse de illis, sive juste sive injuste, conqueri, et famam eorum in aliquo violare posset. Unde Divina pietas, apud quam suorum patientia nunquam periit, tandem illorum inopiæ miserta, absque omni scandalo, et cum magno honore illis sua restituit.

[CAP.] IX.

Quomodo Æillavus presbyter, pater Ethelredi abbatis Rievallis, prædictam ecclesiam liberam et quietam Deo optulit; in manu Prioris, Rodberti Biset, per pulchrum philacterium, cum magna devotione, reddidit.

Quadam enim vice apud Dunelmum ægrotare incipiens, quorundam sapientium consilio, Rodbertum, Priorem ipsorum canonicorum, mandavit.^y Cui, mox ut venit, prædictam ecclesiam, et quicquid de ipsa tenuerat, liberum et quietum de se, et de omnibus ad se pertinentibus, sponte sua, et cum magna devotione reddidit. Multiplices etiam gratiarum actiones, ipsi, et ejus canonicis, pro innumeris beneficiis egit; quia non ut capellanum, sed ut patrem suum, eum inter se familiariter tractaverant. Sed quia pœnituit illum ecclesiasticis rebus diu abusum fuisse, quibus Dei servi rectius sustentari debuerant, quomodo melius hanc redditionem facere posset excogitavit. Fecit igitur illam cum pulc(h)ro filaterio,^z scilicet cruce argentea, in qua Sanctorum confessorum et episcoporum, Accæ et Alcmundi, reliquiæ continebantur. Obnixè quoque deprecatus est, ut, hujus rei gratia, perpetuum memoriale in ipsa ecclesia conservaretur. Willelmus, quoque, abbas de Riesvalle, et Ethelredus,^a monachus ejus et filius ipsius Æilavi; et, de ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti, Mauricius supprior, et Aldredus secretarius, et Henricus monachus; et, de ipsa Hagustaldensi ecclesia, quidam canonicus nomine Ricardus,^b et duo filii ejusdem Æilavi, Samuel et Ethelwoldus, hi omnes ad hoc ibi convenerant, ut,

^y An affecting account of the last days of Eilav, and his remorse at detaining so much of the revenues of the church of Hexham in the great necessity of the canons. He sends for Robert Biseth, the second Prior of Hexham, and surrenders what he had into his hands.

^z Eilav gives the livery of his possessions to the Prior in the form of a filaterium. This word is the same as phylacterium, which signifies, in the first instance, a piece of parchment in the form of a scroll, containing some text or portion of the law. In this case it is applied to a silver crucifix, which was hollow and perhaps of filigree work. It contained some of the relics of Acca and Alcmund which Eilav had brought away from Hexham. The York MS. reads philaterio.

^a These two great men will be mentioned afterwards; the first in the chronicle of Prior John, the other when his own tractate on the Saints of Hexham is printed. The York MS. reads Eldredus.

^b This, I presume, is the author himself.

in eorum præsentia et testimonio, hæc fierent; et sic, absque omni reclamatione et contradictione, factum est.

[CAP.] X.

Quomodo prædictus Æillavus presbyter apud Sanctum Cuthbertum Dunelmi habitum monachilem suscepit; et qualia dona, ad decorem domus Domini, Secundus Thomas, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, prædictis canonicis donavit.

Anno autem Verbi Incarnati MCXXXVIII^o, ex quo autem canonici ipsam ecclesiam habuerant vicesimo sexto, et Turstini archiepiscopi vicesimo quinto, facta sunt hæc. Deinde, ingravescente morbo, apud Sanctum Cuthbertum, quem semper in mira veneratione habuerat,^c habitum monachilem sumpsit. Exinde, per aliquot dies, in magna et sui recognitione, et cordis contritione, et peccatorum deploratione, Dominici corporis perceptione munitus, vitam suam ibidem finivit.

Præterea, prædictus Thomas archiepiscopus dedit canonicis quatuor villulas,^d et unum molendinum super Tinam fluvium, cum omnibus ad ea pertinentibus, sicut ea in suo dominio habuerat; et, unum miliare^e anguillarum per annum; et quædam alia, ut privilegia eorum, facta ab ipso archiepiscopo, et a capitulo Sancti Petri Eboracensis ecclesiæ, testantur. Concessit quoque eis, ad vestitum ipsorum, centum solidos per annum.^f Dedit quoque eis libros, et vestimenta, et plurima alia ad decorem domus Dei necessaria; et, si diutius vivere posset, multa plura dedisset. Quippe eos, et eorum ecclesiam, quantum ratione poterat, ardenti desiderio sullimare proponebat.

^c He had given before this (circa 1133) the vill of Cocken near Durham, which he held of the bishop "antiquo patrimonii jure," to Durham priory (Lel. Coll., ed. 1774, i., 390), and bishop Geoffrey Rufus confirmed the donation (Surtees' Durham, i., part ii., 205. The Priory of Finchale, ed. Surtees Soc., 86). As a monk, Eilav could have no *proprietas* or property of his own, and this gift seems to have been a preliminary step to his taking the vows.

^d These are the two Anwicks, Sandhoe, and Yarowridge (Reg. archiep. Melton, 426 b).

^e A thousand. I have observed this phrase in the register of bishop Halton at Carlisle in connection with some of the dues taken in that city in the time of Edward I. This perquisite of a thousand eels was given up by the Prior and Convent to archbishop Gray, and he gave them some land in exchange (MSS. Cotton, Claudius, B, iii., 29 a). See Vol. II.

^f See the next chapter. This sum seems to have been charged by Thurstan upon the archdeacon of the West Riding, *i. e.*, York.

[CAP.] XI.

De morte piæ memoriæ prædicti Thomæ, Eboracensis archiepiscopi; et de ejus successore Turstino, et de bonis quæ præfatis canonicis fecit.

Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis MCXIV^o, et regni Henrici quintodecimo, et archiepiscopatus ejus septimo, sæpe-præ-nominato Thomæ, quartodecimo kalendas Martii,^g feria tertia, apud Beverlacum viam universæ carnis ingresso, et apud Eboracum cum digno honore sepulto, Turstinus, Henrici regis cappellanus, eodem anno, die Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, apud Wintoniam^h electus, in archiepiscopumⁱ successit. Hic autem, inter innumeras et gravissimas adversitates, quibus diu et creberrime pulsatus est, animum invictissimum et constantissimum gerebat. His igitur tandem superatis et optato fine consummatis, celebrem cognitionis famam, et magnæ venerationis laudem, apud plurimas gentes, merito probitatis suæ adeptus est. Erat quippe vir magnæ castitatis et prudentiæ, honestatis et justitiæ, et multarum virtutum fulgore perspicuus; et in ecclesiasticarum causarum negotiis, ac in suorum tuitione defensor optimus; et in elemosinarum largitionibus dispensator prudentissimus.^j Præterea cujusque religionis homines, magno devotionis affectu et auctoritatis rigore, adjuvabat et protegebat.

Cum igitur omnes ecclesias religionis diligeret, specialius tamen prædictam Hagustaldensem ecclesiam diligebat et protegebat; unde et possessiones, et consuetudines, et dignitates illius, non solum sua auctoritate confirmavit, verum etiam sua liberalitate auxit.^k Nam præter reliquias plurimorum Sanctorum,^l et libros, et vestimenta, et duo paria candelabrorum, unum argenteum et aliud cupreum et deauratum, et præter

^g *i. e.*, Feb. 16. Stubbs says Feb. 18 (col. 1713). Feb. 24 (Flor. Wigorn., ii., 67. Hoveden, apud Savile, 271).

^h Saxon Chron., ed. Ingram, 334. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 67. Of the great and noble-hearted Thurstan it is unnecessary to speak here, as he is brought before us afterwards by Prior John. Richard is profuse in his praises. He was in all probability acquainted with Thurstan.

ⁱ Archiepiscopatum (MS. Ebor.).

^j Promptissimus (MS. Ebor.).

^k The following passage from an unpublished life of Thurstan bears witness to his pious zeal: "Cujus pio studio, inter cætera bona quæ operatus est, attribuenda est fundatio atque provectio celeberrimi monasterii Fontanensis; et monasterii de Hagustalde, aliorumquæ octo fundator eximius extitit." (MSS. Cotton, Titus, A, xix., 55 b.)

^l Some of the relics, probably, which pope Calixtus gave to Thurstan at Rimini in 1120. Hugh the Chantor thus speaks of them: "Rogavit dominum papam ut ei de Sanctorum reliquiis, et de balsamo donaret. Qui benigne annuens, de utroque donavit, dicens 'Et certe si nostro sanguine opus haberes, non tibi ejus ferre denegarem usum.'" (MS. Life of Thurstan in Reg. Magn. Alb. penes Dec. et Cap. Ebor., 22.)

multa alia ornamenta sanctæ ecclesiæ, et cætera plurima dona, dedit illi ecclesiæ, et canonicis ejusdem, in perpetuam elemosinam, consilio et consensu capituli^m Sancti Petri Eboracensis, unam præbendam in eadem Eboracensi ecclesia;ⁿ et, ad vestitum eorum, centum solidos per annum de archidiaconatu de West-Rithinc;^o et, in ipsa villa de Hestoldesham, quandam partem terræ in qua homines eorum manent; et unum agrum inter Acuudam et Tinam fluvium; et aliam partem terræ ibidem, ad dilatandam suam propriam mansionem; et terram ubi hospitale factum est; et villam unam, scilicet Dotoland; et utranque Grottendunam; et quietum pastum porcis ipsorum et villicorum suorum de terra Sancti Andreæ. Præterea, quasdam decimas eis concessit.^p

De quibus omnibus, tam ipsius, quam capituli ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboracensis, et duorum regum Angliæ, Henrici et Stephani, privilegia facta sunt, quæ, cum suis bullis, in ipsa ecclesia conservantur.^q Habetur quoque ibi, de confirmatione ejusdem ecclesiæ, privilegium Calixti papæ et Eugenii papæ.^r

[CAP.] XII.

De libertatibus regum, et largitionibus principum, ac de elemosinis aliorum fidelium.

Sunt etiam ibidem plurimæ cartæ, et alia insignia, de terris quæ liberalitate et elemosinis hominum eidem ecclesiæ sunt

^m Ecclesiæ is here added (MS. Ebor.).

ⁿ Salton in Ryedale, in virtue of which the Priors of Hexham were canons of York. The old arrangement, therefore, about Holme was at an end.

^o Archbishop Roger, in lieu of this payment, made over to Hexham the church of Edston in Yorkshire in the time of Prior John the historian (MSS. Cotton, Claudius, B, iii., 18 a. Reg. Magnum Album, apud Ebor., pars i., 40 a, b; pars ii., 23 a).

^p These gifts are more fully enumerated in the Register of archbishop Melton (426 b), and in the great Insepimus of Edward I. in the possession of Mr. Beaumont. They are:—

The whole street in Hexham, now called Cockshaw, but then Cokeshou or Koxhou. Twenty-four messuages in a street called Prestpoffil, now Priestpopple. Thirteen messuages in a street called Vicus Fori, now the Market-place. Sixteen messuages in a street called Hencotes. The ground on which a hospital for strangers was built. The village of Dotland, where there was subsequently a park, Knytelhesil, and two places called Grottington. A field between Acombe and the Tyne. Free pannage throughout the liberty of Hexham, and the tythe of all animals within the same district.

^q All these were lost in the fire of 1296, and I am not aware that even copies of them are now in existence.

^r The bull of Calixtus II. is printed in the Appendix No. VII. It merely confirms to archbishop Thurstan the possession of the church of Hexham. Of a similar character are the bulls of Honorius II., Innocent II., Eugenius II., and Alexander III., all of which are to be found in MSS. Lansdowne, cccii 110 et seqq.

The York MS. terminates with this chapter, as far as Twysden's text of the

datae.^s Inter quos, David rex Scotiæ, et Henricus filius ejus, dederunt eis unum mansum in Carlel; et, in eadem villa ———, aliud mansum.^t Rodbertus de Setun, cum Richald matre sua, dedit eis dimidium cujusdam villæ quæ vocatur Achewic.^u Et Wallevus, et Alanus filius ejus, quatuor bovatas terræ, et unum mansum ad piscationem allecium, in Eltadala.^v Et Forno, et Ivo filius ejus,^w duas bovatas terræ ———. Et Sunnulfus, presbyter, unum mansum in Eboraco.^x Willelmus filius Ulfi quatuor bovatas terræ in Geveldala.^y Randulfus de Merlai,^z unoquoque anno, decem solidos, donec eos in terra ponat. Riched, mater Rodberti de la Val, dedit iterum Deo et ecclesiæ

MS. is concerned. Then follows, as another chapter, the life of Eata, which has been already printed by this Society, and an extract from Prior Richard's History of the Battle of the Standard, describing the invasion of king David in 1138.

^s All these deeds have disappeared, and copies of one or two of them are all that now remain.

^t This is mentioned, not on account of the magnitude of the gift, but to shew who the donors were. In 1479, when the Black Book of Hexham was made, the Priory had a single tenement in Carlisle, for which they received 18d. per annum, and a rent-charge of 2s. 6d. a year upon another. Formerly they had been worth 8s. a year.

^u Robert, son of Hubert de la Valle, of Seaton, near Tynemouth (afterwards called from him and his descendants Seaton-Delaval), and Richalda, his mother, gave the whole manor of Eachwick, in the parish of Heddon-on-the-Wall, between Hexham and Newcastle, on the north bank of the Tyne.

^v Waldeve was a younger son of Cospatric, earl of Northumberland. He was lord of Allerdale (Eltadala), and had great possessions in Cumberland. His son Alan was lord of Allerdale after his father (Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. iii., part ii., 14). "Alanus filius Waldevi dedit Henrico regi landas forestæ de Allerdale unacum venatione quando hospitavit apud Holmcoltrame." (Chron. Cumbriæ, ex libro de Wederhale, apud Dodsworth, xlv., 29-30.)

This herring-fishery is mentioned in no other place, but it was probably on the coast between Mary-port and Workington. It is probable that the canons of Hexham were indebted to Waldeve, or some member of his family, for their property at Isell and other places in Cumberland.

^w Forno and his son Yvo were the ancestors of the house of Greystock. Forno died about the 31st of Henry I. (Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. i., part i., 281). The scribe has left a blank in the MS. for the property which was given to Hexham by Forno and his son.

^x This was in Goodramgate in York. Between 1191 and 1194 Prior John, the historian, and the convent of Hexham, granted this to William, the chaplain of archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet, and his heirs, he paying to them 3s. per annum (Orig. cart. penes Dec. et Capit. Ebor.). We do not hear again of this house.

^y Givendale, on the Yorkshire Wolds. This grant was made to Hexham about 1125, and was afterwards confirmed by the donor in the presence of Prior Richard, Fitz-Ulf offering it on the altar of St. Peter at York with a coin and a knife (Ex cartul. de Hexham, apud Collect. Topogr., vi., 40-1).

^z The founder of Newminster abbey, and the person to whom the charter, No. VI. in the Appendix, refers. The intention of Ranulph was probably fulfilled by his son, Roger de Merlay, the First, who gave a toft and two bovates of land in Stanington to the monks of Hexham (Hodgson's Northumberland, ii., part ii., 376; ii., part iii., 167).

Sancti Andreæ Hagustaldensis, et canonicis ibi Deo servientibus, aliam medietatem de Achewic, in perpetuam elemosinam, liberam et quietam de se et de omnibus qui ad eam pertinent, cum omni illo jure quod ipsa habebat super eam. Stephanus rex Angliæ, unoquoque anno, quadraginta solidos ad emendum vinum.^a

[CAP.] XIII.

Quantæ venerationis ac dignitatis Hagustaldense monasterium apud antiquos fuerit, quam mirifice fundatum, quam magnifice ornatum, et quam gloriosissime exaltatum extiterit.

Illud nobile Hagustaldense monasterium quantæ venerationis ac dignitatis apud antiquos fuerit, qui ad Hystoriam Anglorum, et Gesta Veterum Northanhumborum^b studiose legerit vel audierit, evidentissime scire poterit. Namque gloriosissimi atque potentissimi Northanhimbrorum regis Ecfridi consilio et auxilio, ac Sanctæ Etheldridæ petitione atque donatione, a beatæ memoriæ Wilfrido, Eboracensis pariter et ipsius Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ pontifice, mirifice fundatum, magnifice ornatum, atque gloriosissime exaltatum fuit. Ab illo igitur tempore, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritate, et archiepiscoporum et episcoporum donatione et attestatione, et regum et consulum ac principum liberalitate atque confirmatione, inter cætera prærogativarum suarum insignia, quibuslibet reis ad ejus defensionem confugientibus, firm(it)a(te)m pacis conferre et conservare cognoscitur. Sunt etenim ab orientali et australi, ab occidentali et aquilonali parte ipsius ecclesiæ, quædam certa loca,^c et quidam termini

^a Perhaps, if this was binding upon Stephen's successors, it merged in the two casks of red wine which Henry III. granted annually to Hexham for himself and his successors (Appendix, No. XII.). It will be seen afterwards that the historians of Hexham speak of Stephen in a kind and friendly spirit.

^b Richard refers his readers to two works, of course easily attainable to them, in which the greatness of Hexham was set forth. The "Historia Anglorum" is probably the Ecclesiastical History of Bede. The "Gesta Veterum Northumbrorum" is perhaps a reference to the northern information in the "Gesta regum Anglorum," the chronicle which bears the name of Simeon of Durham. It is more probable, however, that Richard gives us the title of a missing volume of northern annals from which Henry of Huntingdon, Wendover, Adam of Bremen, and Simeon himself seem to have copied.

There is a valuable note on Simeon and his works by Mr. Hodgson Hinde in the first volume of the History of Northumberland.

^c The privilege of sanctuary has already been mentioned in book i., cap. v., and Prior Richard recurs to it in the chapter immediately following this, and there we are told that, as at Beverley, there were six different degrees of safety, the outer cordon being at a distance of a mile from the town (i., v.).

There are traces of several crosses at a short distance from Hexham, but it is not easy to say whether they were connected with the privilege of sanctuary. Through the kindness of Mr. Fairless, a most intelligent local antiquary, I have been favoured with the following account of these remains:—

evidentes, antiquitus instituti, et ab incolis bene cogniti, infra quos pacem adeuntes, et de pace redeuntes, vel eos, vel quicquam de substantia eorum, nulli licet infestare, sive temerario ausu contingere.

[CAP.] XIII.

De pace quæ a regibus et principibus Haugustaldensi ecclesiæ, et omnibus ad eam confugientibus, antiquitus data fuerit; et quæ vindicta illis sit injuncta qui eam infregerint.^d

Si quis igitur quemlibet cujuscunque facinoris aut flagitii reum et convictum, infra quatuor cruces, quæ sunt extra ipsam villam de Hestaldasham, capit et retinet,^e universali judicio duobus

“There is a considerable fragment of the cross, that stood due east, now preserved in the premises of the Union Workhouse. It was found in a field adjoining.” This is what Mr. Wright describes as standing in the White Cross fields, about a quarter of a mile from Hexham.

“Direct west of the church is a spot of ground which goes by the name of the Maiden Cross, which is supposed to be the site of the cross in that direction.” This is also about a quarter of a mile from the town, on the road to Carlisle.

“Of the cross to the south I know nothing,” neither did Mr. Wright.

“A few years since I saw a sort of base or foundation for the shaft of a cross standing in a field direct north, by the side of a bank known as the Cross-bank, on the north side of the river.” This, Mr. Wright says, is a few yards above the Acombe turnpike-gate on the Alnwick road, and is distant two and a half miles from Hexham. This can scarcely be the sanctuary-cross of which Prior Richard speaks in the last chapter of this work. It stood originally in the river.

^d In the MS. archbishop Parker had pasted a slip of paper over the title of the chapter, and had written, “Quam pacem dederunt reges ecclesiæ Hagustaldensi.” Twysden has adopted this. The recent removal of the slip has restored the real title, and has revealed several lines at the end of the chapter which have been already given in connection with an earlier chapter, to which they appropriately belong.

^e Richard now speaks of the penalties for infringing upon the boundaries. He makes a quotation from the charter of immunity granted to York cathedral and the minsters connected with the see. The deed is one of Henry I., but it is merely confirmatory of one, now lost, of Edward the Confessor:—

“Henricus rex Angl’, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, consulibus, proceribus, et universis fidelibus, Francis et Anglis, salutem. Possessiones, et dignitates, et libertatis consuetudines, quas habuit Eboracensis ecclesia, concedo, et regia auctoritate presenti carta confirmo, sicut hic subscriptæ sunt sub regibus antiquis et archiepiscopis, et quod plerique meminisse possunt. Edwardo rege et Aldredo archiepiscopo fuit ecclesiæ Sancti Petri consuetudo egregiæ libertatis. Si quis enim quemlibet cujuscunque facinoris aut flagitii reum et convictum infra atrium ecclesiæ caperet et retineret, universali judicio vi *hundreth* emendabit. Si vero infra ecclesiam, xij *hundreth*. Infra chorum, xvij: pœnitentia quoque de singulis sicut de sacrilegiis injuncta. In *hundreth* viij libræ continentur. Quod si aliquis, vesano spiritu agitatus, diabolico ausu quemquam capere præsumet in cathedra lapidea juxta altare, quam Angli vocant *fridstol*, id est cathedra quietudinis vel pacis, hujus tam flagitiosi sacrilegii emendatio sub nullo judicio erat, sub nullo pecuniæ numero clauderetur, sed apud Anglos *botelos*, hoc est sine emenda, vocabatur. Hæ emendæ nichil ad archiepiscopum sed ad canonicos pertinebant.” (Reg. Magnum Album, apud Ebor., pars ii., l.)

In the same place are to be found the confirmations of this by Stephen and Henry II.

hundredh emendabit. Si vero infra villam, quatuor *hundredh*. Si vero infra muros atrii ecclesiæ, sex *hundredh*. Si autem infra ecclesiam, duodecim *hundredh*. Si vero infra valvas chori, decem et octo *hundredh*. Pœnitentia quoque de singulis, sicut de sacrilegiis, injuncta. In *hundredth* octo libræ continentur. Quod si aliquis, vesano spiritu agitatus, diabolico ausu quemquam capere præsumpserit in cathedra lapidea juxta altare, quem Angli vocant *fridstol*, id est, cathedram quietudinis vel pacis, vel etiam ad feretrum sanctarum reliquiarum quod est post altare, hujus tam flagitiosi sacrilegii emendatio sub nullo judicio erit, sub nullo pecuniæ numero claudetur, sed apud Anglos *botolos*, id est, sine emendatione, vocatur.

Hæ emendæ nichil ad archiepiscopum, nisi ipse præsens in villa fuerit dum hujusmodi forisfacturæ contigerint; sed potius ad ipsius ecclesiæ canonicos pertinent. Sciendum autem quod quamvis supradicta loca pacis metas esse diximus, tamen piæ memoriæ Thurstinus, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, bis, scilicet, semel, cum Hudard vicecomite,^f et, alia vice, contra Walterum de Biwella, quendam capellanum Bernardi de Ball(i)ol,^g in conspectu et audientia multorum sapient(i)um et nobilium virorum, dirationavit, quod ex illa parte qua prædicta villa a Tina fluvio circumdatur, a medio impetu ipsius fluminis incipit pax præfatæ ecclesiæ. Unde duo prædicti viri judicio coacti sunt quosdam homines cum sua substantia ipsi archiepiscopo reddere; quos, ad pacem ecclesiæ fugientes, in supra-nominato loco amnis, capere ac retinere ausi fuerant.^h Quo facto, emendas ecclesiæ, et archiepiscopo, et canonicis fecerunt. Sed quia, propter frequentes et nimias inundationes, in medio fluminis infigi non poterant, quæ ibi poni debuerant, in ripa ipsius cruces positæ sunt.

EXPLICIT DESCRIPTIO (H)AGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIAE.

^f Hudard or Odard occurs as sheriff between 1113 and 1131 (Hodgson's Northumberland, i., part i., 203).

^g Bernard de Balliol, lord of the adjacent village of Bywell, was one of the great northern barons. He founded and gave his name to Bernard-castle between 1112-32. He gave the church of Gainford to St. Mary's abbey, York; a fishery in the Tweed to Kelso abbey; and divers lands to the Knights Templars (Pedigree of Balliol in Walbran's History of Gainford, part ii., unpublished). Bywell was granted to the Balliols by William Rufus. Bernard de Balliol is mentioned afterwards in the Chronicle of John of Hexham. He fought at the battle of the Standard, and must have died about the 14th of Henry II. (Hodgson's Northumberland, i., part i., 276-7).

^h These poor creatures would be debtors or bondmen. In the one case they escaped into sanctuary-ground from the sheriff, in the other from the chaplain of Balliol, who was, probably, only the representative of his lord.

INCIPIT HISTORIA PIÆ MEMORIÆ
RICARDI, PRIORIS HAUGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIAE,

DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, ET DE BELLO STANDARDII.^a

[MCXXXV.]

ANNO Verbi Incarnati MCXXXV, ab adventu vero Normannorum in Angliam sexagesimo nono, Henricus rex Angliæ, anno ætatis suæ sexagesimo octavo, de quadam muræna comedens ægrotavit, et mortuus est in quadam foresta Normanniæ quæ Leuns dicitur, apud Sanctum Dionisium, quarto nonas Decembris, feria secunda. Regnavit autem gloriose annis triginta quinque et mensibus quatuor.^b Corpus vero ipsius, sicut præceperat, in Angliam transvectum, apud Radingas sepultum est.

^a This imprint is derived from a MS. in the collection given by archbishop Parker to the library of C. C. C., Cambridge, the class mark of which is F. v., 139. The MS. was written in the beginning of the thirteenth century ; it is in double column, and has been prepared by a careful scribe. But I shall say more on this point in another place. The MS., I must add, is unique.

This chronicle has been printed already by Sir Roger Twysden (coll. 309-330), and, in a translated form, by Mr. Stevenson in *The Church Historians of England*, vol. iv., part i., 35-58.

^b Richard begins his chronicle with an account of the death and character of Henry I. Henry died, according to our author, on the 2nd of December, at St. Denis, in the forest of Lions in Normandy. This account is derived from William of Jumièges (apud Duchesne, 309), and the date is adopted in the *Continuation of Florence* (ii., 95). Ordericus says that he died in the castle of Lions on the 1st of December (Duchesne, 900), and he is followed by Malmsbury (*Hist. Novellæ*, apud Savile, ed. 1596, 101), Hoveden (*ibid.*, 275), and other chroniclers. Ordericus says that the king expired at nightfall on the 1st of December. It is easy, in this case, to understand the difference of a day.

Henry came to Lions to hunt. He ate some lampreys, which, as Hoveden says, "semper ei nocebant, et semper eas amabat," and what seems to have been a bilious fever was the result. This carried him off after a few days' illness. The best account of his decease is given by the chroniclers who have been already mentioned.

As soon as the breath had left the king's body, Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, an old friend and sometime abbat of Reading, and Audoenus, bishop of Evreux, brother of Thurstan of York, made the assembled nobles swear that they would

Unde statim justitia et pax, quæ cum eo diu regnaverant in Normannia et Anglia, pariter cum eo occubuerunt. Et justitiæ patrocinate, (*? a line omitted*) quod solum tunc ubique regnabat, violentiæ et rapinæ, cædes et deprædationes, inauditæ crudelitates, et innumeræ calamitates, loco pacis ac justitiæ, suam tyrannidem latenter et patenter exercuerunt. Hæc autem omnia mala post mortem ejus tanto exuberantius et vehementius prævaluerunt, quanto majori potentia et districtiori justitia in vita sua plures depresserat, aggravaverat, spoliaverat, exhæreditaverat, exiliaverat. Unde nacti occasionem quam ardentem desideraverant, singuli se vindicare festinabant, dum quicquid mali agere poterant, eis impune facere licebat.^c

Ea tempestate Willelmus cognomento Transversus, qui honorem Fracti-Pontis (sic enim quoddam oppidum nominatur) ex dono Henrici regis habuerat, a quodam milite, homine suo, Pagano nomine, apud ipsum oppidum letali vulnere percussus, post triduum in habitu monachili mortuus est.^d Et quem patri

accompany the royal corpse to the grave, and it was interred at Reading, as Henry had desired.

The king's death made a great sensation in Europe. Archbishop Hugh conveyed the intelligence to the pope (Malsbury, 100 *b*), and Peter the Venerable wrote in these terms to the sister of the deceased monarch, Adela, countess of Blois (Opp. ed. Migne, Epp., lib. i., 84), on the same theme:—

“Noveritis nihil nos aliud adhuc noscere potuisse, quam per octo dies in quadam villa juxta Rothomagum lecto eum decubuisse; domnum Rothomagensis archiepiscopum ei assidue adhæsisse, munitum ab eo omnibus ecclesiasticis sacramentis, in optima pœnitentia, et fideli confessione, quarto nonas Decembris de sæculo migrasse. Corpus ejus, sicut disposuerat, Rothomagum delatum est, inde a Roberto comite, filio suo, apud Radingas tumulandum, Angliam versus deportatum est.”

The countess Adela might well be wishful to hear everything, for her son Stephen became king of England. She was at that time a nun at Marcigny. Peter, as Mabillon observes (Ann. Ben., vi., 239), had been misinformed as to the day on which the king died, and Richard of Hexham commits the same error.

* Wm. of Jumièges describes Henry's good reign (Duchesne, 302), and so does the Saxon Chronicle (ed. Ingram, 364). Malsbury (102), the Continuation of Florence (ii., 96-7), and the Gesta Stephani (pp. 1-2), tell us in piteous terms of the mischief that followed his death. Ordericus, speaking of 1136, which was leap-year, says, “Hic tumultuosus annus vere bissextilis fuit, et tunc ultimus in ordine concurrentium bissextus cucurrit, ac, ut vulgo dicitur, bissextus super regem et populum ejus in Normannia et Anglia cecidit.” (905.)

^a This circumstance is mentioned only by the two Priors of Hexham. Dugdale, in his Baronage, calls the murdered person *Henry*, and not *William*, Travers (i., 99). At his death, Henry I. gave the honour of Pontefract to Guy de la Val, who held it during his reign. The king had taken a dislike to Robert de Laci (and Ilbert his son), and had expelled him from the kingdom (Ordericus, 805. Aelred, col. 337).

Ilbert de Laci, the novus homo of the English house, was a Norman baron to whom the Conqueror gave Pontefract and Blackburnshire, and he possessed as many as one hundred and fifty lordships. The Kirkstall chronicle says of him, “Apud Pontifractum capellam quandam construxit, quam in honorem Sancti Clementis, per dominum Thomam, tunc archiepiscopum Ebor., dedicari fecit; in eadem etiam capella cantuariam quandam ordinavit, et canonicos ordinavit

suo, Roberto de Lesci, rex Henricus abstulerat, Ilbertus de Lesceio, filius ejus, mox eundem honorem recuperavit. Et per Angliam et per Normanniam similiter pluribus eadem tempestate contigit.

Rex autem nobilis Henricus in juvenili ætate magna virtutis probitate laudabilis, in adversitatum periculis sæpe vexatus, in militaribus congressionibus optime exercitatus fuit. Erat namque vir consilii et providentiæ, sagacitatis ac prudentiæ, mente constans, animo audax, in sermone verax, in promissis efficax, in minis pertinax, in amicitia perseverans, in odio perdurans, in adversis patiens, in prosperis temperans, facundia disertus, justitia rigidus, in judicio æquus, inimicis pessimus, amicis optimus.^e Igitur, post fratrem suum Willelmum, regnum Angliæ adeptus, ducatumque Normanniæ a germano suo, Roberto comite, mira arte acquisivit, et utriusque negotia magna sapientia disposuit, ac omnes sibi adversantes ineffabili calliditate superavit.^f Nobiles plerosque propter eorum perfidiam depressit; ignobiles vero multos, quos probos ac sibi fideles invenit, amplis honoribus sullimavit.^g Bonas quoque leges et consuetudines regis Edwardi, prædecessoris ac cognati sui, restauravit; et, prout ei

ibidem, cum decano, constituit perpetuo servituros." (Titus, A, xix., 89.) His son Robert may be called the founder of Nostell priory. Robert had three sons, Ilbert, Henry, and another. Ilbert was a commander at the battle of the Standard, where he lost a brother, and was a strong partizan of Stephen. Henry founded Kirkstall abbey.

His son Robert built Clitheroe castle. "Ædificare cœpit castrum de Clyderhou in Blackburnschyre, in quo castro construi fecit quandam capellam in honore B. Michaelis Archangeli, in qua capella, per assensum et licentiam Galfridi, tunc decani eccl. de Qwalley, senioris, fecit Divina celebrari, et tenentibus suis dominicis, ac pastoribus, et forestariis sacramenta ecclesiastica ministrari." (Titus, A, xix., 59 b.)

Ilbert de Lacy, Hathewis his wife, and Robert and Hugh, their sons, occur in the Liber Vitæ of Durham (73).

^e A character of Henry of the most eulogistic kind is given among the lives of the bishops of Le Mans in the Vetera Analecta (ed. 1723, 324): "Culmen honoris et gratiæ, scientiæ speculum, morum fons," etc., etc. Henry is also spoken of most favourably in the Chronicle of Tours (Bouquet, xii., 471), and Suger, in his Life of Louis the Fat, is equally complimentary: "Vir prudentissimus Henricus, cujus tam admiranda quam prædicanda animi et corporis strenuitas et scientia gratam offerent materiam." (ibid., xii., 13.)

^f An account of this quarrel with duke Robert is in Ordericus, 819-20. The duke was taken at Tinchebray in 1106, and was kept in restraint until his death, which occurred in 1134-5. Cf. Sax. Chron., ed. Ingram, 329. The earl was buried at Gloucester (Wm. of Jumièges, apud Duchesne, 301).

^g "Omnes inimicos suos sapientia, vel fortitudine, sibi subjugavit, sibi que servientes divitiis et honoribus remuneravit. Unde plerosque illustres pro temeritate sua de sublimi potestatis culmine præcipitavit, et hæreditario jure irrecuperabiliter spoliatos condemnavit. Alios, e contra, favorabiliter illi obsequentes de ignobili stirpe illustravit, de pulvere, ut ita dicam, extulit; dataque multiplici facultate, super consules, et illustres oppidanos exaltavit."

"Sicut fidelibus retributor erat magnificus, sic infidis erat impacabilis ini-

videbatur, sua sapientia et auctoritate emendatas et corroboratas, in regno suo rigide et constanter, tam a divitibus quam a pauperibus, observari fecit. Raptores quoque, ac fures, et latrones,^h ac maleficos, atque falsæ monetæ factores,ⁱ et studiosos expensores, gravi animadversione puniri fecit.

Igitur in diebus illis tempora pacis floruerunt, ac plura monasteria, in quibus antea non erant, ad religionem monachorum, ac præcipue canonicorum regularium, conversa sunt. Unde et ipse duo cœnobîa, unum monachorum, apud Radingas,^j ubi et ipse sepeliri voluit; et, alterum canonicorum, apud Cirecestriam^k instituit, et regali munificentia ditavit, ac utrisque, juxta ordines suos, abbates præfecit. Monasterium vero Radingas ipse favore suo provexit, et in lumine basilicam pulcherrimi operis erexit, et, cum regali potestate, red(d)ituum conventu, et numerositate monachorum ornavit. Construxit etiam cœnobium Cirecestræ, quarto ante obitum suum anno, in quo, cum opulentia rerum necessariarum, canonicos regulares collocavit. In religiosos et in pauperes laudabili largitate, et congrua veneratione, enituit.^l Post quem non surrexit princeps alius qui sic

micus, et vix sine vindicta in corpore, vel honore, vel pecunia, indulgebat certos reatus." (Ordericus, 805.)

Henry most certainly kept his barons in order; he struck a severe blow against them when he got the mastery of Robert de Belesme.

^h Malmesbury, apud Savile, 91 b.

ⁱ "Moneta corrupta et falsa multis modis multos affligebat," and Henry punished the offenders most severely (Eadmer, Hist. Nov., apud Anselmi Opp., ed. 1721, 78). Cf. Wm. of Jumièges, apud Duchesne, 303, and Flor. Wigorn., ii., 57.

^j This noble abbey of Cluniac monks was built and endowed by him in 1121 and the following years. The abbat was mitred, and had the privilege of coining money. At the Dissolution the income of the abbey amounted to the large annual sum of 2111*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* (Dugdale, iv., 28).

^k This was also a magnificent house, and possessed a revenue of more than a thousand a year when it was suppressed. The house was one of Austin canons, and was ruled by a mitred abbat (Dugdale, vi., 175). "Anno 1117, apud Cirencestre, secundum Henrici regis præceptum, novum opus est inceptum." (Flor. Wigorn., ii., 70. Hoveden, apud Savile, 271 b.)

^l There is a chapter in the chronicle of Wm. of Jumièges which speaks of Henry's pious zeal (Duchesne, 308). He finished the church of St. Mary de Prato at Rouen, and was a great benefactor to the abbeys of Bec, Clugny, and St. Martin des Champs at Paris, and the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem. He built the hospital for lepers at Chartres, and was a great patron and friend to the church of Evreux, among other good works.

Henry is also said to have been the founder of the abbey of Mortimer (? cf. Chron. de Mortimer, apud Thes. Nov. Anecd., iii., col. 1438) and of Dunstaple priory (Chron. de Dunstaple, i., 23. Chron. Mon. de Hagnebie, apud MSS. Cotton, Vesp., B, ii., 6 a), of Wellow or Grimsby abbey (Dugd. Mon., vi., 470), and of the priory of Anglesey in Cambridgeshire, according to Knyghton (col. 2384).

Henry was a great friend to the Cluniacs. He gave the abbey of Clugny 100*s.* per ann. (Martene, Thes. Nov. Anecd., i., 361, 382). Peter the Venerable described his death in a letter to Adela, countess of Blois (Opp., ed. Migne, 84),

injustas regni exactiones interdiceret, omnes sibi subjectos in pace et modestia sapientiæ disponderet, personas ecclesiasticas reverenter excoleret, pauperes et inopes sumptuosis elemosinis foveret.

Duas reginas habuit, primam nomine Matildam,^m filiam Malcolmi regis Scotiæ, ex qua unam filiam genuit: quæ, primo, imperatori Henrico Alemanniæ, ac, deinde, Gaufrido, Andegavensium comiti, in conjugium data est.ⁿ Unum quoque filium, nomine Willelmum, ex eadem habuit, qui, cum maxima nobilitate Angliæ et Normanniæ, in mari summersus est.^o Alteram vero reginam, post mortem Matildis, nomine Adelizam, filiam Godefridi ducis Luvaniæ, accepit, sed hæc sterilis permansit.^p In fornicatione autem, et adulterio, plures liberos habuit.^q Namque hæc duo vitia, scilicet, luxuria et amor pecuniæ, in eo nimis dominabantur. Unde, ejus exemplo, plurimi corrupti sunt.

Hic autem, sicut prædictum est, paulo antequam moreretur, in Normannia existens, de quadam muræna comedit; unde mox ægrotare cœpit, et mortuus est. Quo mortuo, continuo emeruerunt homines scelesti et peccatores, cuncta jura justitiæ et pacis dissipantes, et ad direptiones, et cædes, incendia, et alia flagitia, hostiliter prouentes. Ipse enim, in principio regni sui, sicut prædiximus, leges justas, et libertates populo dedit, carta confirmavit, sigillo corroboravit, et in errario (*ærariorum*) suo apud Wintoniam conservari præcepit, sicut sequens articulus aperte demonstrabit.

Henricus, Dei gratia, rex Anglorum, omnibus fidelibus suis, tam Francigenis, quam Anglicis, totius Angliæ, salutem.^r Sciatis

and in the life of that good man it is said that Henry was saved by his prayers, and that the king appeared to one of his knights after his decease, and gave him the joyful news (*ibid.*, 25).

^m This marriage took place in 1100 (Saxon Chron., 321). The queen died on May 1, 1118, and was buried in Westminster abbey (Flor. Wigorn., ii., 71).

ⁿ Matilda married the emperor in 1110 (Saxon Chron., 331. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 60), and Geoffrey of Anjou in 1127 (Saxon Chron., 353). With regard to this latter marriage the author of the lives of the bishops of Le Mans observes, speaking of the lady and her husband, "proba probo, generosa nobili, docta sapienti, non indigno vincta fuerat fœdere conjugii." (Vetera Analecta, ed. 1723, 324.)

^o This mishap occurred in November, 1120 (Saxon Chron., 341. Geneal. Ducum Norm., apud Duchesne, 213).

^p She was married to Henry at Windsor on the feast of the Purification, 1121 (Hoveden, 273). After Henry's death she re-married William d'Albeni (Duchesne, 978, ex Chron. Normanniæ).

^q These children are enumerated by William of Jumièges (Duchesne, 306-7). Cf. Lappenberg's Anglo-Norman Kings, ed. Thorpe, 348-9. Additions may be made to the list, in which as many as fifteen or sixteen children are mentioned. "I, canonicus Ebor., filius regis," is a new name. He occurs in an ancient charter belonging to the treasurers of York minster.

^r This great charter is given at the beginning of the first volume of the

me, misericordia Dei, et communi consilio baronum regni Angliæ, ejusdem regni regem coronatum esse. Et quia regnum oppressum erat injustis actionibus,^s ego, respectu Dei, et amore quem erga vos omnes habeo, sanctam Dei ecclesiam imprimis liberam concedo, ita quod nec eam vendam, nec ad firmam ponam, nec, mortuo archiepiscopo, vel episcopo, vel abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio ecclesiæ, vel de hominibus, donec successor in eam ingrediatur. Et omnes malas consuetudines, quibus regnum Angliæ injuste opprimebatur, inde aufero. Quas malas consuetudines expono hic partes.^t

Si aliquis baronum meorum, vel comitum, sive aliorum qui de me tenent, mortuus fuerit, hæres suus non redimat terram suam sicut faciebat tempore fratris mei, sed legitima et justa relevatione relevabit eam. Similiter homines baronum meorum legitima et justa relevatione relevabunt terras suas de dominis suis.

Et si quis baronum, vel aliorum hominum meorum, filiam suam nuptui tradere voluerit, sive sororem, sive neptem, sive cognatam, mecum inde loquetur. Sed neque ego aliquid de suo pro hac licentia accipiam, neque defendam ei quin eam det, excepto si eam jungere vellet inimico meo. Et, si, mortuo barone vel alio homine meo, filia hæres remanserit, illam dabo, consilio baronum meorum, cum terra sua. Et, si, mortuo marito, uxor remanserit ejus, et sine liberis fuerit, dotem suam et maritacionem habebit; et eam non dabo marito, nisi secundum velle suum: si vero uxor cum liberis remanserit, dotem quidem et maritacionem suam habebit, dum corpus suum legitime servaverit, et eam non dabo, nisi secundum velle suum. Et terræ liberorum custos erit, sive uxor, sive alius propinquorum, qui justius esse debebit. Et præcipio, ut barones mei similiter se contineant erga filios, vel filias, vel uxores hominum suorum.

Monetagium commune, quod capiebatur per civitates et per comitatus, quod non fuit tempore regis Edwardi, hoc ne amodo sit omnino defendo. Si quis captus fuerit, sive monetarius, sive

Statutes of the Realm, with some various readings; few of which, however, are of any importance. It commences there in the following manner: "Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ MCI, Henricus, filius Willelmi regis, post obitum fratris sui Willelmi, Dei gratia rex Anglorum, omnibus fidelibus salutem."

The charter is also printed by Brompton, coll. 1021-2; in the Textus Roffensis, ed. Hearne, 51, and in Wendover, ii., 161-4. The laws of Henry I. are published in Thorpe's Laws and Institutes of England, i., 497-608. At the commencement, this charter is given by Mr. Thorpe with various readings. I have noticed the most important of them.

^s Exactionibus (Statutes, Thorpe, and Wendover). In Wendover, instead of the words, "totius Angliæ," there is put, "in Herefordeschire" (Hertfordshire), Wendover's county, and the document would be addressed in that way to the sheriff.

^t "Ex parte" (Statutes and Thorpe). "Suppono fore istas" (Brompton). "In parte" (Wendover). The reading of the Hexham chronicler is base.

alius, cum falsa moneta, justitia recta inde fiat. Omnia placita, et omnia debita, quæ fratri meo debebantur, condono, exceptis rectis firmis meis, et exceptis illis quæ pacta erant pro aliorum hæreditatibus, vel pro eis rebus quæ juste aliis contingebant. Et, si quis pro hæreditate sua aliquid pepig(er)it, illud condono, et omnes relevationes, quæ pro rectis hæreditatibus pactæ erant.

Et, si quis baronum vel hominum meorum forisfecerit, non dabit vadium in misericordia pecuniæ suæ, sicut faciebat tempore fratris mei et patris, sed, secundum forisfacti modum, ita emendabit, sicut emendasset retro a tempore patris mei, in tempore aliorum antecessorum meorum. Et, si quis baronum et hominum meorum infirmabitur, sicut ipse dabit, vel dare disponet pecuniam suam, ita datam esse concedo. Quod si ipse, præventus vel armis vel infirmitate, pecuniam suam non dederit, vel dare disposuerit, uxor sua, sive liberi, aut parentes, et legitimi homines ejus, eam pro anima ejus dividant, sicut melius eis visum fuerit.^u Quod si perfidiæ vel sceleris convictus fuerit, sic emendet.

Murdra etiam, retro ab illa die qua in regem coronatus fui, omnia condono; et ea quæ amodo facta fuerint, juste emendentur, secundum lagam regis Edwardi.

Forestas, communi consensu baronum meorum, in manu mea ita retinui, sicut pater meus eas habuit.

Militibus, qui per loricas terras suas deserviunt, terras dominicarum carrucarum suarum, quietas ab omnibus geldis, et ab omni opere, proprio dono meo concedo, ut sicut tam magno gravamine alleviati sunt, ita equis et armis se bene instruant, ut apti sint et parati ad servitium meum, et ad defensionem regni mei.

Pacem firmam in toto regno meo pono, et teneri amodo præcipio.^v Lagam regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendavit, consilio baronum suorum.

Si quis aliquid de meo, vel de rebus alicujus, post obitum regis Willelmi fratris mei, cep(er)it, totum cito reddatur absque emendatione. Et, si quis inde aliquid retinuerit, ille, super quem inventum fuerit, graviter mihi emendabit.

Teste Mauritio Londoniensi episcopo, et Willelmo electo Winton' episcopo, et Gerardo Herfordensi episcopo, et Henrico comite, et Simone comite, et Waltero comite Gifardo, et R. de Muntfort, et Eudone dapifero, et Rogero Bigoto. Valete.^w

^u The position of this and the last two sentences is inserted in the Statutes, Brompton, and Wendover.

^v Mr. Thorpe does not insert this last sentence.

^w In Brompton and in Thorpe there is only a general termination, "Testibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus, et optimatibus totius regni Angliæ apud Westmonasterium, quando coronatus fui."

Two different lists of attesting witnesses are given in the first volume of the Statutes, but it is unnecessary to produce them here. The list in Wendover is identical with this, save in the case of Eudo dapifer.

Hæc autem de eo succincte dicta ad præsens sufficient. Si quis autem plenius nosse desiderat actus ejus, et quomodo se in regno habuerit, in cronicis de Gestis Anglorum invenire poterit.^z

Henrico autem regi mox Stephanus comes Bononiæ, nepos ejus ex sorore sua cometissa de Blais, et frater Theobaldi comitis, in regnum successit.^y

[MCXXXVI.]

Anno igitur Dominicæ Incarnationis MCXXXVI, a primoribus regni, cum favore cleri ac populi, Stephanus comes Bononiæ electus, a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in Natale Domini^z apud Lundonias in regem consecratur.^a

Hujus autem regni primordia et processus tot ac tantis redundavere rerum adversantium turbationibus, ut quid de eis scribi debeat, quæve habitura sint singula finem, nondum sciri

^a ii. Reg., xxiii., 28.

^y Stephen was a younger son of Stephen, count of Blois, by Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. He pushed himself before Thibaut, his elder brother, who was anything but pleased at his forwardness. His cousin, the empress Matilda, the daughter of Henry I., was also thrust aside. Hinc illæ lachrymæ.

The Gesta Stephani regis, which have been reprinted by the English Historical Society from Duchesne's collection, take the part of Stephen; on the other side the leader is William of Malmsbury, with his sword-like tongue. It must be observed, *in limine*, that Stephen can scarcely be regarded as an impostor and an intruder. Henry I. had indeed made his barons swear that his daughter Matilda should succeed him, but her husband, count Geoffrey, offended him so deeply that he is said to have released his nobles from their engagement. Supposing that this was not the case, this oath was not binding on the country at large, which wished for a warrior-king, and disliked Geoffrey. Passing Matilda and her husband over, Thibaut and Stephen of Blois, Henry's nephews, stand in the next place, Stephen being the junior of the two. Hereditary succession was at this time in its infancy, and Stephen acted upon the principle "first come, first served." He came to England in an unfortunate time. The position of the king and his nobles was not yet settled: was the king to be master everywhere, or was he to see around him, as in France, a number of independent principalities and fees? The vigour and tact of Henry I. had delayed this struggle, but it broke out at his decease, and Stephen was not the man to allay it. He did not understand the English people, and his want of tact, his rashness and faithlessness, made them forget his valour and kindliness of heart.

^z On Christmas-day. John of Hexham says that the consecration took place on Jan. 1. Ordericus (902), on Dec. 15. Malmsbury (101), Gervase (col. 1340), and Newburgh (i., 23), on Dec. 22. The Saxon Chron. (ed. Ingram, 364), on Midwinter day, *i. e.*, Dec. 21, on which day the Waverley annals also place it (Gale, ii., 152). The real day of the coronation seems, probably, to have been the festival of St. Stephen, Dec. 26 (Wendover, ii., 217. Brompton, col. 1023). It is indeed marvellous that so many dates should be assigned to an event of so much public importance.

^a Stephen, to make his title as good as possible, wished to have his election a popular one; his reception at London, Winchester, and elsewhere, shewed that the people were with him: the fact of the primate consecrating him gave him the support of the church, and the papal bull, which will soon occur, came in most happily to assure him.

valeat.^b Ipse autem rex, licet innumeris et maximis adversitatibus undique coartatus, semper tamen animo constans, vultu hilaris, et, quasi de victoria jam securus, hostium suorum conatus, et minas, subdolorum versutias, ac perfidorum fraudes, et temporalium rerum, licet maximarum, amissiones, quasi non sentiret, vel parum perpenderet, deridebat. Quæ ejus confidentia et securitas adversariis suis stuporem et confusionem, suis vero vigorem, et audaciam, et consolationem conferebat. Erat quoque vir tantæ mansuetudinis et benignitatis, ut etiam inimici ejus ad ipsum conversi, præter spem suam, in illo misericordiam invenirent.^c

Maximas igitur familias de militibus stipendiariis collegit, per quos negotia sua in Normannia et Anglia ageret.^d Nam Galfridus comes Andegavensis, qui imperatricem, scilicet filiam Henrici regis, quæ sic vocata est postquam imperatori nupsit, in conjugio habebat, (cujus filio Anglia ac Normannia jurata fuit) mox, ut eum in regem electum esse cognovit, plurimas regiones deprædavit ac destruxit, et multa castella in Normannia contra illum cepit ac tenuit.^e

Similiter et David rex Scottiæ, ejusdem dominæ avunculus,^f

^b An honest admission on the part of the chronicler, whose estimate of Stephen's character, in spite of his fears, seems to be singularly fair. The north of England had no reason to complain of Stephen, and a kindly word for him comes from Hexham, whilst other writers are harsh and severe. No one can impugn his bravery, or fail to admire his strong faith in his cause which no peril or misfortune could destroy.

^c Among the reproaches cast at Stephen by the chroniclers there is still some praise to be found confirmatory of what Prior Richard says. I pass by the eulogies in the Gesta. In the Saxon Chronicle (ed. Ingram, 365) Stephen is called "a mild man, soft and good." Malmsbury, whilst speaking against him (101 b), honestly says, "liceat mihi pace mansuetissimi hominis verum non oculere," and in the chronicle of Alberic he is called "homo mansuetus et pius." (Leibnitii Access. Hist., ii., 298). Stephen evidently brought into England the suavity and courtesy of his own country. There is a statue of him on the King-screen in York minster, which admirably delineates what I believe him to have been, short in stature and slight in frame, but neatly made and lithe of limb, with a pleasant presence and a soft insinuating manner. Malmsbury, in another place (101), thus draws his character: "Vir quidem impiger, sed imprudens, armis strenuus, immodici animi ad quælibet ardua inchoanda, lenis, et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus. Cujus cum dulcedinem in promissis suspiceret, veritatem tamen dictorum, et promissorum efficaciam desideraret."

^d An unpopular measure was the employment of these mercenaries. They seem to have been Flemings and Bretons for the most part. "Currebatur ad eum ab omnium generum militibus, et a levis armaturæ hominibus, maximeque ex Flandria et Britannia." (Malmsbury, 101). Among these may be enumerated several persons who are mentioned in the chronicles of the two Priors, William of Ypres, Alan of Dinan, the counts of Lamballe and Penthièvre, and the viscount of Leon. Of these William of Ypres was regarded as the chief, "quasi dux fuit et princeps eorum." (Gervase, col. 1346).

^e See Ordericus, 905 *et seqq.*

^f The mother of the empress Matilda was a daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and the sister of David. Another sister of that monarch had married

in provincia Northanhinbrorum quinque oppida, scilicet Lugaliam, quod Anglicè Carlel dicitur, et Carrum, quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur, et Alnawic, et Norham, et Novum-Castellum, moxi circa Natale Domini, cum magno exercitu præoccupavit ac tenuit. Sed Bahanburch minime habere potuit. Fidelitates quoque et obsides de potentioribus et nobilioribus ejusdem regionis, ad conservandam fidem imperatrici nepti suæ, accepit. Proposuit etiam Dunelmum aggredi, sed Stephanus rex ad Caput Jejunii, quod illo anno nonis Februarii contigit, cum maximo exercitu illuc veniens, quindecim diebus ibi moratus est. Tandem vero in eadem provincia, habita colloctione, et pace facta inter duos reges, Henricus, filius David regis Scottiæ, homagium Stephano regi apud Eboracum fecit;^g deditque rex illi, cum consulatu patris sui de Huntadum, Carlel et Donacastum, cum omnibus quæ ad ea pertinent. Et, ut quidam aiunt, qui se huic conventioni interfuisse testantur, promisit illi quod si comitatum Northanhymbriæ alicui dare vellet, prius calumpniam Henrici, filii regis Scottiæ, super eo juste in sua curia judicari faceret. Reddidit quoque David rex Scottiæ Stephano regi Angliæ quatuor prædicta castella sua quæ invaserat, nam quintum, scilicet Carlel, datum erat ei, redditis obsidibus, et utriusque partis hominibus in eadem pace concordatis.

Fuit quoque Henricus, filius regis Scottiæ, ad curiam Stephani regis Angliæ in proxima Pascha, quam apud Lundoniam festive

Eustace, count of Boulogne, and was by him the mother of Matilda, the wife of king Stephen. David, therefore, as far as relationship went, was in an equal position to the two contending parties. He had, however, a farther interest in the dispute. If the claim of his niece, the empress, was set aside, the crown of England, by lawful descent, belonged to him, as the great-grandson, through his mother, of king Edmund. But David kept his promise in favour of his niece (*Gesta Stephani*, 34), and took measures to assert his own right to Cumberland and Northumberland. "Cumberland he claimed in his own right as a portion of the Scottish principality of that name, and Northumberland as the lawful inheritance of his wife, who was the daughter of earl Waltheof, and the grand-daughter of the great Siward." (*Hodgson's Northumberland*, i., part i., 207.) He took military possession, therefore, of the chief fortresses, Carlisle, Wark, or Carham on the Tweed, Alnwick, Norham, and Newcastle. Bamborough was too strong for him. *Brompton* (col. 1024) says that he only took Carlisle and Newcastle.

^g Stephen extricates himself from this peril, and shews his address by making peace with David. David could not swear fealty to Stephen without violating his oath, but his son Henry was not similarly pledged, and Stephen, therefore, gave him the honour of Huntingdon, which belonged to his father, together with the earldoms of Carlisle and Doncaster. The chronicle of Melrose (71) says that this arrangement was made "*instantia reginæ*," *i.e.*, David's niece, and that Northumberland was given up to prince Henry. The words of Prior Richard do not say this. If Northumberland had been surrendered to Henry there would have been no necessity for David to give up the castles in it to Stephen. David was clearly outwitted by his nephew. *Malmsbury* thus accounts for his ready acquiescence: "*Ille morum lenitate, et propiori jam senectute infractus, libens in otium vel veræ vel simulatæ pacis concessit.*" (*Hist. Nov.*, 101.)

tenuit, cum maximo honore susceptus, atque ad mensam ad dexteram ipsius regis sedit. Unde et Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis se a curia subtraxit, et quidam procures Angliæ, erga regem indignati, coram ipso Henrico calumpnias intulerunt. De qua re David rex Scottiæ valde indignatus, recepto filio suo, noluit eum, quamvis sæpe mandatum, ad curiam regis remittere.

Eodem autem anno, Walani multum de terra Stephani regis Angliæ devastaverunt, et duos de baronibus suis, Ricardum filium Rogerii, et Paganum filium Johannis, in regione illorum insidiose occiderunt. Sed mox cum eo concordati sunt.^h

Eodem quoque anno, Baldwinus de Redwers, quia non potuit quendam honorem habere quem a rege postulaverat, Excestram, oppidum suum, contra illum firmavit. Rex, vero, devastata terra ejus, post diutinam obsidionem, oppidum per vim cepit, et illum captum de Anglia et Normannia exlegavit. At ille ad Gaufridum Andegavensem comitem, et ad imperatricem ejus uxorem, confugit.ⁱ

Eodem quoque anno Innocentius, Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, Stephano regi Angliæ litteras suas transmisit, quibus eum Apostolica auctoritate in regno Angliæ confirmavit. Quarum exemplar hoc est.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei,^j karissimo in Christo filio Stephano, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem. Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, in Cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia jura regnorum, ex incomprehensibili supernæ providentiæ dispensatione, quando vult, mutat tempora et transfert regna. Sicut enim attestatur Propheta, "dominatur Excelsus in regno hominum, et cui voluerit dat illud."^k Quot commoditates, quanta jocunditatis tranquillitas, quantumque justitiæ censura in regno Angliæ et ducatu Normanniæ, regnante filio nostro gloriosæ memoriæ Henrico rege, viguerunt, eo humanis rebus exempto, oculata fide perclaruit.

^h These disturbances, consequent upon the death of Henry I., are detailed in the *Gesta Stephani*, 9-14. Richard Fitz Gislebert (not Fitz Roger) was killed by the Welsh in an ambuscade, and his wife, a sister of the earl of Chester, was besieged in her castle, and was rescued with difficulty by Miles of Gloucester. Payne Fitz John had the charge of Herefordshire and Shropshire, and, "dum Wallenses persequitur, solus inter suos, missili capite transforato, succubuit." (*Gesta Stephani*, 16).

ⁱ There is a long account of the rebellion of Baldwin in the *Gesta Stephani*, 20-30. The garrison at Exeter was reduced to extremities, and, at length, by the desire of the barons, the besieged were allowed to march out. Baldwin fled, in the first instance, to the Isle of Wight, and afterwards went into exile abroad, where he stirred up sedition against Stephen in Normandy.

^j In no work, English or Foreign, have I been able to discover this letter, of which a part only seems to be given here. It has been taken from this chronicle, and published in the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, xv., 391-2.

^k Daniel iv. 17.

Cum enim idem esset religiosorum virorum amator, pacis et justitiæ cultor, viduarum et orphanorum propitius consolator, et eorum, qui impotentia defendere se non poterant, pius defensor, ipso sublato de medio, prout accepimus, turbata est religio in regno Angliæ, et nullum mandatum pacis seu justitiæ in adiutorio regali vigeat, atque atrocitatem tantorum scelerum comitabatur impunitas. Ne autem diutius grassando in populum Dei debac(c)hari posset dira feralitas, inclinata est ad preces religiosorum virorum Divinæ miseratio pietatis, et tantis flagitiis potenter occurrens, quemadmodum venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum earundem regionum, et amatorum sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, gloriosi Francorum regis, et illustris viri comitis Theodaldi, scripta testantur, et industrium virorum nobis indicavit assertio, communi voto et unanimi assensu tam procerum quam etiam populi, te in regem eligere, et a præsulibus regni consecrari, providit. Nos, cognoscentes vota tantorum virorum in personam tuam, præeunte Divina gratia, convenisse, pro spe etiam certa, et beato Petro, in ipsa consecrationis tuæ die obedientiam et reverentiam promisisse, et quia de præfati regis pro sapia prope-posito gradu originem traxisse dinosceris, quod de te factum est gratum habentes, te in specialem beati Petri et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ filium affectione paterna recipimus, et in eadem honoris et familiaritatis prærogativa, qua prædecessor tuus egregiæ recordationis Henricus a nobis coronabatur, te propensius volumus retinere.

Igitur, Stephanus his, et aliis modis in regno Angliæ confirmatus, episcopos et proceres sui regni regali edicto in unum convenire præcepit; cum quibus hoc generale concilium celebravit.¹

Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, assensu cleri et populi, in regem Angliæ electus,^m et a Willelmo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ legato, consecratus, et ab Innocentio, sanctæ Romanæ sedis pontifice, confirmatus, respectu et amore Dei, sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo, et debitam reveren-

¹ At the coronation the clergy begged the royal favour and support, and requested that the liberties of the church should be assured and confirmed to them. Stephen promised graciously that he would do so, and kept his word soon afterwards (1136) at Oxford (Gesta Stephani, 17-18. Wendover, ii., 217-18).

^m This royal charter is published in the first volume of the Statutes of the Realm (3-4) from an exemplar of it which is preserved in the treasury of Exeter cathedral. It differs little from Prior Richard's transcript. The charter is also given in the Hist. Nov. of Malmsbury (Savile, ed. 1596, 101 b), but the witnesses are omitted, and Malmsbury, an honest enemy of Stephen, gives this as his reason for doing so. "Nomina testium, qui multi fuerunt, apponere fastidio: quia pæne omnia ita perperam mutavit, quasi ad hoc tantum jurasset, ut prævaricatorem sacramenti se regno toti ostenderet." It is given by Baronius (xviii., 528), as Pagi says, "mutilatum ex Malmesburiensi."

tiam illi confirmo. Nichil me in ecclesia, vel rebus ecclesiasticis, simoniace acturum vel permissurum promitto. Ecclesiasticarum personarum, et omnium clericorum, et rerum eorum justitiam, et potestatem, et distributionem bonorumⁿ ecclesiasticorum in manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates ecclesiarum privilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere statuo et concedo. Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones et tenurias,^o quas illa die habuerunt qua Willelmus rex Angliæ, avus meus, fuit vivus et mortuus, sine omni calumpniantium reclamazione eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid vero de habitis vel possessis ante mortem ejusdem regis, quibus modo careat, ecclesia deinceps resederit,^p indulgentiæ et dispensationi meæ vel restituendum, vel discutiendum reservo. Quæcunque vero, post mortem ipsius regis, liberalitate regum, largitione principum, oblatione vel comparatione, vel qualibet transmutatione fidelium, eis collata sunt, confirmo. Pacem et justitiam me in omnibus facturum, et pro posse meo conservaturum, eis promitto. Forestas, quas Willelmus rex, avus meus, et Willelmus Secundus, avunculus meus, instituerunt et habuerunt, mihi reservo. Cæteras vero omnes, quas Henricus rex superaddidit, ecclesiis et regno, quietas reddo et concedo.

Si quis episcopus, vel abbas, vel alia ecclesiastica persona, ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit, vel distribuenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo. Si vero morte præoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animæ ejus ecclesiæ consilio eadem fiat distributio. Dum vero sedes propriis pastoribus vacuæ fuerint, ipsæ, et omnes earum possessiones, in manu et custodia clericorum vel proborum hominum ejusdem ecclesiæ committantur, donec pastor canonice substituat.

Omnes exactiones, et injustitias, et meschenningas, sive per vicecomites, vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, funditus extirpo. Bonas leges, et antiquas et justas consuetudines, in hundris,^q et placitis, et aliis causis, observabo, et observari præcipio et constituo. Hæc omnia concedo et confirmo, salva regia et justa dignitate mea.

Teste Willelmo Cant' archiepiscopo, et Hugone archiepiscopo Roto^o, et Henrico episcopo Winto', et Rogero episcopo Sar', et Alexandro episcopo Linco', et Nigello episcopo Heli', et Erbr: episcopo Norwic', et Simone episcopo Wirec', et Bernardo episcopo Sancti Davidis, et Audoene episcopo Ebr', et Ricardo episcopo Abrinc', et Roberto episcopo Heref', et Johanne episcopo Rovenc',

ⁿ "Honorum." (S.)

^o "Tenuras." (S.)

^p "Repetierit." (S., Malmsbury.)

^q "Murdris," (S., Malmsbury,) and this is probably correct.

et Adelwlfō episcopo Carlel', et Rogero cancellario, et Henrico nepote regis, et Roberto comite Gloec', et Willelmo comite Warenne, et Radulfo comite Cestriæ, Rogero comite Warawic', Ro. de Vr, Milone de Glocc', Roberto de Olli, Briano filio comitis constabit', Willelmo Martel, Hug' Big', Hunfrido de Buhun, Simone de Belloc',^s dapiferis, Willelmo d'Alb', Eudone Mart',^t pincernis, Roberto de Fer', Willelmo Peverl', Sim. de Silvanecti,^u Willelmo de Albania,^v Hugone de Sancto Claro, Ilberto de Leceio.

Apud Oænford, anno scilicet ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXXVI, sed regni mei primo.

His, et aliis modis, statim in primo anno confirmatus Stephanus in regno Angliæ etiam hujusmodi leges et consuetudines regno suo dedit et concessit, et constanter promisit quod eas cum suis firmissime servaret. Eodem anno, propter bellum comitis Andegavensis, mense Augusti, in Normanniam Stephanus rex transfretavit.^w

Et Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, mense Novembris defunctus, in sua civitate sepultus est.^x

[MCXXXVII.]

Anno igitur proximo, id est MCXXXVII, pacis fœdere rupto, statim post Pascha, David rex Scottiæ, exercitum suum congregans, Northymbriam devastare proposuit. Sed, ex præcepto regis Stephani, tunc in Normannia existentis, maxima pars comitum et baronum Angliæ, cum magno exercitu militum, ad Novum-Castellum, quod est in Northumbria, venit, illi resistere

^r "Roberto." (S.) The Christian name of the earl of Chester is also given as "Rannulfo."

^s "Belcamp." (S.)

^t The MS. reads, "Martel d'Alb'." I have corrected it by the Statutes.

^u "Saintliz." (S.)

^v After "Albania" S. inserts, "Pag' filio Johannis," and puts "Hamone," instead of "Hugone de Sancto Claro."

^w This date is incorrect. Stephen wished to go abroad soon after Pentecost, 1136, but the rumoured death of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, to whom he had given the charge of England during his absence, obliged him to remain at home. He arrived in Normandy in the third week in March, 1137 (Ord. Vitalis, 902, 909). All the English chroniclers, with the exception of the two Priors of Hexham, give the correct date of this voyage, and Lappenberg thus ingeniously explains the mistake they have committed: "The numerous disturbances that had broken out in England rendered his (the king's) presence necessary in many parts of the country, and it seems not improbable that he intentionally cast a veil of obscurity over his place of residence, as, in the north of England, it was believed that in August he had actually passed over to Normandy." (Anglo-Norman Kings, 366.) Ordericus describes Stephen's pacification of Normandy (909-10), "fugiente a facie ejus comite Andegavensi," (Wendover, ii., 220;) a statement which is incorrect.

^x William de Corbeil, the opponent of archbishop Thurstan, and the unwilling officiator at Stephen's coronation, died on the 21st of November, 1136 (Gervase, col. 1342).

parata, si regnum Angliæ invaderet. Tandem per internuntios datis et acceptis induciis usque ad proximum Adventum Domini, post quadraginta dies, ad propria redierunt.^y In Adventu autem Domini, Stephano regi redeunti de Normannia, postquam, data magna pecunia, a comite Andegavensi biennii inducias acceperat,^z legati David regis Scottiæ, et Henrici filii ejus, mox affuerunt, illi suas inducias reddentes, nisi Henrico comitatum Northumbriæ daret. At rex petitioni illorum minime annuit.^a

[MCXXXVIII.]

Anno igitur mcxxxviii,^b quarto idus Januarii, Willelmus filius Dunecan, nepos David regis, cum parte exercitus ipsius David, castellum, quod Carrum dicitur, in terra regis Angliæ, antelucanis insidiis invasit, deprædataque circumquaque regione, illud expugnare cœpit. Deinde ipse rex, cum Henrico filio suo, et cum majore exercitu, illuc adveniens, et omnium virum suarum conatus explorans, balistis, et aliis machinis, et variis assultibus oppidum expugnare aggressus est, ac deinde illud tribus ebdomadis obsedit. Sed nichil profecit; immo, Deo auxiliante, omnis ejus conatus in contrarium illi conversus est.

^y In the absence of Stephen, king David, eager probably to secure Northumberland for himself, proposes to invade England. He is promptly opposed by an English army, and a truce is patched up without blows. The peacemaker was archbishop Thurstan (Prior John. Chron. Mailros, 70. Chron. Petrib., 89). This invasion was to have taken place soon after Easter. Some time must have elapsed before the truce was made, as we learn from the Liber Vitæ of Durham (pp. 59, 67) that Thurstan was with David at Roxburgh on St. Kenelm's day (July 17). Roxburgh was on the verge of Northumberland, and it is probable therefore that the king never came far into that county. The bold front presented by the northern barons and the pleading of Thurstan restrained him. Thurstan and David had met before this at the court at London in 1125 (Fasti Ebor., i., 197).

^z "Biennales treuias ab hostibus accepit." (Ord. Vitalis, 910.) Robert de Monte says that the truce was for three years, and that Stephen was to pay Geoffrey three thousand marks annually.

^a On Stephen's return David renews his demand for Northumberland, and his request is summarily refused. He had made, as Richard has already said, no exact promise to give that earldom up at all, and it was not likely, for another reason, that he would make any concession now. During his absence a conspiracy had been hatched among the crushed Anglo-Saxons to murder their Norman masters, and to subject themselves to the royal family of Scotland. It was discovered in time, and put down with severity (Ord. Vitalis, 912). It was the knowledge of this, as well as their own imaginary wrongs, that prompted, probably, the cruelties that were committed in the North in 1138 by the Scottish army.

^b We now come to the most valuable portion of this chronicle, the account of the Scottish invasion, which ended in the battle of the Standard. We should have known very little of this but for Prior Richard, as his brother Prior has generally copied his account from him, and Aelred's description is principally rhetorical and complimentary. Richard tells us what he had seen and known and heard from the best authority.

Nam milites, et alii qui in castello erant,^c se et oppidum optime defendentes, signiferum ejus, et alios multos de hominibus suis, in conspectu ejus interfecerunt, et multos plures vulneraverunt. Cernens autem rex laborem suum illic cassari, et sibi suisque grave dampnum de die in diem crescere, indignatione et ira inflammatus, tandem, oppido relicto, ad Northymbriam devastandam cum omni multitudine sua properavit.

Igitur ille detestandus exercitus, omni paganorum genere atrocior, nec Deo nec hominibus reverentiam deferens, tota provincia deprædata, utriusque sexus, cujusque ætatis et conditionis homines passim trucidavit, villas, ecclesias, domos destruxit, spoliavit, accendit. Namque languentes in grabatis, ac mulieres prægnantes et parturientes, et in cunis infantes, et alios innocentes inter ubera et in sinibus matrum suarum, cum ipsis matribus, et decrepitos senes, et defectas anus, et cæteros quolibet occasione debiles, ubicunque inveniebant, in ore gladii trucidaverunt, vel lanceis suis confixerunt. Et quanto misabiliore mortis genere illos disperdere poterant, tanto plus gratulabantur. Unde apertissime ibi impletum esse videtur quod Psalmista conquerendo deflebat, dicens, *Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum; posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam*:^d et cætera quæ in illo Psalmo sequuntur. Fertur etiam quod in quodam loco multos parvulos congregatos occiderunt, eorumque sanguinem in quendam rivum, quem antea præcluserant, effundendo collegerunt, sicque ipsam aquam cruentatam, immo jam ex maxima parte cruorem, biberunt.^e Dicunt etiam quod in ecclesiis crucifixos, quanto turpius poterant, in Christi ignominiam, et ipsorum confusionem demembraverunt, et altaria suffoderunt, et juxta et super ipsa clericos et innocentes laceraverunt. Unde, non immerito, iterum cum Propheta gemendo proclamare possumus, *Deus,*

^c Prior John says that the captain of the garrison was Jordan de Bussei, a nephew of Walter l'Espec.

^d Psalm lxxix. 1.

^e That savage cruelties were committed by the Scots there can be no doubt. We may be sure that David regretted the perpetration of such villany and brutality, but the violence of his soldiers seems to have been uncontrollable. His panegyrist Aelred speaks to the point in the following passage, which does not appear in Sir Roger Twysden's work:—

“Post mortem regis Henrici, cum exercitum egisset in Angliam, gens illa efferat, et Anglis inimicissima, supra humanum morem sævientes, in ecclesiam, in sacerdotes, in utrumque sexum, in omnem ætatem, crudelia exercuere judicia. Quæ omnia, licet eo nolente immo etiam prohibente, facta sunt, quia tamen poterat eos non duxisse, poterat eos semel expertos non reduxisse; poterat, fortasse, eos plus cohibuisse; et ipsum cum lacrimis peccasse confitemur. Excusent eum alii.” (MSS. Cotton, Vesp. B, ii., 108 a.)

These cruelties are described in various places, viz., Wendover, ii., 221. Gesta Stephani, 35. Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 102. Brompton, col. 1025.

repulisti nos et destruxisti nos, iratus es, sed nondum misertus es nobis; et cætera quæ ibi sunt.^f

Coadunatus autem erat iste nefandus exercitus de Northmannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbranis, et Cumbris, de Teswetadala, de Lodonea, de Pictis, qui vulgo Galleweiensenses dicuntur, et Scottis; nec erat qui eorum numerum sciret. Infiniti enim, absque omni mandato, aut deprædandi amore, aut occasione ulciscendi, aut sola voluntate nocendi, qualibet regio illa habundabat, se supradictis commiscuerunt. Igitur per provinciam discurrentes, et nemini parcentes, exceptis oppidis et maritima regione, quæ ex orientali parte est, fere totam Northymbriam usque ad Tinam fluvium hac vice ferro et flamma vastaverunt. Illam autem in reditu suo destruere proposuerant. Quædam etiam pars exercitus illius pertransiens Tinam, et in solitudinibus innumeros homines perimens, maximam partem terræ Sancti Cuthberti ad occidentalem plagam eodem modo devastavit. Dum autem hæc a suis fierent, rex Scottiæ, cum multitudine non modica, apud Corabrigam^g morabatur.

Hac tempestate, in terra Ranulfi de Merlai, de observantiis Cisterciensium destructum est quoddam cœnobium, eodem anno constructum; et plurima alia gravissimis vexationibus sunt oppressa.^h Unde et illud cœnobium, quod ad Tinæ fluminis hostium situm est, quod Anglicè Tinemuthe dicitur, ut sibi et illic existentibus, pro præsentis necessitate, pacem redimeret, regi Scottiæ, et suis, viginti septem marcas argenti persolvit.ⁱ

In hac autem procellosæ tempestatis rabie,^j illud nobile

^f Psalm lx. 1, *et seqq.*

^g Corbridge on the Tyne, within four miles of Hexham, at that time a place of great importance.

^h For a notice of Newminster abbey, see Prior John's chronicle. Prior Richard is the only writer who mentions its destruction. "Hic primus palmet quem vinea nostra expandit," are the words with which the chronicler of Fountains records the birth of the eldest child of that house, and the first and last Cistercian monastery in Northumberland. He little thought that the "wild boar of the field" would so soon root up what had sprung into life in so fair a country.

ⁱ A copy of the charter of David, in which he granted this immunity, is in existence. It was made on the feast of St. Barnabas, 1138. Nothing whatever is said in it about any pecuniary consideration, but the king is said to have granted the privilege "pro anima patris et matris meæ, et regis Alexandri fratris mei (qui pacem Dei et suam firmiter prædictæ ecclesiæ concessit) et pro anima Matildis reginæ Angliæ, sororis meæ, et animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum, Henrico filio meo hanc pacem annuente." (Dugd. Mon., iii., 313 *n. e.* Gibson's Tynemouth, ii., appendix, xvii.) There is no good cause to doubt Richard's accuracy as to the payment. It must be regarded, however, as a customary fee rather than a bribe, or an extortion.

^j An extract from this chronicle, beginning here, and ending with the words, "rerum suarum conservationem contulit," is given in the MS. of Prior Richard's History of the Church of Hexham, preserved at York, as the last chapter. It has the following title and introduction:—

monasterium Haugustaldense, quamvis in medio concursu, et quasi in via illius nefandi exercitus et supradictorum malorum situm, undique ab eis coangustaretur; tamen ob declaranda merita Sanctorum Andreae Apostoli, et Wilfridi episcopi et confessoris, advocatorum ejus, et cæterorum patronorum, scilicet Sanctorum Accæ, et Alcmundi, et Eatae, episcoporum et confessorum, et aliorum Sanctorum in eadem ecclesia quiescentium, Deo auxiliante, suis et omnibus ad illam refugientibus pacem firmissimam exhibuit, et omnibus illis contra omnes hostiles impetus tutissimum asilum extitit.

Verumptamen, primo, Picti ad Tinam fluvium, juxta eandem villam fluentem, cum maximo impetu irruentes, ipsam, sicut et alia, destruere proposuerant. Sed mox, antequam prædictum amnem transirent, a compatriotis duo de numero illorum sunt interfecti.^k Quod cæteri cernentes, exterriti retrorsum abierunt.

Præterea duo de eadem gente Pictorum devenerunt ad quoddam oratorium Sancti Michaelis archangeli, ex eadem boreali parte Tinæ fluminis situm,^l quod ad prædictam Haugustaldensem ecclesiam pertinebat. Frangentes igitur ejus hostium, quod ibi repererunt secum abstulerunt. Sed vindicta Dei non defuit. Nam mox dæmoni traditi, sensu privantur, et prout furor illos exagitabat, in conspectu omnium, per nemora et rura nocte et die discurrentes, alter ipse sibi os primo lapidibus conterens, deinde a quodam abscissis femoribus, alter seipsum in Tina submergens, uterque miserabiliter utraque morte dampnati perierunt. His ita factis, alii de exercitu pavefacti, prædictæ Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ possessiones non sunt amplius ausi invadere.

Igitur David rex Scottiæ, et Henricus comes, filius ejus, illi

“ Quomodo ecclesia Haugustaldensis ab hostili incursu Scottorum, cum suis, et cum aliis liberata sit.

“ Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCXXXVIII, iiii idus Januarii, post mortem Henrici regis, sub rege David, nefandus exercitus Scottorum, Pictorum, et Northanymbrorum, et Cumborum, et de Lodoneie, et de Teviethedele, cum multis Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, et cum innumeris hominibus de aliis terris, multa cænobia, et innumeras ecclesias et villas, et fere totam Northymbriam, ferro et flamma incenderunt et vastaverunt. In hac autem procellosæ,” etc. (MS. Ebor., 12 b.)

“Galwegians light as ocean's gale,
And Lodon's knights all sheath'd in mail,
And the bold men of Teviotdale.”

Marmion, canto ii.

^k This is probably the same occurrence which Prior John describes as taking place between Wardon and Hexham. John, however, says that one person only was killed by the young men of Hexham.

^l I have spoken of this place in the previous chronicle of Prior Richard. It is St. John Lee, about a mile from Hexham, on the opposite bank of the river. Two soldiers from Wardon break open the door of the oratory or cemetery chapel, and come to an untimely end.

monasterio, et fratribus illius, et omnibus ad illud pertinentibus, suam perpetuam pacem, de se, et de omnibus suis concesserunt, atque per sua privilegia, quæ in eadem ecclesia conservantur, confirmaverunt;^m hoc tantummodo interjecto, ut ipsi, sibi, et suis, mutuam pacem servarent. Illa itaque nobilis basilica, a Sancto Wilfrido fundata, antiquæ consuetudinis dignitatem retinens, in hac, et in aliis bellorum et discordiarum tempestatibus, innumeris, tam pauperibus quam divitibus, facta est tutissimum asilum, quibus vitæ subsidium et rerum suarum conservationem contulit.

Interea, circa Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, Stephanus rex Angliæ, cum ingenti multitudine comitum et baronum, et cum maximo exercitu equitum et peditum, venit. Quod ubi rex Scottiæ cognovit,ⁿ relicta Northymbria cum exercitu suo, ad terram suam properavit, divertitque ad Carrum,^o et postea intravit terram suam, et in quibusdam solitudinibus haud procul a Rochasburgh cum exercitu suo latuit, insidiis regi Angliæ præparatis. Speravit enim quod ille in Rochasburgh hospitaretur, præceperatque ejus civibus, ut, quasi fidem illi servaturi, eum benigne susciperent: sed et præcepit, ut quando ipse noctu cum suo exercitu superveniret, et multitudo militum, quos in oppido posuerat, subito erumperet, et cum civibus ei occurreret, omnes, in unum congregati, undique regem Angliæ incautum circumvallantes, eum cum suis omnibus extinguerent. Sed *Deus, Qui videt cogitationes quam vanæ sunt*,^p has insidias ad nichilum redegit. Nam rex Angliæ, Twedam transiens fluvium, ad Rochasburgh non divertit, sed magna parte terræ regis Scotiæ deprædata et succensa, tum quia multi ex militibus suis nec armis indui volebant, nec bella gerere (erat enim initium Quadragesimæ), tum quia rex Scottiæ et sui ei in bello occurrere non audebant; tum quia exercitui suo victus deficiebat, cum suis ad Swth-Angliam rediit.

Verum, peracta Paschali sollempnitate, mox in proxima ebdomada, feria sexta, sæpedictus rex Scottiæ, cum nefando exercitu suo, iterum in Northumbriam rediit;^q et, primo, maritimam provinciam, quam alia vice intactam reliquerat, et, præter

^m This charter is lost. It was probably identical in its terms with that which was granted to Tynemouth. Nothing is said here of any pecuniary consideration.

ⁿ Stephen advances against David, who tries to destroy him and his army at Roxburgh. This scheme comes to nought, and Stephen, being surrounded by traitors, turns southwards.

^o From a passage in the Continuation of Florence (ii., 112) it may be inferred that on this occasion the earl of Mellent drove David away from Carham.

^p Psalm xciv. 11.

^q Soon after Stephen's return, David invades Northumberland again, and passes on into Durham. A false alarm sends him homewards, and he halts at Norham on the Tweed, which seems to have fallen into his hands by treachery.

hanc, si forte aliquid aliud alibi illæsum præterierat, ac deinde maximam partem terræ Sancti Cuthberti in orientali plaga inter Dunelmum et mare, non minori furore et crudelitate quam supradictum est, destruxit. Plurima quoque prædia monachorum, Deo ac Sancto Cuthberto die et nocte servientium, et hac et alia vice, pariter cum suis cultoribus, similiter consumpsit. Sed Sanctus Cuthbertus tandem suorum misertus est. Nam dum sui hæc agerent, rex cum suis militibus haud procul a Dunelmo perhendinabat, ubi, gravi seditione propter quandam feminam orta, Picti ipsum regem cum suis extinguere minabantur. Quo pavore dum valde anxietur, ecce! falso rumore divulgatur maximum exercitum de Swth-Anglia adventare. Igitur, cibus suis relictis qui tunc parati erant, nemine persequente, versus terram suam cum omnibus suis fugit, et ad oppidum de Northam, quod in terra Sancti Cuthberti est, divertit, illudque obsidens, variis modis et machinis expugnare et capere temptavit.

Dumque ibi in obsidione moraretur, Willelmum filium Duncan,^r nepotem suum, cum Pictis, et parte exercitus sui, in expeditionem ad Eboracensem-scyram transmisit. Quo pervenientes, et, propter peccata populi, victoriam optinentes,^s possessiones cujusdam nobilis cœnobii, quod in Fuththernessa^t situm est, et provinciam quæ Crafna dicitur, ex magna parte, ferro et flamma destruxerunt. Igitur nulli gradui, nulli ætati, nulli

^r William fitz Duncan was in right of his wife, Alice de Romille, lord of the honour of Skipton in Craven, and it is singular that any injunction from his uncle should induce him to devastate the district of which he was the feudal chief. A reason for his ferocity may be suggested. In 1151 John of Hexham tells us that he was restored to the signory of Skipton by king David. It is probable that it was kept from him in 1138, and here we have a motive for a reckless and a heartless barbarity which no motive whatever can palliate or justify.

“ Ruthless lord,
Thou didst not shudder when the sword
Here on the young its fury spent,
The helpless and the innocent.”

^s This battle was at Clitheroe in Lancashire. “There are neither remains nor tradition of this engagement at Clitheroe. The dreadful ravages evidently took place after the battle, and it afforded some alleviation to the sufferings of the poor naked captives that their flight was not in the winter.” (Dr. Whitaker’s Craven, ed. 1812, p. 14.)

^t A happy emendation of Dr. Whitaker. The MS. gives the reading Sutherness, and I have taken the liberty of correcting it. “This should undoubtedly be read Futherness, as it can only be meant of Furness abbey, which, however, is not in Yorkshire. The word Furness has never been explained; but, thus expanded, it will at least be proved to have no connection with the Furnaces of the country. However, the Peel, or small castle of the Foodra, at the point of this peninsula, is always called the Peel of Futher, and Futherness is evidently nothing more than the Ness, or promontory of Futher.” (Whitaker’s Craven, ed. 1812, 13.) The estate in Craven belonging to the monks of Furness, which was ravaged, was probably Bordley (Beck’s Annales Furnesienses, 125).

sexui, nulli conditioni parcentes, liberos et cognatos in conspectu parentum suorum, et dominos in conspectu servorum suorum, et e converso, et maritos ante oculos uxorum suarum, quanto miserabilius poterant, prius trucidaverunt; deinde, proh dolor! solas nobiles matronas, et castas virgines, mixtim cum aliis feminis, et cum præda pariter, abduxerunt. Nudatas quoque, et turmatim resticulis et corrigiis colligatas et copulatas, lanceis et telis suis compungentes, ante se illas abegerunt. Hoc idem in aliis bellis, sed in hoc copiosius fecerunt."

Deinde illis cum præda dispartitis, quidam eorum misericordia commoti, aliquas ex eis ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ in Carlel liberas tradiderunt. Verum Picti et multi alii illas quæ eis obvenerunt secum ad patriam suam duxerunt. Denique illi bestiales homines adulterium, et incestum, ac cætera scelera pro nichilo ducentes, postquam, more brutorum animalium, illis miserrimis abuti pertæsi sunt, eas vel sibi ancillas fecerunt, vel pro vaccis aliis barbaris vendiderunt.

Hæc autem ut rex Scottiæ cognovit, ipse, cum suis, magno exultavit gaudio, ac prædictum castrum solito acrius impugnare aggressus est. Oppidani vero, primo optime se defenderunt; verum deinde, tum quia pauci erant, et plures ex illis vulnerati fuerant (quippe novem tantum milites erant), tum quia a domino suo, Gaufrido Dunelmensi episcopo, nullum auxilium sperabant, tum quia in talibus conflictibus parum exercitati erant, attoniti deditionem regi fecerunt, cum et vallum optimum esset, et turris fortissima, et eis victualia habundarent. Igitur milites, et alii qui erant in oppido, magnum vituperium incurrerunt, quia, castrum male custodientes, nimis cito defecerunt. Nec solum illi, sed et dominus illorum, quia, non pro sua opportunitate, et temporis necessitate, castrum suum muniverat. Milites cum suis Dunelmum redierunt. Rex igitur, recepto oppido, et sumpto cibo qui satis copiose ibi repertus est, mandat episcopo Dunelmensi, quod si relicto Stephano rege Angliæ vellet suæ parti fidelitatem jurare, castrum suum illi redderet, et dampna quæ ei fecerat restauraret. Abnegat episcopus. Fecit ergo rex oppidum destrui."

" These atrocities cannot be doubted. They are especially alluded to in the speeches which Aelred puts into the mouths of Walter l'Espec and Robert de Brus, and they were certainly a great cause of the union of the barons in their opposition to David near Northallerton. That monarch and his son were men of piety, but they could not restrain their followers.

" "Norham's castle steep" upon the Tweed, near Berwick, was built in 1121 by Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, to protect England against the Scots. It was now captured by David, and, like the neighbouring fortress of Carham or Wark, seems to have been dismantled. "Oppidum destructum est," is the phrase used on each occasion. This may apply merely to the town and the outer works. My father was of opinion that some portions of Flambard's work are

Dum autem, circa Rogationes, hæc ibi agerentur, milites, de oppido Carrum exeuntes, quæ juxta illos advehebantur et revehebantur, victualia regis David, una cum vehiculis et ministris infra oppidum suum rapuerunt. Rex ergo, nimia inflammatus ira, illos obsidere cum omni multitudine sua festinavit, et oppidum machinis et, quibuscunque potuit modis, expugnare iterum aggressus est. Sed, Deo auxiliante, omnis conatus ejus incassum cecidit. Insuper etiam perplures suorum vulnerati et læsi sunt ab eis, et non(n)ulli interfecti. Similiter et in congressionibus, quas ante hanc obsidionem cum Henrico filio regis conseruerant, quosdam occiderant, alios vulneraverant vel retinuerant, et de eis redemptionem acceperunt. Benedictus Deus per omnia, Qui protegit pios et tradidit impios!

Videns autem rex se frustra circa oppidum laborare, segetes per agros consumi fecit. Deinde de sua, et de quibuscunque terris potuit, copiosiore[m] quam unquam antea habuerat, coadunari exercitum fecit.

Eustachius, quoque, filius Johannis,^w unus de baronibus regis Angliæ, quoddam munitissimum castellum, quod Alnewic dicitur, in Northumbria habens, qui diu clanculo regi Scotiæ faverat, hac vice manifeste perjurus, naturali domino suo, scilicet rege Angliæ, abnegato, ipse cum omni virtute sua contra regnum Angliæ Scottis auxilium ferebat; unde, non minimam multitudinem belligerantium secum ducens, ad destruendam Eboracensem-scyram, cum rege Scottiæ profectus est, et suum alterum castellum,^x nomine Maltun, munitissimum, et in eadem provincia, juxta fluvium Derewentionem, haud procul ab Eboraco situm, de quo in sequentibus dicendum est, regi Scottiæ et suis tradere disposuerat.

Rex igitur David, duobus tagnionibus,^y id est baronibus, suis, cum gente eorum, obsidione Carrum commendata, cum maxima parte sui exercitus ad oppidum, quod Bahanburgh dicitur, profectus est; ubi, ante castrum quodam vallo capto, fere

still in existence at Norham, and that they are embodied in that magnificent keep which Hugh de Puiset afterwards erected to overawe the marauding Scots (North Durham, 285).

^w Of Eustace fitz John there is an interesting account in the Memorials of Fountains Abbey (50-1). The castles of Alnwick and Malton belonged to him in right of his wife, the heiress of Ivo de Vesci. He had been one of the most intimate advisers of Henry I., and had, no doubt, taken the oath of allegiance to his daughter. We can scarcely, therefore, regard him as a traitor.

^x Malton will be mentioned afterwards. Eustace became the owner of the place in right of his wife. He was the founder of the priory in that place. The foundation charter is in a noble volume in the Cottonian Library (Claudius, D, xi., 34), which abounds with novel information about the family of Vesci. Some remains of the priory are still in existence.

^y Formed from the Saxon *tegen* or *thane*.

centum homines interemit.^a Deinde circa illud, et circa Mitford,^a oppidum Willelmi Bertram, et in pluribus locis per Northumbriam, segetibus vastatis, fluvium Tine pertransiit, intransque in terram Sancti Cuthberti, quæ nondum ad eum venerat, sui exercitus partem expectavit. Nec mora; ex ejus edicto Picti, et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel,^b et de circumjacente regione ad illum convenerunt. Congregato igitur toto exercitu suo, quia nimius et insuperabilis ei videbatur, revera enim grandis erat, plusquam viginti sex millia hominum habens, nimio exultavit gaudio. Elevatumque est cor ejus et suorum, ac in se et in sua multitudine spem suam ponentes, nec ad Deum ullum respectum habentes, nimis indignantes ac superbe locuti sunt. Nec solum Eboracensem-scyram, sed et maximam portionem Angliæ, in terminium dare et meditabantur, et minabantur. Non enim aliqua numerositate præsumere, vel posse sibi resistere, æstimabant.

His, autem, infra octabas Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ, ita gestis, rex, cum suo exercitu, Dunelmum præteriens, usque ad Tesam fluvium segetes depopulari, villas et ecclesias, quas alia vice intactas reliquit, more suo frangi, deprædari, succendi fecit. Pertransiens quoque Tesam idem factitare cœpit; verum Divina pietas lacrimis innumerabilium viduarum, orphanorum, et miserorum pulsata, illum tantam impietatem diutius impune exercere non est passa. Quippe dumque se suosque ad hujusmodi nequitiam præpararet, omnis ejus apparatus, et quid agere, et quo tendere proposuerat, et fama præconante, et certis nuntiis intercurrentibus, homines Eboracensis-scyræ non latuit.

Igitur barones illius provinciæ, scilicet Turstinus archiepiscopus,^c qui, ut consequenter apparebit, maxime se de hoc negotio

^a The famous fortress of Bamborough, near Belford, which Stephen had recently taken out of the hands of Eustace fitz John. This assault upon it would probably secure for David the goodwill and aid of that powerful baron, who was deeply offended at being deprived of his right; "a rege Anglorum ideo receserat, quod ab eo in curia, contra patrium morem captus, castra quæ ei rex Henricus commiserat, reddere compulsus est; ob quam causam offensus, ut illatam sibi ulcisceretur injuriam, ad hostes ejus sese contulerat." (Aelred, col. 343.)

^a The MS. reads Milford, and I have corrected it. Mitford castle, the old residence of the Bertrams, and subsequently of the Mitfords, is close to Morpeth and Newminster abbey. This William Bertram was the founder of Brinkburn priory, and was the progenitor of a long line of barons, who had their residence in the picturesque castle of Mitford, the ruins of which still overhang the Wansbeck.

^b The men of Carlisle and the Cumbrians owned the Scottish princes as their lords, the earldom of Carlisle having been formally given to prince Henry in 1138 by king Stephen. The Cumbrians at the battle of the Standard were ranged under the command of their earl (Aelred, 342), and Carlisle was the first place at which David seems to have halted after his disastrous defeat.

^c The tower of strength against the Scots was archbishop Thurstan, who effected by force of arms what his spiritual descendant, archbishop Herring, did by diplomacy in 1745. Thurstan would be eager to serve his sovereign in his

intromisit, et Willelmus de Albamarla, Walterus de Gant, Robertus de Brus, Rogerus de Mulbrai, Walterus Espec, Ilbertus de Lesceio, Willelmus de Perci, Ricardus de Curci, Willelmus Fossard, Robertus de Stutavilla,^d et cæteri potentes et sapientes viri, Eboracum convenerunt, et quid consilii in hac tempestate habere deberent, inter se diligenter tractaverunt. Cumque plurimi propter prodicionem in qua multi esse aestimabantur, de sese mutuo diffidentes, hæsitarent, et cum principem et conductorem belli non haberent, (nam Stephanus rex, dominus eorum, ea tempestate, non minoribus angustiis in Suth-Anglia circumventus, ad præsens ad eos venire non poterat^e) cum paucis tantæ numerositati occurrere formidarent, pæne a sua ac patriæ suæ defensione omnino deficere videbantur, nisi Turstinus, eorum archiepiscopus, magnæ constantiæ atque probitatis vir, sermone ac consilio suo illos animasset.^f Quippe cum esset pastor animarum illorum, non more mercennarii, infestante lupo, de fuga sibi præsidium sperabat, sed potius super gregis sui dispersione ac perniciæ, atque patriæ suæ destructione, gravissimo compassionis dolore sauciatus, omni studio et conatu tantis malis remedium quærebat.

Unde, et ex Divina auctoritate, quæ ei commissæ fuerat, et ex regia potestate, quæ illi tunc in hoc negotio tradita erat, et

necessity, the son, as he was, of his old friend Adela of Blois. The barons were afraid of each other, as treason was then rife, and no secular bond could have united so many discordant elements. Thurstan, probably, was the only man in England who could have done what was then effected. He had been the spiritual adviser of the greater part of the northern barons; it was at his suggestion that they had reared monastery after monastery; and the primate now wielded in the service of his country the wonderful influence that he exercised over the northern nobles. He banded them together by making the struggle a religious one, and left nothing undone to intensify this feeling. In the cause of religion and humanity—for their infant monasteries, the parish churches, the archbishop and his order—they went out to the fight.

"How oft has strength, the strength of heaven,
To few triumphantly been given!
Still do our very children boast
Of mitred Thurstan, what a host
He conquered!—Saw we not the plain
(And flying shall behold again)
Where faith was proved? While to battle moved
The standard on the sacred wain
That bore it, compassed round by a bold
Fraternity of barons old."

^d All of these were Yorkshire barons; some of them owned Thurstan as their feudal lord; all were strongly bound to him by the ties of spiritual relationship. All these men were either founders of monasteries or great benefactors to them, and their piety was prompted by the suggestions and advice of Thurstan. It was no difficult matter, therefore, for him to bring them into the field to fight for their church and faith.

^e Stephen was probably at Bedford.

^f Aelred says, loyally, that Walter l'Espec assisted Thurstan in gathering together the barons (col. 337).

de illorum fidelitate ac probitate eos fideliter admonuit, ne a pessima barbarie per ignaviam se omnes una die prosterni sicerent; sed potius cuncti, pariter cum suis, per veram pœnitentiam Deo reconciliati, et ad Eum toto corde conversi Cujus iram se promeruisse tot ac tanta mala testabantur, fiducialiter ac viriliter pro tanta necessitate agerent. Quod si devote facerent, de misericordia Dei præsumens, eos victores fore prænunciabat. Namque illa pessima gens potius Deo ac sanctæ ecclesiæ quam ipsis, quantum poterant, adversabantur, et ideo injustam, immo sceleratam causam pugnandi habebant. Ipsorum vero causa justa ac piissima erat, quippe pro sanctæ ecclesiæ ac suæ patriæ defensione periculo se ob(j)iciebant. Et si forte Deo placeret sine aliquorum illorum occasu hoc discrimen non posse peragi, tali intentione pugnantibus non mors formidanda, sed potius optanda erat. Promisit etiam eis quod suæ diocesis presbiteros singulos cum crucibus,^g et parochianis suis pariter cum illis, in bellum procedere faceret, et quod ipse cum suis bello interesse, Deo disponente, cogitabat.

Circa eundem tumultum temporis Bernardus de Ba(II)iol, quidam de proceribus ejusdem provinciæ, cum multitudine equitum, a rege Angliæ missus, ad eos venit; qui et ex parte regis et sua ad idem animos eorum multum accendit. Igitur, mandato regis et archiepiscopi sui ammoniti, omnes unanimiter ad unum consilium confirmati, singuli ad sua revertuntur. Post modicum vero, unusquisque cum suis munitis et bellicis armis instructi, iterum Eboracum conveniunt. Itaque, post acceptam privatam pœnitentiam, illis pariter et omni populo archipræsul triduanum cum elemosinis indixit jejunium, ac deinde absolutionem, et benedictionem Dei et suam eis sollempniter tribuit.

Et quamvis præ nimia infirmitatis et ætatis debilitate, ubi necesse erat, in lecto gestaretur gestatorio, ipse tamen, ad animos eorum accendendos, in prælium cum illis ire voluit. At illi ipsum remanere fecerunt, obsecrantes ut in orationibus, et elemosinis, vigiliis, et jejuniis, et in cæteris quæ ad Deum pertinent, pro eis intercedere satageret; ipsi vero pro ecclesia Dei, et pro illo qui ejus minister erat, prout ipse eos adjuvare dignaretur, et, sicut illorum ordo exigebat, libenter contra hostes pugnarent. Tunc crucem suam, et Sancti Petri vexillum,^h ac suos homines, tradidit eis.

^g "Per totam diocesim suam edictum episcopale proposuit, ut de singulis parochiis, presbyteris cum cruce et vexillis reliquisque Sanctorum præeuntibus, omnes, qui possent ad bella procedere, ad proceres properassent, ecclesiam Christi contra barbaros defensuri." (Aelred, col. 337.)

^h In one of the archbishop's registers at York I have seen a rough pen and ink sketch of this banner. The cross-keys were wrought upon it.

At illi ad oppidum, quod Treseⁱ vocatur, iverunt. Inde vero Robertum de Brus, et Bernardum de Ba(II)iolⁱ, ad regem Scottiæ terram Sancti Cuthberti, ut supradictum est, jam devastantem miserunt, qui cum summa humilitate ac benignitate eum obsecraverunt, ut saltem extunc a sua crudelitate cessaret. Quod si illorum consilio adquiesceret, quem postulaverat comitatum Northumbriæ Henrico filio suo se impetraturos a rege Angliæ firmissime promiserunt. At ille, corde obstinato, cum suis pariter, et eorum verba sprexit, et eos indignanter derisit. Itaque Robertus, reddito homagio quod ei fecerat,^k et Bernardus,^l fidelitate, quam una vice ab eo deprehensus illi juraverat, ad suos socios reversi sunt.

Omnes igitur proceres illius provinciæ, et de Notinghamscyra Willelmus Peverel et Gaufridus Halsalin, et de Derbiascyra Robertus de Ferers, et alii principales et sapientes viri, sese adinvicem sacramentorum obligatione assecurant et confirmant, quod nullus eorum, quamdiu eum adjuvare posset, in hoc negotio alium desereret; et ita cuncti aut simul morerentur aut vincerent.

Eodem tempore, misit archiepiscopus eis Radulfum, cognomento Nouellum,^m Orcadensium episcopum, cum quodam de archidiaconibus suis, et aliis clericis, qui populis cotidie ad eos undique catervatim confluentibus, vice sua, et pœnitentiam injungeret, et absolutionem daret.ⁿ Misit quoque eis presbyteros, cum parochianis suis, sicut eis promiserat.

ⁱ Thirsk, which is not far from Northallerton.

^j Whilst David was ravaging Allertonshire, two ambassadors were sent to him to beg him to desist. There was a remarkable propriety in the choice of these two envoys. Both of them acknowledged David as their feudal lord. David, therefore, would probably make the wished-for concession more readily to them than to others. If he refused, they would then have an opportunity of renouncing their obligations to him. Without this renunciation, they would be prevented from drawing the sword against him by the laws of chivalry and honour. This act of these two barons is the more significant and interesting when we consider the fortunes of their descendants. The Bruces and Balliols of a later day would wonder, perhaps, when they called to mind how magnanimously their two ancestors had broken off their connection with Scotland, for the sovereignty of which they were now contending.

^k This homage was due for the lordship of Annandale, which David had given to Brus. Aelred, speaking of Brus, says, "Qui cum esset de jure regis Anglorum, a juventute tamen regi Scotiæ adhærens, ad maximam ejus familiaritatem profecerat." (col. 343.) Brus, availing himself of this intimacy, made a touching but fruitless appeal to David on the eve of the battle to stop the slaughter.

^l Balliol seems to have been a captive in war. Chalmers, however, asserts that he held the manor of Woodhorn in Berwickshire of the gift of David.

^m Of this prelate, who, on account of his leaning towards England, was a wanderer from his own country, there is an account in the *Fasti Ebor.* (i., 168, etc.). He was a faithful friend of archbishop Thurstan in his varied fortunes. Cf. *Flor. Wigorn.*, ii., 89.

ⁿ In the MS. of Aelred's account of the battle in the Cottonian library (Titus,

Dum itaque adventum Scottorum expectarent, ecce! redeuntibus prænuntiis quos ad explorandum præmiserant, regem cum exercitu suo jam Tesam fluvium pertransisse, et, more suo, jam suam provinciam destruentem cognoscunt.^o Ergo cum summa festinatione eis occurrunt, pertranseuntesque villam,

A, xix., 148-9) the following speech of bishop Ralph is inserted. It is perhaps an interpolation, as it does not appear in Twysden. Henry of Huntingdon (222) gives the speech with some variations, and so does Brompton (coll. 1026-7). The words in italics at the beginning and the end of the passage are in Twysden, and will shew where the oration should be inserted (col. 345). Matthew Paris says erroneously that the speaker was Geoffrey, bishop of Durham.

“Collesque resultant.” Cum autem, morbi causa, non posset archiepiscopus Turstinus interesse pugnae, misit, loco sui, Radulphum episcopum Orcadensem, qui stans in media acie, in loco eminentiori, cum populo præliandi necessitatem in remissione peccatorum indixisset, tundentes pectora, erectis manibus, Divinum auxilium precabantur. Hujus usus est incentivo.

“Proceres Angliæ clarissimi Normannigenæ, vos meminisse vestri nominis et generis præliaturos decet. Perpendite qui, et contra quos, et ubi, bellum geratis. Vobis enim nemo imprimis (impune) resistit. Audax Francia vos experta delituit. Ferox Anglia velis vobis capta succubuit. Dives Apuleia vos sortita refloruit. Jerusalem famosa, et insignis Antyochia se vobis utraque (supposuit. Nunc autem Scotia vobis rite subjecta repellere conatur) inermem præferens temeritatem, rixæ quam pugnae aptior. In quibus nulla rei militaris scientia, vel præliandi peritia, vel moderandi gratia. Nullus igitur verendi locus, sed potius verecundiæ, quia hii, quos semper in patria petivimus et vicimus, in patriam nostram, ritu transverso, ebrii dementesque convolarunt. Quod, cum vobis, ego præsul, et archipræsulis vestri loco situs Divina providentia, factum denuntio, ut hii qui in hac patria templa Dei violarunt, altaria cruentarunt, presbiteros occiderunt, et nec pueris, nec prægnantibus pepercerunt, in eadem condignas sui facinoris pœnas luent. Quod justissimum suæ dispositionis arbitrium per manus vestras hodie perficiet Deus. Attollite igitur animos vestros, viri elegantes, et adversus hostem nequissimum, freti virtute Divina, ymmo Dei præsentia, exurgite; nec vos eorum terreat numerus, quia non tam numerus multorum quam virtus paucorum bellum conficit. Multitudo enim, disciplinæ insolens, ipsa sibi est impedimentum in prosperis ad victoriam, in adversis ad fugam. Vos, igitur, archipræsulis vestri loco, qui hodie commissa in domum Domini, in Domini sacerdotes, et Domini gregem pusillum vindicaturi estis. Si quis igitur vestrum prælians occubuerit, absolvimus eum ab omni pœna peccati, in nomine Patris, cujus creaturas fæde et horribiliter distruxerunt, et Filii, cujus altaria maculaverunt, et Spiritus Sancti, a quo sublimatos occiderunt.”

Et respondet omnis populus Anglorum, et ressonaverunt montes et colles, *Amen, Amen.* Exclamavitque simul exercitus Scottorum insigne patrium, et ascendit clamor usque ad cælum, *Albani, Albani.* Extinctus est autem clamor ictuum immanitate et horrendo fragore. *At Galwensium cuneus, etc.*

It is possible that this passage occurs in the MS. of Aelred in the library of C. C. C. Cambridge (F, v, 139), but I have not collated it. Twysden, I know, has greatly abbreviated what Aelred wrote on another subject.

^o Prior Richard is the first, and we may say, in one sense, the only writer on the battle of the Standard. Aelred took the same theme, and the work of Richard must have been before him, as he mentions nothing which his predecessor has recorded. Aelred's narrative seems to have been intended to be supplementary to that of Richard, and it was written apparently for the special purpose of shewing the valour and piety of Walter l'Espec and Robert de Brus. L'Espec was the founder of his monastery.

quæ Alvartum dicitur, ad campum, qui duobus miliaris ab ea distabat, summo mane pervenerunt.^p

Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinæ quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod *standard* appellaverunt. Unde Hugo Sotevagina, Eboracensis archidiaconus.^q

“Dicitur a stando standardum, quod stetit illic
Militiæ probitas vincere sive mori.”

In summitate vero ipsius arboris quandam argenteam pixidem

^p The battle was fought on the 22nd of August. The barons marched hastily northwards to stop the progress of the devastating army, and drew themselves up right across the main road from the Tees into the South. This was an effectual bar to the advance of the Scots, and they were obliged either to fight or retreat.

The eminence where the standard was set up is still called the Standard hill. It is not far from Brompton, on the way between Northallerton and Smeaton, and is between two and three miles distant from Northallerton. There were in it in Dugdale's time (Baronage, 62) “divers hollow places still known by the name of the Scots' pits.” One or two silver pennies of king Stephen and the silver hilt of a sword have been found in the vicinity (Ingledew's Northallerton, 23, 366). The position was a good one, and the assailants could see the English forces long before they came up to them. The onset was a fierce one, but the fight was soon finished. Some writers say that the battle took place upon Cowton moor, which lies to the north-west of the Standard hill, and it must have been over this ground that the two armies passed, the one in a disastrous flight, the other full of joy and vengeance. After the attack and its failure there would be for a while a running fight, and then a headlong rout over the barren moor. On they go, the fugitives and the pursuers, the Scots hiding themselves where they could among the thickets and corn, to be hunted out and destroyed like vermin by the farmers and their hinds.

^q No other lines of this poem have been preserved. Hugh Sotevagina, or Sottewain, precentor and archdeacon of York, was a witness to the deed by which archbishop Thurstan founded the nunnery of Clementhorp, near York, in 1130 (Dugdale, iv., 323), and he was present when that prelate made his famous visitation of St. Mary's abbey in 1132 (Memorials of Fountains, i., 24). I know not when he died, but the obit of Hugh, archdeacon of York, was observed at Durham on the 4th of the nones of July (Liber Vitæ, 144).

Hugh wrote the lives of the first four Norman archbishops of York; or, rather, an account of the great controversy between York and Canterbury which was then raging. Stubbs has used a portion of his work, and styles him “homo venerandæ ætatis, et jocundæ urbanitatis, de quo vere dici potest,

“Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.”

The same author observes that Hugh had great facilities for writing the lives of these prelates, as he, “cum eisdem pontificibus necessarius, tam in Divinis quam in humanis tractatibus consiliarius, multo tempore conversatus est; quibusdam etiam eorum, usque ad mortem, comes adhæsit individuus.” (col. 1705.) This biographical work, as yet unpublished, is at the beginning of the great White Register which belongs to the Dean and Chapter of York. The most important life is that of Thurstan, whom he seems to have accompanied abroad. It is probable, also, that Hugh was the archdeacon who was at the battle of the Standard, and that his verses were descriptive of a scene which he himself witnessed.

Hugh was a poet as well as an historian, and was probably indebted to this taste for the precentorship of York. Thomas, the first Norman primate, and his

cum corpore Christi, et Sanctorum Petri Apostoli, et Johannis Beverlacensis, et Wilfridi Ripensis, confessorum ac pontificum, vexilla suspenderunt.* Hoc autem ideo fecerant, ut Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, per præsentiam sui corporis eis dux belli esset, quod pro ejus ecclesia ac sua patria defendenda, susceperant. In hoc quoque suis providentes, ut si aliquo casu a se disjungerentur et elongarentur, evidens et certum signum haberent quo ad suos socios reverterentur, et ubi auxilium recuperare possent.

Deinde, vix se bellicis armis instruxerant, cum, ecce! rex Scottiæ, cum toto exercitu suo ad præliandum paratissimo ac promptissimo, cominus adesse nuntiatur. Itaque maxima pars equitum, equis relictis, fiunt pedites.* Horum electissimi mixti cum sagittariis in prima acie præordinantur. Cæteri vero, præter prælii ordinatores et incentores, cum baronibus juxta et circum

nephew, were versifiers themselves. In MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A, xii., 130, there is a copy of Latin elegiacs by Hugh on a religious subject. I have examined them, but, although smooth and pleasant, they need not to be noticed here. In that curious collection of epitaphs which Camden has printed in his *Remains* (ed. 1674, pp. 494-5. Reprinted in *Curious Discourses*, i., 231) occurs the following specimen of the metrical powers of Hugh. Camden observes, "It may be doubtful whether Wolgrine the organist was so good a musician as Hugh, archdeacon of York, was a poet, which made this epitaph for him :"—

"Te, Wolgrine, cadente, cadunt vox, organa, cantus,
Et quicquid gratum gratia vocis habet.
Voce, lyra, modulis, Syrenes, Orphea, Phæbum
Unus tres poteras æquiparare tribus.
Si tamen illorum non fallit fama locorum,
Quod fueras nobis, hoc eris Elysiis.
Cantor eris, qui cantor eras, hic charus et illie,
Orpheus alter eras, Orpheus alter eris."

Several of our English poets must have read this epitaph, and it may have suggested a beautiful passage in Cowley's ode on the death of Richard Crashaw.

"Ah wretched we, poets of earth! but thou
Wert living the same poet which thou'rt now.
Whilst angels sing to thee their airs divine,
And joy in an applause as great as thine.
Equal society with them to hold,
Thou needst not make new songs, but say the old."

I am inclined to ascribe to Hugh the epitaphs on archbishops Thomas I. and Gerard (*Vita Thomæ*, auct. Hugone Cantore, necnon MSS. Cotton, Titus, D, xxiv., 61). Possibly he was the author of some of the poems which occur in the last-mentioned MS.

* A cut of this standard is given by Twysden, and has been sedulously transferred to other works. It is an invention only, and an examination of it will shew that it could bear no possible resemblance to the original.

* A somewhat full account of the battle is given by Aelred, that courtier-monk, who praises Scots as well as English. The crisis was a fearful one, and to inspirit their men the English barons dismounted. This precaution was a wise one. The arrows of the men of Galloway broke the front rank of the English, and an impetuous charge of prince Henry shook the whole army, when the appearance of a gory head upon a pole, and the shout that it was David's head, made the assailants flee and began the rout. Nothing, after this, could restore the fortunes of the Scots. The story of the battle is a very simple one.

standard in pectore belli condensantur. Reliqua autem multitudo, undique conglomerata, eos circumvallabat. Equestris vero cohors, et equi militum, ne a clamore et strepitu Scottorum exterrerentur, paulo longius abducti erant.

Similiter vero, ex parte adversariorum, ipse rex, et pæne omnes sui, sunt effecti pedites; equi eorum remotius servabantur. In fronte belli erant Picti; in medio rex cum militibus et Anglis suis; cætera barbaries undique circumfusa fremebat. Dumque tali ordine ad præliandum procederent, ecce! *standard* cum vexillis haud procul aspicitur, moxque ipsius regis ac suorum corda ingenti pavore et horrore obstupuerunt. Obstinati tamen in malitia sua cœpta mala perficere satagerunt.

Igitur, in octabis Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, undecimo kalendas Septembris, feria secunda, inter Primam et Tertiam, hujus prælii conflictus initus et finitus est. Nam, statim in primo congressu innumeris Pictis interfectis, cæteri, projectis armis, turpem fugam inierunt.⁴ Campus cadaveribus repletur, quamplurimi capiuntur, rex et alii omnes terga dederunt. Denique de tanto exercitu, omnes aut cæsi sunt, aut capti, aut sicut oves percusso pastore dispersi; mirumque in modum, quasi sensu alienati, non minus in circumjacentes regiones hostium suorum a patria sua elongando, quam adversus patriam suam revertendo, fugerunt. Sed, ubicumque sunt reperti, tanquam oves occisionis sunt interfecti. Justoque Dei judicio qui multos miserabiliter interemerant ac insepultos reliquerant, ipsi multo miserabilius trucidati, nec patrio nec peregrino more sepulcri usi, canibus, avibus, ac feris expositi, aut lacerati, et discerpti sunt, aut sub divo contabuerunt, et computruerunt. Rex quoque, qui paulo ante præ nimia mentis elatione, et exercitus sui numerositate cæli sidera vertice⁵ tangere videbatur, et ideo vel totam vel maximam partem Angliæ in exterminium ducere minabatur, mox inglorius, ac paucis comitatus, cum summa confusione et ignominia, vix vivus evasit. Itaque, Divinæ ultionis

⁴ Aelred attributes the success of the English charge to the elevation of a head upon a pole which was declared to be that of David (col. 345). In the *Life of Thurstan* (MSS. Cotton, Titus, A, xix., 55) a singular but far less romantic reason is given for the rout of the Scots:—

“ Archiepiscopus, cum militibus regis, latenter occurrens super Cotowne more juxta Northallerton, fieri jussit in viis subterraneis quædam instrumenta sonos horribiles reddentia, quæ Anglicè dicuntur petronces; quibus resonantibus, feræ et cætera armenta quæ precedebant exercitum prædicti David regis in adjutorium, timore strepitus perterriti, in exercitum David ferociter resiliebat.”

The same passage also occurs at fol. 144 b in the same volume, in an account of the battle of the Standard, which some one has ascribed to Nicholas Walkinton of Kirkham. The work, however, save in one or two passages (this included), is that of Aelred of Rievaulx.

⁵ Richard seems from these words to have been acquainted with the first of the Odes of Horace.

virtus in hoc quoque manifestissime claruit, quod victorum exercitus inæstimabiliter major erat quam vincentium. Nec interfectorum numerus ab aliquo æstimari potest. Nam, sicut plures testantur, de illo exercitu qui de sola Scottia exiit, plus quam decem millia^v defuisse a reversis recensiti sunt. Nam per diversa loca Deirorum, Berniciorum, Northanhymbrorum, Cumbrorum, et aliarum provinciarum, post bellum multo plures sunt interempti quam in bello sunt interfecti.

At Anglorum exercitus, paucis de suis amissis,^v Deo auxiliante, victoria expedite potitus, sumpta præda, quæ satis copiosa ibi reperta est, brevi fere totus dissolvitur; et unusquisque ad propria revertens, vexilla quæ acceperant, cum gaudio et gratiarum actione, ecclesiis Sanctorum reconsignant.^x Quippe cum cultioribus vestibus, et omnibus divitiis suis, ad hoc bellum, quasi ad regales nuptias, processerant.

Deinde quidam baronum ad oppidum Eustachii, quod Maltun vocatur, de quo supradictum est, cum parte exercitus diverterunt, villaque destructa illud obsederunt. Tempore namque belli, ex præcepto prædicti domini sui, milites ex illo eruperant,

^v The numbers slain are variously stated. Several chroniclers join Prior Richard in fixing them at 10,000, and close upon it (Brompton, col. 1027. Ger-vase, col. 1346. Knyghton, col. 2385. Contin. Fl. Wigorn., ii., 112). They are fixed at 11,000 by Wendover (ii., 225) and Huntingdon (223). Others add another thousand, *i. e.*, Vita Turstini, apud MSS. Cotton, Titus, A, xix., 55 *a.* Chron. de Haghebie, *ibid.*, Vesp., B, xi., 6 *a.* Chron. Norm., apud Duchesne, 977. Chron. de Dunstaple, i., 24. Diceto, col. 506. The chroniclers generally agree that many were killed "in segetibus et silvis."

Drayton, in his Poly-Olbion, thus alludes to the fight. He makes, however, the bishop of Orkney into the bishop of Durham (part ii., 154). It is not often that this accurate writer commits a mistake.

"When David king of Scots, and Henry his sterne sonne,
Entitled by those times the earle of Huntingdon,
Had forradged all the North, beyond the river Teis,
In Stephen's troubled raigne, in as tumultuous dayes
As England ever knew, the archbishop of Yorke,
Stout Thurstan, and with him joynd in that warlike work,
Ralfe (both for wit and armes) of Durham bishop then
Renownd, that called were the valiant clergymen,
With th'earle of Aubemarle, Espech, and Peverell, knights,
And of the Lacies two, oft try'd in bloody fights,
Twixt Alverton and Yorke, the doubtfull battell got,
On David and his sonne, whilst of th'invading Scot
Ten thousand strew'd the earth, and whilst they lay to bleed,
Ours followed them that fled, beyond our sister Tweed."

Aelred (col. 346) says that many Scottish knights were taken prisoners. In the Continuation of Florence their number is said to have been fifty (ii., 112).

^x Aelred tells us (col. 346), "De singulis autem partibus singuli milites corruerunt. Sane Anglorum duces omnes sani incolumesque reversi." A brother of Ilbert de Lacy was the principal person slain on the English side (Chron. Norm., apud Duchesne, 977. Wendover, ii., 225. Huntingdon, 223. Hoveden, 277 *b*).

^y These banners afterwards flew on many a well-fought field (cf. Fastos Ebor., i., 380, etc.). See a paper by Mr. Longstaffe in the Arch. Æliana, *n. s.*, part vi., 51-66.

atque plurimas villas flamma consumpserant. Tandem, datis et acceptis octo dierum induciis, obsidio remansit.

Solus autem ille locus, in quo prædictum prælium factum est, Sancti Cuthberti erat, cum totus circumjacens campus alterius juris esset.^y Quod, Divina dispensatione, sed tamen præter intentionem belligerantium, accidit. Namque facile datur intelligi, quod Divina pietas noluit diutius esse inultum scelus, quod in terra sanctissimi ac dilectissimi confessoris et pontificis sui commiserant; immo, more consulto, citius vindicavit.

Hujus autem facti rumor ubi aures regis Angliæ attigit, valde lætus effectus est; unde etiam, quia audivit eos se viriliter in hoc negotio habuisse, Willelmum de Albamarla,^z in Eboracensi, et Robertum de Ferrers, in Derbiensi-scyra, comites fecit. Notandum, quoque, quod, et sibi, et suis, et in Suthanglia et in Normannia, contra suos adversarios pugnantibus, circa idem tempus, similiter optime contigit.^a

Rex autem Scottiæ, recepto Henrico filio suo,^b et recollectis suis, qui sparsim de pugna, non ut consortes, sed potius sicut hostes inimicissimi fugerant, obsidionem apud Carrum corroboravit. Namque Angli, et Scotti, et Picti, et cæteri barbari, ubicumque casu se inveniebant, quicumque prævalebant alios mutuo vel trucidabant, vel vulnerabant, vel saltem spoliabant; et ita, justo Dei judicio, æque a suis, sicut ab alienis, opprimebantur. Rex igitur, his cognitis, graves calumpnias et exactiones in suos intorsit, et infinitam pecuniam ex eis extorsit. Necnon, firmiter quam unquam antea fecerat, sacramentis et obsidibus illos sibi obligavit, quod nunquam amplius eum in bello desererent. Deinde op(p)idum Carrum machinis, ac novis instrumentis, et pluribus modis capere temptavit. At oppidani, machinis machinas frangentes, ex regis hominibus multos variis mortibus peremerunt, et plurimos vulneraverunt, unum tantum de militibus suis amittentes. Quippe de castello exiens, et in sua probitate nimium confidens, et ideo temerarie audax, dum incautus circa fractionem cujusdam machinæ moraretur, a multitudine

^y The Standard hill was "freehold tenure, subject to a small fee-farm rent, payable to the bishop of Durham." (Hutchinson's Durham, iii., 425.)

^z William, earl of Albermarle, is called by Aelred, when he is describing the leaders at the battle, "juvenis tunc strenuissimus, et in armis multum exercitatus." (col. 337.)

Four abbeyes, St. Martin's near Aumarle, Thornton, Vaudey and Meaux, owed their origin to his piety. He will be mentioned afterwards in the account of the wars of Stephen, and the controversy with St. William of York.

^a Cf. Ord. Vit., 917-18. Gesta Stephani, 37 et seqq.

^b Prince Henry was separated from his father after the battle, and was for some time in great peril. David, however, was safe at Carlisle: "de filio pavidus per biduum nil aliud agens expectabat." (Aelred, col. 346.)

Scottorum oppressus et extinctus est. Videns itaque rex omnem conatum suum nichil prævalere, sed potius sibi suisque multum nocere, machinis remotis, et congressionibus dimissis, suos, licet invitos, oppidum diligenter obsidere coegit. Quippe, propter magna dampna, et angustias, ac penurias quæ sæpe ibi perpessi fuerant, diuturnæ obsidionis pertæsi erant.

Ea tempestate quidam pestilentes, quibus omne studium et gaudium erat scelera excogitare ac perpetrare, ut malignitatis suæ desideria efficacius consummarent, detestabili concordia in unum convenerunt. Hujus vero execrabilis sodalitiî Eadgarus, filius nothus Cospatrici comitis, et Robertus et Uctred, filii Meldred,^c principales ac duces erant. Igitur, rapacitate stimulante, et impunitate patrocinate, ac furore exagitante, more luporum quæritantes prædam quam devorarent, per Northymbriam discurrerunt. Pertranseuntes quoque Tinam fluvium, in terram Sancti Cuthberti pervenerunt. Sed non invento ibi quod possent vel auderent rapere, vacua manu reversi sunt. Ergo in quadam villa, parrochiæ Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, quæ Herintun^d dicitur, prædam quam invenerunt abstulerunt. Deinde, interpositis duabus noctibus, i(i)dem prædones aliam villam, Digentun^e vocatam, invaserunt. Hæc autem propria villa erat canonicis prædictæ ecclesiæ, et ab Hestaldasham versus orientem octo miliaris distabat. Igitur, interfectis ibi tribus de servientibus ipsorum canonicorum, et multis convitiis Priori illorum illatis, qui forte eadem nocte ibidem supervenerat, cum præda discesserunt. Et hoc, præter spem eorum, ipsis canonicis accidit. Namque rex Scottiæ, ut supradictum, est, ipsis et

^c The record of a marauding exploit of some noble freebooters. Edgar was an illegitimate son of Cospatric, earl of Dunbar, and this is the only place in which his real relationship to him is mentioned. See Appendix, p. x.

Robert and Uctred, the sons of Meldred, were his cousins. There is no reason to call in question the accuracy of our chronicler, and this passage overthrows the pedigree of the earls of Northumberland and the early lords of Raby as set forth by Surtees and Hodgson. There is but one Robert fitz Meldred on record, and he is said to have been living in the time of Richard and John. There was another Meldred early in the eleventh century, but he could not have been the father of Robert and Uctred who are mentioned here. I cannot solve the difficulty.

The Prior and Convent of Durham granted Staindropshire to Dolphin, son of Uctred, in 1131. It will be observed that Robert fitz Meldred invades St. Cuthbert's patrimony from the Northumbrian side, and, besides, if he were the grandson of Dolphin, it is not likely that he would injure the monks of Durham in any way. The name of Uctred fitz Meldred stands in the obituary of the church of Durham on Nov. 6 (*Liber Vitæ Dunelm.*, 146).

^d Errington lies close to Bingfield, a few miles to the north of Hexham.

^e North and South Dissington are in the parish of Newburn, about eight miles to the east or north east of Hexham. The Priory had extensive estates in that neighbourhood, but there is no evidence that either village belonged to the canons.

omnibus hominibus, et omnibus rebus, et parrochiæ illorum, et, nominatim, huic villæ ipsorum, de se, et de omnibus suis, firmissimam pacem dederat.

Circa idem tempus, quidam Albericus, Hostiensis episcopus,^f in illas partes venit, quem Innocentius, Romanæ sedis Apostolicus, ut legationis officio in Anglia et Scottia fungeretur, miserat. Erat autem vir iste natione Gallicus, professione monachus, observatione Cluniacensis, Divina ac sæculari eruditione perspicuus, in ecclesiasticis negotiis optime exercitatus, facundia præclarus, consilio providus, et, quod his omnibus majus est, in habitu et vultu, denique in omni conversatione et actione sua, magnæ mansuetudinis ac religionis documentum præferebat. Hic igitur primo apud Cluniacum ad conversionem veniens, propter prudentiam ac religionem suam supprior ibi effectus est.^g Unde ad ejus providentiam omnis regularium observationum diligentia maxime pertinebat. Deinde in Francia, apud Parisius, in cella quæ dicitur ad Sanctum Martinum de Campis,^h Prioris officium strenue aliquandiu explevit. Post aliquot vero annos, quia fratribus suis valde necessarius ac dilectus erat, iterum ad supprioratus dignitatem domum revocatus est. Exinde vero ad Vergelenseⁱ cœnobium electus est, ut ei abbatis jure præesset. Deinde ad Hostiensis ecclesiæ præ-

^f The arrival of this distinguished cardinal on his peaceful mission was a great event in the north of England, and both the Hexham chroniclers have mentioned his proceedings at some length.

For an account of him I must refer my readers to the great work of Ciaconius, *Vitæ, etc., Cardinalium*, ed. 1677; i., coll. 992-3. Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali*, ed. 1792; i., pars ii., 16—18. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i., 63. Mabillon, *Ann. Ben.*, vi., 279-80. *Bibl. Cluniac.*, col. 1316. St. Bernard was a correspondent of his (*Opp. S. Bernardi*, ed. Mabillon, i., coll. 202, 225). The Saint, also, pays him the high compliment of saying that he was "homo qui magna fecit in Israël, et victoriam dedit ecclesiæ suæ in multis per illum Dominus omnipotens" (*ibid.*, col. 238). Bernard had probably heard of the good work that Alberic had done in the north of England, as well as in Syria and France. The Saint, after this, stood beside the tomb of the cardinal at Verdun, and his biographer would have us infer that Bernard saw something there which revealed itself to no other eye but his (*Vita S. Bern.*, lib. iv., 21).

^g Alberic took the vows at Clugny; when he went to Jerusalem he desired the prayers of Peter the Venerable, and that good man used to write to him (*Epp. Petri Ven.*, ed. Migne, lib. i., 70, 166; lib. ii., 271).

^h St. Martin des Champs, near Paris, a very ancient monastery. The writer of the seventh volume of the *Gallia Christiana*, col. 521, excludes Alberic from the list of Priors.

ⁱ Vèzelai in France, in the diocese of Autun. Alberic was abbat from 1130 to 1138, (*Gallia Christiana*, iv., col. 469). In the *Spicilegium* of D'Achery, ed. 1723, vol. ii., pp. 500 *et seqq.*, there is a chronicle of Vèzelai and some notices of Alberic. It was here that Louis VII. of France and so many of his nobles were persuaded to enter upon the Crusade, led away by the soul-stirring eloquence of St. Bernard. That Saint might well speak of the place where he had met with such triumphant success as "nobile illud monasterium Virziliacense." (*Opp.*, i., col. 153.)

sulatum canonica electione sublimatus est. Hujus autem ecclesiæ episcopis ex speciali antiqui honoris prærogativa constitutum est ipsum Apostolicum consecrare. Iste igitur, ut supradictum est, in Angliam veniens, de statu sanctæ Romanæ matris ecclesiæ omnibus ejus fidelibus filiis magnum gaudium attulit. Namque dom(i)nus papa supranominatus universis catholicæ ecclesiæ filiis cartam^j suam per illum direxit.

In hac autem referebat quomodo dum navis Sancti Petri diutissime ac gravissime fluctibus inimicorum occupata et operta præcipitaretur, atque scopulis scismaticorum conquassata ac dilacerata pessumdaretur, de salutis suæ reparatione jam pæne desperare cogeatur, quia ineffabilis desolatio, atque detestabilis abhominatio, quâ a primogenito sathanæ, scilicet, Petro Leone (*Leonis*), et ejus fautoribus, miserabiliter afflicta est, octo annis continuis duravit. Nec opus est eam describere, cum fere ab universo orbe cognita sit atque defleta. Verumptamen immensa Christi pietas, quæ quasi dormire,^k atque eam, peccatis nostris exigentibus, penitus neglexisse videbatur, a suis fidelibus precum et lacrimarum instantia pulsata, ac tandem excitata, omnem pelagi furorem vel fragorem, ventorum sævitiam, tempestatum rabiem, potenti virtutis suæ imperio compescuit: mutans itaque procellam ejus in auram lenitatis, in portu tranquillitatis, et in gaudio securitatis illam requiescere fecit.^l Porro omnium inimicorum suorum superbiam et gloriam in conculcationem et ignominiam convertit; ac omnium sibi adversantium colla suæ potestatis imperio subjecit. Unde, non inmerito, cum Psalmista proclamare possumus: "*Domine, dominus noster, quam ammirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra; quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super cælos.*"^m

^j I have been unable to discover this letter of Innocent II. It alludes, especially, to the troubles caused by Petrus Leonis, the anti-pope Anacletus, who died in 1138.

Prior Richard probably saw the letter of the pope whilst Alberic was at Hexham, and he gives us the substance of it. I have sought in vain for the letter in many places.

^k The author of the Saxon Chronicle, whilst describing the cruelties of the barons during the reign of Stephen, and the general wretchedness of the times, observes that men "said openly that Christ slept and his saints." (Saxon Chron., ed. Ingram, 366-8.)

^l The abbat Suger, in his Life of Louis the Fat, speaks of the peace that followed the death of Anacletus. "Sed cum Petrus Leonis de medio abiisset, pace ecclesiæ post longam fluctuationem, post diutinos et pæne consumptivos languores, Dei auxilio, restituta, dominus papa felici successu sanctissimam cathedram vitæ et officii merito nobilitavit." (Migne, tom. clxxxvi., 1333.) The bells at Benevento rang out merrily when the news of the death of Anacletus was brought, and Innocent, "continuo viribus sumptis, et amicorum virtute accepta, contra inimicos viriliter insilivit." (Chron. Falconis Beneventani, apud Muratori, ed. 1723, v., 125.)

^m Psalm viii. 1.

Exceptis autem his litteris, quæ in hunc modum de recuperatione pacis et unitatis sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et de reparatione Apostolicæ potestatis et dignitatis loquebantur, alias litteras regibus Angliæ et Scottiæ, et Turstino archiepiscopo Eboracensi, (quippe tunc temporis Cantuariensis metropolis proprio pastore carebat) et episcopis, atque abbatibus, ac prælatis sanctæ ecclesiæ utriusque regni a prædicto papa directas, de auctoritate suæ legationis attulit. Igitur ab his omnibus honorifice susceptus est.

Abbatem etiam Molelmismi cœnobii,ⁿ cum pluribus monachis de transmarinis partibus, secum adduxit, et quendam alterum, nomine Ricardum, illius monasterii abbatem quod dicitur Ad Fontes,^o magnæ religionis et auctoritatis virum, mox ut in Angliam venit, ad se convocavit. Hos igitur egregiæ discretionis et virtutis viros viæ, et vitæ suæ comites, ac testes inseperabiliter habuit, ut, et illorum consilio et auxilio, quæ tractanda erant tractaret, et, eorum testimonio, conversationis ejus honestas commendabilior redderetur. Ecclesias igitur episcopatum, et cœobia tam clericorum quam monachorum, fere per totam Angliam visitando pertransivit, et a singulis sollempniter receptus est. Tandem vero usque ad Dunelmum pervenit. Eodem tempore Willelmus Cumin, David regis Scottiæ cancellarius, de supradicto bello fugiens, captus et incarceratus ibidem detinebatur. Quem mox, de carcere eripiens, domino suo liberum reddidit.^p

Igitur habens secum duos episcopos, Rodbertum Herefordensem, et Adthelwlfum Carlelensem, et tres abbates, ac plurimos clericos, per solitudinem ad Haugustaldense cœnobium pervenit. A fratribus autem loci illius satis honorabiliter susceptus, de dampno quod in occisione hominum suorum, et in deprædatione terræ suæ, ut prædiximus, illis recenter acciderat, multum diligenter eos consolatus est.

Deinde per Northymbriam et Cumbarland, quarto die ante

ⁿ Molesme, in the diocese of Langres in France (Gallia Christiana, iv., 733). The abbat's name was Everard.

^o I cannot add a word to the account given of this person in the Memorials of Fountains Abbey. Alberic seems to have been empowered to visit the English monasteries, and, to aid him, he carried with him a representative, probably, of each great order. Richard, abbat of Fountains, was of course a Cistercian; Robert, bishop of Hereford, had been an Austin canon. The Benedictins were represented by the abbat of Molesme.

^p This is the same person about whom so much is said afterwards by John of Hexham. He was the Petrus Leonis of the see of Durham. He had been at the battle of the Standard, and had been taken prisoner. Had Alberic been prescient of the future, he would never have released him. The legate, however, was eager to make peace, and the deliverance of Cumin from his bonds would shew the king of Scotland that he was in earnest.

festum Sancti Michaelis, ad Carlel pervenit, ibique regem Scottiæ, cum episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, baronibus suæ terræ reperit.⁹ Illi vero diu a Cisalpina, im(m)o fere ab universa ecclesia discordantes, exosæ memoriæ Petro Leoni(s), et apostasiæ ejus, nimium favisse videbantur.^r Tunc vero, Divina gratia inspirati, mandata Innocentii papæ, et legatum ejus, omnes unanimiter cum magna veneratione susceperunt. Igitur triduo cum eis de suæ legationis negotiis diligenter tractavit.

Et quoniam cognovit quod Johannes Glesguensis episcopus^r curam animarum quam habuerat nulli commiserat, et sine licentia ac clanculo episcopatum suum reliquerat, et, nulla evidente necessitate cogente, apud Tironam monachus effectus est, de illo definivit, ut regius nuntius, cum ipsius et regis pariter litteris, pro eo mitteretur; et, si redire nollet, sententia super illum daretur. Et ita factum est.

Convenit quoque regem de reformanda pace inter eum et regem Angliæ, et, hujus rei gratia, ad ejus pedes cecidit, scilicet ut sanctæ ecclesiæ, et sui ipsius, et suorum misereretur, quibus tot et tanta mala fecerat. Sed vix inducias impetravit, quod nullum exercitum, et nullum malum, excepta obsidione quæ circa Carrum erat, ante festum Sancti Martini in terram regis Angliæ induceret. Hoc etiam apud Pictos impetravit, quod omnes puellas ac mulieres captivas, quas habere possent, ante eundem terminum ad Carlel reducerent, et eas ibi libertati redderent. Ipsi quoque et omnes alii firmissime ei promiserunt, quod nullo modo ecclesias amplius violarent, et quod parvulis, et femineo sexui, et ex infirmitate et ætate debilibus parcerent;

⁹ This meeting at Carlisle was a provincial council, or synod, of the Scottish church. What position would the recently-appointed bishop of Carlisle take? Although the see had been established by an English king, Adelulf was in one sense a Scottish bishop as long as the earldom of Carlisle was an appanage of the royal house of Scotland.

^r The Scots recognize, for the first time, Innocent II., but Richard is wrong in saying that they were almost the only supporters of Anacletus. They would regard the question as a political one, and not in the grave light in which St. Bernard represented it. Innocent had taken the side of king Stephen, and David, therefore, gave his countenance to Anacletus. There is a still better reason why the Scots should now give up the cause of the anti-pope, without sacrificing their consistency. He was dead.

^r I have given an account of John in the *Fasti Ebor.* (i., 197-8). He was a stout supporter of the privileges of the Scottish church against the claims of York. Tiron was a famous monastery in Picardy. The abbey of Kelso was a colony from it, and there John would see and admire the working of the Tironensian rule. It seems probable that John's departure was an attempt to evade the submission to York, which more than one pope had ordered him to make. He came back to his diocese, but there is nothing to shew that he yielded the position for which he so boldly contended.

In Migne's series, vol. clxxii., there is a life of Bernard, the founder of Tiron, by Geofroi le Gros.

et, omnino, neminem, nisi sibi resistantem, amplius occiderent. Rex quoque, cum Priore de Hestaldasham, qui illuc cum legato venerat, antequam illum interpellaret de dampno ipsius et fratrum suorum locutus, illud multum planxit, et promisit quod totum restitui faceret; et, insuper, de injuria quæ illis et eorum ecclesiæ facta fuerat, et de interfectione hominum suorum, eis rectum facere suos cogeret. Quod et ex magna parte fecit. Nam et eorum, et hominum suorum pecunia fere tota reddita est.

His ita factis, legatus ipso die festivitatis Sancti Michaelis inde discedens, per Hestaldasham et Dunelmum, in Suth-Angliam rediit, narravitque Stephano regi Angliæ suisque quid apud David regem Scottiæ et suos profecerat.

Rex autem Scottiæ, post paucos dies, per quosdam qui de op(p)ido Carrum exierant, cognovit quod illi, qui in op(p)ido erant, gravissima ciborum penuria jam angustiabantur. Unde eos arctius custodiri præcepit. Nec hoc falsum erat. Namque milites qui intus erant, præ inopia victualium equos suos interfecerant, ac sale conditos jam ex maxima parte eos comederant; nec tamen adhuc oppidum reddere volebant, im(m)o cibo eorum jam penitus deficiente, armati de castello exire, et per medios hostes irrumpere, seque, quamdiu possent, defendere cogitaverant, nisi Deus interim eis aliud consilium providisset. Igitur, circa festum Sancti Martini, Willelmus abbas de Riesvalle,^t in provinciam illam veniens, ex parte Walteri Espec, cujus illud, ut supradictum est, oppidum erat, eis certissime dixit, quatinus regi Scottiæ illud traderent. Noverat enim bene quomodo præ penuria victualium jam nimia angustia macerati fuerant. Rex igitur, interveniente abbate, viginti quatuor equos eis dedit, ac illos cum armis suis abire permisit, oppidumque receptum mox destrui fecit.

Supranominatus vero legatus, ut prædictum est, per episcopatus, ac monasteria ad curiam regis Angliæ reversus, quendam alium legatum, nomine —, qui nuperrime a dom(i)no papa Innocentio venerat,ⁿ ibidem repperit. Igitur Turstinum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et omnes episcopos, atque abbates, ac priores canonicorum per totam Angliam summoneri fecerunt, ut ad festum Sancti Nicholai in civitate Lundonia ad generale concilium convenirent. Quibus, præfinito tempore ac loco, cum Stephano rege Angliæ congregatis, de ecclesiasticis causis cum illis ambo legati tractare cœperunt. Alb(e)ricus tamen priorem locum optinuit. Fuit autem concilium hujusmodi.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXXVIII, pontificatus autem

^t Carham belonged to Walter l'Espece, the founder of Rievaulx and Kirkham, and the abbat of Rievaulx was probably a confidential adviser of his.

ⁿ I do not know who this legate was.

dom(i)ni papæ Innocentii Secundi anno nono, regnante piissimo et illustrissimo Stephano rege Anglorum, Henrici magni regis nepote, anno vero regni ipsius tertio, celebrata est synodus Lundoniæ in ecclesia Sancti Petri, Apostolorum principis, apud Westmonasterium, mense Decembris, tertia decima die ejusdem mensis: ubi, post multarum discussionem causarum, promulgata sunt hæc capitula, et ab omnibus confirmata, numero septendecim. Præfuit autem illi synodo Alb(e)ricus Hostiensis episcopus, et prædicti dom(i)ni papæ Innocentii in Angliam et Scottiam legatus, cum episcopis diversarum provinciarum octo et decem, et abbatibus circiter triginta, et cum innumera cleri et populi multitudine. Vacabat autem tunc temporis Cantuariensis ecclesia, et infirmabatur Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus: Willelmum tamen ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboracensis decanum, cum quibusdam clericis suis, illuc direxit.

Sunt autem hæc capitula."

Sanctorum Patrum canonica instituta sequentes, auctoritate Apostolica interdiciamus, ut pro crismate, pro oleo, pro baptismate, pro pœnitentia, pro visitatione infirmorum, seu desponsatione mulierum, seu unctione, pro communione corporis Christi, pro sepultura, nullum omnino pretium exigatur. Quod qui præsumpserit, excommunicationi subiaceat.

Sancimus, etiam, ut, ultra^v octo dies corpus Christi non reservetur, neque ad infirmos, nisi per sacerdotem, aut per diaconem, aut, necessitate instante, per quemlibet cum summa reverentia deferatur.

Item, Apostolica auctoritate sancimus, ut in consecrationibus episcoporum, vel abbatum benedictionibus, non cappa, non indumentum ecclesiasticum, neque quicquam ab episcopo vel a ministris ejus exigatur. Et in dedicationibus quoque ecclesiarum, non tapete, non manutergium, non bacinia, nichilque omnino, præter procurationem^x sacris canonibus institutam, requiratur.

Si quis episcopus in diocesi sua per alium episcopum ecclesiam consecrari fecerit, Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus ne quid inde ultra procurationem^y ejusdem episcopi exigat.

Nullus omnino de manu laici ecclesiam, seu quæcumque ecclesiastica beneficia, accipiat. Cum autem investituram per episcopum aliquis acceperit, præcipimus ut super Evangelium juret, se nichil propter hoc per se, vel per aliquam aliam personam

^v There is a list of these Constitutions in Gervase, coll. 1317-8, shewing a few differences. Labbe gives them in his Concilia, x., col. 994 *et seqq.*, having derived them from Spelman, who has merely taken them out of this chronicle. He gives, also, the extract from Richard of Hexham, which describes Alberic's progress.

^w Non plusquam (Gervase).

^x Corredium sacris canonibus institutum (Gervase).

^y Corredium (Gervase).

dedisse alicui, vel promisisse. Si autem præsumptum fuerit, irrita hujusmodi donatio erit,² et tam dator quam acceptor ullioni canonicæ subiaceat.

Sancimus, præterea, ne quis ecclesiam,^a seu quælibet beneficia ecclesiastica paterna sibi vendicet hæreditate, aut successorem sibi in ecclesiastico constituat beneficio. Quod si præsumptum fuerit, irritum fore decernimus, cum Psalmista dicentes, “Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam qui dixerunt hæreditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei.”^b

Clericos a non suis episcopis absque litteris proprii episcopi ordinatos, a susceptorum officiis ordinum inhihemus: solique Romano pontifici eorundem plenaria restitutio reservetur, nisi religionis habitum susceperint.

Sanctorum Patrum vestigiis inhærentes, presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, uxoratos, aut concubinarios, ecclesiasticis officiis et beneficiis privamus, ac ne quis eorum missam audire præsumat Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus.

Fæneratores^c clericos, et turpia lucra sectantes, et puplica sæcularium negotia procurantes, ab officio et beneficio ecclesiastico nichilominus removendos esse censemus.

Si quis clericum, aut monachum, vel sanctimonialem, vel quamlibet ecclesiasticam personam occiderit, incarcerationit, vel nefarias ei manus intulerit, nisi tertio summonitus satisfecerit, anathemate feriatur. Neque quisquam ei, præter Romanum pontificem, nisi mortis urgente periculo, modum pænitiæ finalis injungat. Si autem impænitens mortuus fuerit, corpus ejus inhumatum remaneat.

Si quis res ecclesiarum mobiles, vel immobiles, violenter usurpare præsumpserit, nisi post canonicam vocationem emendaverit, eum excommunicari præcipimus.

Apostolica auctoritate prohibemus, ne quis, absque licentia episcopi sui, in possessione sua ecclesiam, vel oratorium constituat.

His subjungimus quoque auctoritatem Nicholai papæ, dicentis, “Cum discreti sint milites Christi a militibus sæculi, non convenit militem ecclesiæ sæculo militare, per quod ad effusionem sanguinis necesse sit pervenire. Denique, sicut turpe est laicum missas facere, sacramenta corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere, ita ridiculum et inconveniens est clericum arma sustollere, et ad bella procedere, cum Paulus Apostolus dicat, ‘Nemo militans Deo implicatur,’” etc.^d

² The concluding words of the paragraph are not in Gervase.

^a Gervase omits this constitution.

^b Psalm lxxxiii. 12-13.

^c Venatores (Gervase).

^d 2 Tim. ii. 4. The order seems to have been made by Nicholas I., and there are words somewhat similar in Labbe, Conc., viii., 404.

Item ad(j)icimus hoc decretum Innocentii papæ dicentis Victorico Rotomagensi archiepiscopo; "Monachi diu morati in monasteriis, si postea ad clericatum pervenerint, non debent aliquatenus a priore proposito deviare: sicut in monasteriis positi fuerunt, ita et in clericatus ordine degere debent, et quod diu servaverunt, id in altiori gradu positi amittere non debent."^d

Prohibemus autem, Apostolica auctoritate, sanctimoniales variis, seu grisiis, sabellinis, marterinis, hereminis, beverinis pellibus, et an(n)ulis aureis uti,^e sive torturam capillorum et compositionem capillorum facere. Hujus decreti quæ inventa fuerit violatriæ anathemati subiaceat.

De omnibus primitiis rectas decimas dari, Apostolica auctoritate, præcipimus; quas qui reddere noluerit, anathematis in eum sententia proferatur.

Sancimus præterea, ut si magistri scholarum aliis scholas suas pro pretio legendas locaverint, ecclesiasticæ vindictæ subjaceant.

In hoc autem concilio tractatum est de archiepiscopo ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam eligendo, quæ, ut supradictum est, tunc proprio pastore carebat. Tandem vero post proximam Epiphaniam hæc causa finem habuit, cum Beccensis cœnobii abbas, nomine T(h)eobaldus, electus præfatæ ecclesiæ archipræsul,^f a supradicto Alberico consecratus est. In eodem autem concilio depositus est abbas de Cruland, et Prior ecclesiæ Sancti Albani martyris, nomine Godefridus, in loco ejus restitutus:^g et abbatiæ quæ est juxta Hastings, quæ dicitur Ad Bellum, abbas, nomine Adam,^h electus est: quos utrosque prædictus Albericus benedixit. Invitavit quoque omnes episcopos, et abbates plurimos

^d I have been unable to discover this rescript.

^e The words from *uti* to *hujus* are not in Gervase.

^f Theobald was made abbat of Bec in 1137 (Chronicon Beccense, apud Lanfranci Opp., ed. 1648, 7). He was translated to Canterbury in 1139, and was consecrated by Alberic, the cardinal and legate, on the 8th of January (Gervase, col. 1348). Petrus Divensis, the poet of Bec, says of him (Martene et Durand, Ampliss. Coll., ed. 1724, vi., col. 104):—

"Illis subtrahitur, Christo sed compositore,
Anglis atque datur, miro translatus honore;
Summus et ecclesiæ fit præsul Canturiensis,
Insula præsignis cui subditur Albionensis."

^g In the Lives of the Abbats of Croyland (MSS. Cotton, Vesp., B. xi., 77 a) this is mentioned:—" (W)aldevus monachus Croyland (abbas), et xij annis præfuit ecclesiæ. Accusatus a suis, depositus est ab Alberico legato, tempore regis Stephani. Cui successit

"Godefridus, Prior Sancti Albani, et iiij^{or} annis rexit ecclesiam. Hic consuetudines Sancti Albani instituit, quæ ibi usque in præsens servantur."

^h An error. The name of the new abbat of Battle was not Adam, but Walter de Lucy. The king appointed him at the suggestion of the queen, the legate, and several barons. Lucy entered upon his office at Battle on the 12th of January, 1139 (Hist. Fundat. Mon. de Bello, 65).

Angliæ, ad generale concilium, quod dom(i)nus papa Innocentius ad medium Quadragesimæ Romæ celebraturus erat.ⁱ

Dum autem hæc agerentur, de pace reformanda inter duos reges sæpissime ac diligentissime cum pluribus, et maxime cum regina Angliæ, tractavit. Postquam vero ipsius reginæ mentem ad hanc rem perficiendam valde esse accensam intellexit, ipsa mediante, ac feminea calliditate atque protervitate instante, ipsum regem crebro de eadem re interpellavit; quem primo durum, et quasi hanc reconciliationem aspernentem, invenerunt. Quippe plures de baronibus suis, quibus ex discordia eorum gravia dampna contigerant, solliciti ei persuaserant, ut nullo modo pacem cum rege Scottiæ faceret, im(m)o se viriliter de illo vindicaret. Verumptamen feminei pectoris ardor, vinci nescius, quibuscumque potuit modis, nocte ac die stimulando non destitit, donec regium animum ad suam voluntatem detorsit. Namque avunculum suum, David regem Scottiæ, et Henricum filium ejus atque suum cognatum vehementer amavit, ac ideo tantopere marito suo regi Angliæ eos pacificare curavit. Præfatus itaque legatus, ubi rem eo modo procedere vidit, audacius regem convenit, de illa meliore spe concepta, ac de cæteris causis suis se intromisit.

[MCXXXIX.]

Anno igitur MCXXXIX, perfectis negotiis suis in Anglia, sæpdictus legatus, mox post octabas Epiphaniæ, cum suis ad mare reversus transfretavit. Nam ad prædictum concilium dom(i)ni papæ tempore congruo pervenire properavit. T(h)eobaldus quoque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et [Ernulfus] Rof(f)ensis, et Simon Wigornensis, Rogerus Coventrensis, Robertus Excestrensis, isti quinque episcopi, et cum illis quatuor abbates, pro omnibus episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ ad idem concilium iverunt. Namque rex Stephanus, propter turbationem regni sui, quæ gravis tunc imminebat, plures illuc mittere noluit.

Præterea, bonæ memoriæ^j Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et propter concilium, et propter quædam alia privata negotia quæ per illum facere disponebat, Ricardum abbatem de Fontibus, eximiæ virtutis virum, de quo superius mentionem fecimus, illuc direxit.^k Namque, sicut vulgo dicebatur, de sede

ⁱ This was the tenth general council, and it was held at the Lateran on the 20th of April, 1139. The constitutions enacted thereat, in behalf of church-union, may be seen in Labbe, x., col. 999, *et seqq.*

^j These two words shew that this part, at least, of the chronicle was written after Thurstan's death in 1140.

^k There is a farther account of Thurstan in Prior John's chronicle. The historian of Fountains says that Richard's prudence and ability tempted the legate Alberic to take him with him to Rome. "Visum est virum tantum

sua seipsum deponere, et germanum fratrem suum, Audocnum nomine,^l Ebroicensem episcopum, pro se archiepiscopum Eboraci constituere cogitaverat. Sed interim, dum hæc parabantur, et nuntius ejus infectis negotiis Romæ defunctus est, et frater ipsius, sumpto ante mortem suam religioso habitu canonicorum apud Meretun,^m ibidem de hac vita migravit. Verum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum suo pallio, et prædicti episcopi, et abbates, finito concilio et confectis negotiis suis, sani et incolumes redierunt.

Mox autem postquam sæpe-nominatus legatus ab Anglia discessit, intercurrentibus nuntiis, inter duos reges pax facta est hoc modo. Stephanus rex Angliæ, cum omnibus terris suis quas ante habebat, Henrico, filio David regis Scottiæ, comitatum Northumbriæ, exceptis duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo-Castello et Bahanburg, concessit; hæc enim in manu sua retinuit. Sed pro ipsis oppidis, quantum urbes eorum valebant, in Suth-Anglia illi dare debebat. Præcepit quoque ut barones qui de comitatu tenebant, quicumque vellent, de consuleⁿ Henrico terras suas recognoscerent, et, salva fidelitate quam ei jura-verant, illi homagia facerent. Quod et plerique fecerunt. Rex autem Scottiæ, et Henricus filius ejus, cum omnibus suis, extunc quamdiu viverent, Stephano regi Angliæ per omnia pacifici

Romanis innotescere, assistere dom(i)no papæ; nec debere tantam lucernam latere sub modio. Peracta legatione, renitentem trahit ad curiam; volens hominem in majoris administrationis gradum promoveri." (Memorials of Fountains, i., 72.)

Thurstan availed himself of Richard's going to make him the negotiator of the surrender of his see which he wished to make. A higher power brought everything to nought. Richard was carried away by a fever at Rome; Audoenus took the cowl and died in the same year; and Thurstan followed his brother, after the interval of a few months, to the cowl and the grave.

^l Audoenus, brother of archbishop Thurstan, was a native of Bayeux, and was the son of Auger, prebendary of Kentish town in St. Paul's cathedral. He succeeded his father in his stall (Newcourt, i., 169. Godwin, ed. Richardson, 668). Audoenus was a man of learning, and was scribe and chaplain to Henry I., who made him bishop of Evreux in Normandy. When Henry I. died in 1135, he joined with Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, in putting the oath to the barons that they would not desert their master's body till it was honourably interred (Ord. Vitalis, 901). He was a faithful ally of his brother during his misfortunes (Hugo Cantor), and, in 1132, they dedicated the church "B.M. de Casa Dei parthenonis Fontebraldensis." (Gallia Christiana, xi., 575.) He was bishop of Evreux for twenty-four years, and died in 1139, having rebuilt his church which had been burned down (Gallia Christiana, xi., 573-6. Bouquet, xii., 769. Chron. Norm., apud Duchesne, 978). There are two letters to Audoenus among the epistles of Yves, bishop of Chartres; the first was written when he was bishop-elect, and Yves mentions several matters in his diocese which stood in need of correction (Yvonis Carnot. Epp., ed. 1647, ii., 95, 105).

^m An Augustinian priory in Surrey (Dugd. Mon., vi., 245).

ⁿ As earl, or consul, prince Henry coined money. I possess one of those rare coins, a silver penny, found in Northumberland, which bears the words Henricus Consul.

et fidelissimi existere debebant.^o Et, ut de fidelitate eorum securior esset, filium Cospatrici comitis, et filium Hugonis de Morvilla, et filium Fergus comitis, W. filium Mel, et filium Mac^s, scilicet duorum^p comitum de Scottia, ei obsides dare debebant. Leges quoque, et consuetudines, et statuta quæ rex Henricus avunculus ejus in comitatu Northumbriæ statuerat, per omnia ibi immobiliter custodire debebant. Hæc autem concordia ab Henrico filio regis Scottiæ, et ab eorum baronibus, coram Matilde regina Angliæ, et multis comitibus et baronibus de Suth-Anglia, quinto idus Aprilis, Dunelmi confirmata est. Hoc quoque diligenter distinctum est, quod Henricus comes, neque super terram Sancti Cuthberti, neque super terram Sancti Andreæ de Hestaldasham-scyre, quia ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensem pertinebat, ullum jus habere debebat. Deinde cum regina ad curiam regis Stephani profectus, apud Notingham cum invenit.^q Confirmatisque ab illo quæ apud Dunelnum fecerant, per totam æstatem in Suth-Anglia demorans, et curiam regis frequentans, in servitio ejus magnas impensas fecit.

Eodem anno Walterus de Gant,^r sumpto habitu monachili apud Barthanaïam, et Robertus de Ferrers, qui fuit comes de Derbia-scyra,^s defuncti sunt.

EXPLICIT BELLUM STANDARDII. INCIPIT CRONICA AB ADAM
USQUE AD HENRICUM.^t

^o It is evident from these negotiations that the battle of the Standard had reduced the Scots to great weakness; otherwise, such conditions as these would never have been submitted to.

^p Instead of "duorum" Twysden erroneously reads "quinque." This correction of his text is an important one. Cospatric and Fergus were earls of Dunbar and Galloway, and Hugh de Morville was constable of Scotland.

^q Stephen is said to have gone to Scotland in 1139 (Huntingdon, 223. Wendover, ii., 225).

^r The stout old commander at the battle of the Standard retires from the world, in which he had occupied so prominent a position. His father was Gilbert de Gant, or Ghent, a nephew of the Conqueror, and he married Maud, daughter of Stephen, earl of Brittany (Dugdale's Baronage, i., 400). Earl Gilbert restored the monastery of Bardney, and was interred there. In 1115 Walter de Gant added to the buildings and endowments, and Bardney was the place to which he retired. Thurstan is said to have been instrumental in restoring this abbey (Lel. Coll., iii., 263): it is probable that he only prompted and directed the pious zeal of Walter de Gant. This noble-hearted soldier was recollected in Yorkshire for another act of Christian charity. He was the founder of the Austin priory at Bridlington. In this we may again trace the influence of Thurstan. That good prelate was a witness to the charter of endowment (Burton's Mon. Ebor., 212).

^s Robert, son of Henry de Ferrariis, or Ferrières, now Ferrers, a commander at the battle of the Standard, was created earl of Derbyshire by Stephen in the third year of his reign (Dugd. Bar., i., 258-9).

^t A chronicle which is erroneously ascribed to the pen of Prior Richard.

INCIPIT HISTORIA

JOHANNIS, PRIORIS HAUGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIAE,

XXV ANNORUM.^a

[MCXXX.]

ANNO MCXXX, Aschetillus,^b primus Prior ecclesiae Hagustaldensis, obiit, quintodecimo kalendas Aprilis. In quem pro urbana morum elegantia, (et) honestate, tam clericorum quam laicorum confluxerant vota. Qui et eundem locum, sub vastitate hostili in solitudinem redactum, operosis officinis, canonicos suos rebus necessariis, claustrum quoque honestis institutis plene procuraverat. Substituit loco ejus Turstinus archiepiscopus, eodem anno, electum a fratribus, camerarium ejusdem loci, Rodbertum Biseth, litteratum et disciplinatum.

[MCXXXI.]

Anno MCXXXI, Henricus rex ascivit ad episcopatum Here-

^a This imprint is derived from the only MS. known of this chronicle, F, v., 139, in the library of C. C. C. Cambridge, among the volumes given by archbishop Parker. The chronicle has been already published by Twysden, coll. 257-282, and it has appeared also in the English version of some of the works of our early historians which have been edited by Mr. Stevenson.

^b Asketillus is said by Aelred (De Sanctis, etc.) to have been a canon of the Augustinian priory at Huntingdon, and that writer, who probably knew him well, speaks of him in the highest terms. Asketillus seems to have been elected prior soon after Thurstan became archbishop in 1114. The chronicle ascribed to Simeon says that he was "omnibus amabilis." There is an account of the Austin priory at Huntingdon in Dugdale (Mon., vi., 78). The Lovetots were the founders, and it was a house of great repute. As Asketillus was sent to Hexham, Robert, another canon, was the first prior and inaugurator of the Austin house at Merton in Surrey (ibid., 245).

There is another reason why Asketillus should be brought from Huntingdon to Hexham in the far North. It must be remembered that prince David of Scotland, who was always a staunch friend to Hexham, had married the widow of the earl of Huntingdon, and it is possible that this appointment was recommended by him. Aelred also, we must not forget, was a member of David's household before he took the vows as a Cistercian monk at Rievaulx.

fordensem Rodbertum, Priorem de Lantonia.^c Qui in canonica prius professione regulari insistens disciplinæ, eandem domum regularibus institutis aliis domibus fecit imitandam. In episcopatu quoque causis episcopalibus episcopalis sollicitudinis instantia invigilans, singularem sanctæ actionis auctoritatem et reverentiam in regno promeruit.

[MCXXXII.]

Anno MCXXXII, Walterus Espec, vir magnus et potens in conspectu regis et totius regni, monachos Cisterciensis observantiæ, directos a Bernardo abbate Claræ-vallis, recepit, et posuit in solitudine Blackoumor, secus aquam Rie, a qua cœnobium eorum Rie-vallis dicitur.^d Cum quibus missus est Willelmus,

^c Robert de Betun was a great light among the Austin canons, and his appointment to a bishopric was a triumph to their order. He paid a visit to Hexham in 1138. The life of this prelate was written by his chaplain, William of Wycombe, and is printed in the *Anglia Sacra*, ii., 292-321. The MS. in the Cottonian library, Julius, D, x., is a little gem in neatness and caligraphy. Betun was consecrated at Oxford (Gervase says at Rochester) on the 28th of June, 1131, and died April 16, 1148 (*Flor. Wigorn.*, ii., 92. *Anglia Sacra*, ii., 319).

The first priory of Lantony was in Monmouthshire, and was founded early in the twelfth century by Hugh de Lacy. In 1136 it was removed to a place near Gloucester, which was called Lantony the Second (*Dugdale*, vi., 569). In the *Itinerarium Cambriæ* of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Camden*, 850), there is an interesting description of Lantony the First.

^d Rievaulx was the earliest Cistercian house in the north of England, and Prior John could not pass over the foundation of a monastery which was the mother of Melrose, and was presided over by the famous Aelred, who was a native of Hexham, a place which had good reason to remember him. In situation Rievaulx may almost carry off the palm of beauty from Fountains, and that is saying a great deal. An excellent account of the founder, and the early history of his monastery, is to be found in the *Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (i., 4).

"Anno MCXXXII, tertio nonas Martii, facta est abbatia Sanctæ Mariæ de Rei-valle, die Sabbati," says the historian of Melrose (*Chron.*, ed. Bann. Club, 69), and this is the date usually given. The donation, however, which brought the monks to that place had been made in 1131, when l'Espece gave "Grif et Tilleston" to St. Bernard for the construction of an abbey (*Chartul. de Rievaulx*, MSS. Cotton, Julius, D, i., 15 a). The chronicle of Sigebert correctly ascribes the beginning of Rievaulx to this year (*German. rerum Chronographi*, ed. 1566, 138 b).

"Deinde post aliquot annos dedit Odo de Bolthebi domino Willelmo abbati Hescelscait cum pertinentiis suis.

"Anno Domini M^o c^o XL^o v^o dedit nobis Walterus Espec Bildesdale cum pertinentiis suis." (*Chart. de Rievaulx*, *ut supra*.)

And thus by degrees a noble abbey was constructed and endowed in the valley of the Rie and in the district still called Blackmoor.

William, the first abbat of Rievaulx, was the friend and coadjutor of St. Bernard, and no mean person he was in piety, learning, and ability. It will be seen afterwards of what use he was in political affairs, and how he busied himself in the great contest between Murdæ and St. William. St. Bernard wrote to him twice upon that subject (*Opp.*, ed. Mabillon, i., 320, 321). The Saint joined with him on another occasion in addressing a monitory epistle to the Prior of Durham and his convent (*Appendix to Simeon's Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, ed. Bedford,

primus abbas eorum, vir consummatae virtutis et excellentis memoriae apud omnes posteros. Horum æmulantes arduum propositum insolitæ conversationis, Ricardus, Prior cœnobii Sanctæ Mariæ Eboracensis, et seniores ejusdem loci cum eo, non sine seditiosa contradictione sui abbatis Galfridi et conventus, egressi sunt eodem anno, sexto kalendas Januarii, et construxerunt cœnobium de Fontibus juxta Ripum, dante eis possessionem Turstino archiepiscopo.^e In qua præfuit primus eorum abbas, prædictus Prior Ricardus, vir in ecclesiasticis negotiis experientissimus.

[MCXXXIII.]

Anno MCXXXIII, mense Augusto, ante Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ, apud Eboracum a Turstino archiepiscopo consecrati sunt episcopi Galfridus, cancellarius regis Henrici, ad episcopatum Dunelmensem,^f Aldulfus,^g Prior de Nostla, ad urbem Karleol,

376), and he was concerned in the mission of that noble letter in which Bernard strove to reclaim his nephew Robert to his neglected vows (Opp., i., 2). Henriquez has written a life of William which is full of valuable information (Fascic. Ord. Cisterc., i., 241). He died in 1145 (Chron. de Mailros, 72), on the 4th of the nones of August, and that writer of epigrams, epitaphs, and epistles, Nicholas, a monk of Rievaulx (Henriquez, Phœnix Reviviscens, 96), sung his praises in some hexameters, of which the following are an extract (Henriquez, Menologium Cisterciense, 249). (Cf. Oudini Comm. de Script. Eccl., ii., col. 1123, where that writer shews that the abbat has been confounded by Vossius with William of Newburgh :)—

“ Tu Rie-vallis honor, dux inclyte, flos sine spina,
Te duce ditior est, et tanto flore beata
Anglia te genuit, Vallis Clarissima mores
Sacros instituit, tua nos doctrina beavit.
Alme pater, salve! loca nostra tuere, quibus tu
Et prior architectus es, et fundator et auctor.”

Among the Cottonian MSS., Titus, D, xxiv., fol. 81, a volume which once belonged to Rufford abbey, there is another metrical effort by some unknown poet :—

“ EPITAPHIUM DOM(I)NI WILLELMI ABBATIS RIE-VALLIS.

“ Dormit in hoc tumulo quondam celeberrimus ille,
Ordinis interpres, religionis odor :
Sol patriæ, pater ecclesiæ, lux fusa per orbem,
Cujus fundator et patriarcha domus,
Insignis virtute, fide, spectabilis ortu,
Abbas Willelmus, et totus Apostolicus,
Angelicam terris vitam coelestia mundo
Invidit cœlum; dat sua cuique Deus.
Liber et ætheream conscendit spiritus aulam,
Terra sibi terram vindicat ipsa suam.
Est portus mortis mors huic, et porta salutis,
Quisquis fidem pendis, accipe quoque petis.”

If the reader can construe the last line, he can do more than I can. In the line before it there is a well-known Bernardine sentiment.

^e I can add nothing to the account of this occurrence and its results, which is given in the Memorials of Fountains Abbey, recently edited for the Surtees Society by Mr. Walbran.

^f On the 6th of August (Simeon's Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., ed Bedford, 261). Geoffrey Rufus, after a troublous episcopate, died in 1141.

^g Adulf, or Adelulf, may perhaps be called the founder of Nostell, near Pon-

quam rex Henricus initiavit ad sedem episcopalem, datis sibi ecclesiis de Cumberland et Westmariland, quæ adjacuerunt archidiaconatui Eboracensi.^a Dedit etiam simul Henricus rex episcopatum de Heli Nigello,ⁱ nepoti Rogeri episcopi de Searesbiri.

[Tertio nonas ejusdem mensis Augusti, circa meridiem, fere dimidiæ horæ spatio, facta est eclipsis solis, luna xxvii., feria quarta, rege Henrico transfretante in Normanniam, ubi et mortuus est.

Anno mcxxxiii]^j stella cometis, octavo idus Octobris, fere per septem dies apparuit.

Maxima pars Lundoniæ civitatis in ebdomada Pentecostes

tefract, the first Austin priory that was established in England. He is mentioned several times in these chronicles, and he was a person wise, able, and discreet. There is a life of him in that curious MS., *De Gestis et Actibus Priorum S. Oswaldi de Nostell*, which is in the possession of Mr. Winn of Nostell. Adulf had been the confessor of Henry (Wendover, ii., 212). As Prior of Nostell, he was *ex officio* a canon of York, and thus, probably by Thurstan's means, the tie between York and Carlisle was securely bound. The see of Carlisle, although designed and desired by Henry I., was not finally arranged until the time of Stephen (Appendix, No. VIII.). The canons of Hexham would be delighted at having as their neighbour a prelate who was the exemplar of their own order.

The larger portion of Cumberland and Westmerland had been, up to this time, under the control of Scottish or Irish bishops. The dedications of the churches are a sufficient testimony to the nationality of the consecrating prelates. There is a most important inquisition made by David, earl of Cumberland, into the possessions of the church of Glasgow, and it is said in it that the see of Glasgow was founded "sedem scilicet pontificalem Cumbrensis ecclesiæ," but that on account of wars, etc., that district had been neglected and deserted. David made John the bishop, "sed cum episcopus, cognita infelicis populi feritate et abhominabili vitiorum multiplicitate, utpote perterritus, Jerusalem proficisci disposuisset, ab Apostolico Paschali, licet invitus, consecratus, officium susceptæ sollicitudinis nullatenus differre voluit, sed cum gaudio sub plebis alacritate a principe et a proceribus regni receptus, verbum prædicationis, Spiritu Sancto largiflue operante, per Cumbrensem parochiam diffudit." David, then, at John's request enquired into the possessions of the see of Glasgow within those parts of Cumberland which he controlled, "*non vero toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur*," (Reg. Episc. Glasguensis, i., 5.) for it was only over the Scottish portion of it that he was then the prince. The names of the possessions are given, but all of them are in Scotland, and not in Cumberland or Westmerland, according to their present boundaries.

More will be said afterwards about John, bishop of Glasgow. He vehemently resisted archbishop Thurstan when he required subjection at his hands. The fruits of this struggle were, no doubt, the erection of the diocese of Carlisle. Upon this, as Fordun tells us, John went to Tiron in disgust (*Scotichronicon*, i., 449). The spiritual control of Cumberland and Westmerland, the southern portion of the ancient Cumbria, was now lost in perpetuity to his see.

^a One of the archdeaconries of the church of York, *i. e.*, that of Richmond.

ⁱ He was consecrated at Lambeth on Oct. 1, 1133 (Stubbs, *Episc. Succ.*, 28).

^j This passage, detailing the events to the end of the year, is erroneously conjoined in the MS. to the occurrences of the year 1138, and, as the mistake is an obvious one, the passage has been restored to its proper place. Mr. Stevenson has done so in his English edition of the *Church Historians*. Twysden, in the *Decem Scriptores*, follows the MS. The insertion of this passage renders the

igne combusta est, anno tricesimo tertio ex quo rex Anglorum Henricus regnare cœpit, feria quarta.^k

Die etiam ipso, secundum anni revolutionem, quo frater et prædecessor illius Henrici, Willelmus scilicet Rufus rex, interfectus est, et ipse Henricus primo regni sui suscepit gubernacula, quarto nonas Augusti, tale constat spectaculum. Cum igitur rex prædictus Henricus circa maris lit(t)us transfretandi causa moraretur, vento persæpe ad transfretandum existente secundo, tandem die præfato, circa meridiem, cum ad mare transiturus perrexisset, suorum, ut mos est regibus, constipatus militum turmis, subito in aëre nubes apparuit, quæ tamen ejusdem quantitatis per universam Angliam non comparuit. In quibusdam enim locis quasi dies obscurus videbatur; in quibusdam vero tantæ obscuritatis erat ut lumine candelæ ad quodlibet agendum ipsa protecti homines indigerent. Unde rex, latusque regium ambientes, et alii quamplures, mirantes, et in cœlum oculos levantes, solem ad instar novæ lunæ lucere conspexerunt, qui tamen non diu se uno modo habebat. Nam aliquando latior, aliquando subtilior, quandoque incurvior, quandoque erectior, nunc solito modo firmus, modo movens, et ad modum vivi argenti motus et liquidus videbatur. Asserunt quidam eclipsim solis factam fuisse; quod si verum est, tunc sol erat in capite draconis et luna in cauda, vel sol in cauda et luna in capite in v^o signo, id est leone, in decimo septimo gradu ipsius signi. Erat autem tunc luna xxvii. Eodem etiam die et eadem hora stellæ plurimæ apparuere.^l

last sentence unnecessary. Indeed, it contains an error, for it says that the eclipse was on the third of the nones of August, and not on the fourth, on which day it is uniformly fixed by other authorities and by the author himself subsequently. I have therefore placed the last sentence and the two first words of this within brackets. The whole of this passage, with the alteration of a few words, has been transplanted by the Continuator of Florence of Worcester into his chronicle (ii., 93-4). This description of the eclipse has acquired, as I have said before, for John of Hexham a reputation for astronomical learning to which he can lay no claim. These details do not occur elsewhere.

^k In the Continuation of Florence we are told that the fire occurred on the 14th of May, 1132, and that St. Paul's cathedral was destroyed (ii., 93). The Annals of Winchester give 1135 as the date (MSS. Cotton, Vesp., A, xviii., 15 b). Newcourt, an excellent authority, says that his favourite cathedral was greatly injured by fire on Dec. 22, 1135 (Repertorium, i., 3).

^l This eclipse, portentous, as men thought, of evil, caused much alarm. The details of it are very brief. The moon and the stars were seen at noon, and there was an earthquake. The eclipse occurred, according to the *Chronologie des Eclipses* (L'Art de Vèrifier les dates, ed. 1783, i., 73), on the 2d of August, and was visible, as may be inferred from the subjoined authorities, in many parts of Europe (Ann. Winton., apud MSS. Cotton, Vesp., A, xvii., 15 b. Chronicon incerti auct., in Bavaria inventum, apud Canisii Lect. Ant., iii., 259. Chron. Rotomag., apud Labbei Bibl., Nov., i., 368. Chronicon Sigeberti, apud Germ. rerum Chronographos, ed. 1566, 138 b. Chronicon Savigniac., apud Baluzii Misc., ed. Mansi, i., 327. Ann. Pragenses, apud Pertz, vi., 120, etc.). It is

Necnon die eodem, cum naves ad prædicti regis transitum paratæ in lit(t)ore anchoris firmarentur, mari pacatissimo, vento-que modico persistente, cujusdam navis magnæ anchoræ a terra quasi vi aliqua subito avulsæ sunt, navisque commota, multis mirantibus, eamque tenere nitentibus nec valentibus, sibi proximam navim commovit; et sic octo naves vi ignota commotæ sunt, ut nulla illarum illæsa remansisset.

Multi etiam dixerunt se eodem die, et circa eandem horam, vidisse in Eboracensi provincia ecclesias quamplures quasi sudore pervalido madefactas.^m Hæc omnia quarto nonas Augusti, quarta etiam feria, ut dictum est, contigerunt.

Sexta etiam feria ejusdem septimanæ, scilicet pridie nonas ejusdem mensis, summo mane, in pluribus Angliæ partibus terræ motus factus est magnus. Fuerunt etiam qui dicerent se in subsequente ebdomada, feria secunda, secundo videlicet idus mensis ejusdem, cum luna foret tertia, ipsam vidisse primam qualis in tali ætate esse solet, parvoque intervallo, vespere ejusdem, se ipsam vidisse magnam, ad modum scuti rotundi valdeque rutilantis. Dicebant quoque plures se ipsa nocte vidisse duas lunas inter se quasi longitudine hastæ unius distantes. Rex autem Henricus, mare transiens, reliquit Angliam, petiit Normanniam, non ulterius, vita comite, rediturus vel visurus Angliam.

Mense Novembri, civitas Wigornia, ut crebro solet, incendio conflagravit."

mentioned also by other writers. The *Magnum Chronicon Bellicum* places it in 1134 (*Rerum Germ. Scr.*, ed. 1653, iii., 147), and that of Lambertus Parvus in 1138 (*Martene et Durand, Ampliss. Coll.*, v., col. 9). Authorities could easily be multiplied.

^m Alcuin speaks of a somewhat similar portent in the minster of York which he considered to be prophetic of the Danish invasion. "Quid significat pluvia sanguinis quam in Quadragesimali tempore in Heboraca civitate, quæ est caput totius regni, in ecclesia beati Petri, principis Apostolorum, vidimus, de borealibus domus sereno aëre de summo tecti minaciter cadere? Nonne potest putari a borealibus partibus venire super terram sanguinem." (*Opp.*, ed. 1777, i., 20.) In the *Continuation of the Chronicle of Bohemia* (*Pertz*, xi., 138) a strange accompaniment of the eclipse is recorded: "Per multa loca etiam in Theutonicis partibus, si famæ creditur, sanguis in hoc ipso die quasi imber defluere visus est. Fertur quoque in quodam loco Theutonicarum partium, in eadem hora, particula carnea, simul cum sanguineo imbre, descendisse, quæ tantæ magnitudinis fuit, ut vix duodecim viri eam levare quivissent." (*sic.*)

ⁿ This is but too true. In 1041 Worcester was plundered and fired by the order of Hardicanute (*Flor. Wigorn.*, i., 196. *Simeon*, col. 180). In 1113 the cathedral and the city were again burnt (*Ann. Winton.*, apud MSS. Cotton, Vesp., A. xvii., 15 a. *Malmesbury, De Gestis Pont.*, apud Savile, ed. 1596, 161. *Flor. Wigorn.*, ii., 66). It was sacked and partially fired in 1139 (*Gervase*, col. 1350). The cathedral was burnt again in 1202, and the city was plundered and much injured in 1263 during the war with the barons (*Ann. Wigorn.*, apud *Angl. Sacr.*, i., 479, 496).

[MCXXXIV.]

Anno MCXXXIII, Rodbertus dux Normanniæ obiit, quem rex Henricus, frater ejus, sub custodia tenuit usque ad diem mortis suæ.^o

[MCXXXV.]

Anno MCXXXV, ab adventu Normannorum in Angliam sexagesimo nono, Henricus rex, anno ætatis suæ sexagesimo octavo, de quadam muræna comedens, ægrotavit, et mortuus est in quadam forresta Normanniæ, quod dicitur Leuns, apud Sanctum Dionisium, quarto nonas Decembris, feria secunda. Regnavit autem gloriose annis triginta quinque et mensibus quatuor. Corpus vero ipsius, sicut præceperat, in Angliam transvectum, apud Radingas sepultum est. Quod monasterium ipse construxit, et, cum munificentia regali reddituum, conventu monachorum ornavit. Construxit et aliud cœnobium, id est Cirecestria, quarto ante obitum suum anno, in quo cum opulentia rerum necessariarum canonicos regulares instituit. Post quem princeps non surrexit alius qui sic injustas regni exactiones interdiceret, subjectos in pace et modestia sapientiæ disponderet, personas ecclesiasticas reverenter excoleret, pauperes et religiosos sumptuosis elemosinis foveret. Quo mortuo, continuo emergerunt homines scelesti et peccatores, cuncta jura justitiæ et pacis dissipantes, et ad direptiones, et cædes, incendia, et alia flagitia hostiliter proruentes.^p

[MCXXXVI.]

Anno MCXXXVI, Stephanus comes Bononiensis, filius sororis Henrici regis, frater T(h)eotbaldi comitis de Blavio et Henrici episcopi Wintoniæ, sumpsit infulas regni, kalendis Januarii,^q consentientibus in ejus promotionem Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et clericorum et laicorum apud Lundonias universitate. In cujus consecrationis celebritate omisum est dari osculum pacis.^r

Indignatus super ejus imperio Galfridus comes Andegavensis, qui filiam regis Henrici habuit uxorem et hæredem ex ea nomine Henricum, plurima in Normannia perturbare cœpit.

^o It is unnecessary to detail the story of this painful quarrel and jealousy. Robert was taken prisoner in 1106, and from that time until 1134-5 he was detained in restraint, "in libera custodia." (Willel. Gemmit., apud Duchesne, 298.) He died at Cardiff, and was buried at Gloucester (Con. Flor. Wigorn., 95.)

^p The history of the events of this year is merely an echo of that already given by Prior Richard.

^q This date is certainly wrong. See Prior Richard's chronicle. The author had that work before him, and simply abbreviates it here.

^r Gervase, col. 1340.

David, quoque, rex Scottiæ, avunculus ejusdem imperatricis, non inmemor sacramenti quod ipse et universitas regni Henrico regi super successione ejus juraverat, continuo insurrexit in regnum Angliæ; et citius munitiones Cumberlandiæ et North-ymbriæ, cum populis adjacentibus, optinuit usque Dunelmum, præter Bahanburch. Accepit etiam fidelitates et obsides a nobilioribus, quod conservarent fidem nepti suæ. Occurrit ei rex Stephanus in Capite Jejunii, nonis Febreabrii, apud Dunelmum, ibique commoratus diebus quindecim. David quoque rex in Novo-Castello se recepit. Habita igitur colloquutione de pace inter eos, Henricus, filius regis Scottiæ, fecit homagium regi Stephano apud Eboracum, in augmentum honoris de Huntedun datis ei Dunecastra et Karleol. Cæteras munitiones et terras quas occupavit rex David restituit. In Paschali vero festivitate rex Stephanus heundem Henricum in reverentia præferens, ad dexteram suam sedere fecit. Iccirco Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantiae et quidam proceres, cum Rannulfo comite Cestriæ,^s in juvenem contumeliosa locuti, a curia regis se amoverunt. Rex autem David receptum filium suum noluit ad regem Stephanum remittere.

Walani, etiam, finitima loca Angliæ devastantes, duos barones, Ricardum filium Rogeri et Paganum filium Johannis, occiderunt; qui, tamen, citius pacem cum rege Stephano fecerunt. Rannulfus, quoque, comes Cestriæ, expeditionem faciens in regionibus Walanorum, interceptus ab eis cum quinque militibus, vix saluti reservatus est, reliquis omnibus trucidatis.

Baldwinum, quoque, de Redvers rebellantem in Excecestra, oppido suo, obsedit, et ad deditionem coegit rex Stephanus, et a regno exlegavit.

Eodem anno Innocentius papa, litteris ab Apostolica sede directis, eundem regem Stephanum in negotiis regni confirmavit. Harum tenore litterarum rex instructus, generali convocato concilio, bonas et antiquas leges, et justas consuetudines præcepit conservari, injustitias vero cassari. Interfuerunt huic concilio Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantiae, Hugo archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, Henricus episcopus Wintoniæ, Rogerus episcopus Searesberiae, Alexander episcopus Lincolnensis, Nigellus episcopus Heli, Everardus episcopus Norwicensis, Simon episcopus Wirec', Bernardus episcopus Sancti David, Audoenus episcopus Ebroyensis, Ricardus episcopus Abrincensis, Rodbertus episcopus Herefordensis, Johannes episcopus Rovencestris, Aldulfus episcopus Karleol.^t

^s Richard, earl of Chester, was the king's brother-in-law.

^t These are the witnesses to Stephen's great charter of privileges which has already been printed in the chronicle of Prior Richard.

Mense Augusto, rex Stephanus transfretavit, inimicitiis Galfridi comitis Andegavensis commonitus. Eodem anno, mense Novembri, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis defunctus, in sua civitate sepultus est.

[MCXXXVII.]

Anno MCXXXVII, David, rex Scottiæ, Northymbriam devastare proposuit. Convenit citius multitudo comitum et procerum Angliæ ad Novum-Castellum, ejus conatibus occursura. Tursinus, quoque, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, quamvis multo confectus senio, locutus est cum rege Scottiæ et filio ejus apud Rochesburch, et impetravit inducias usque ad reditum regis Stephani de Normannia. Facta itaque pace cum comite Andegavensi, rex Stephanus, per biennium, in Adventu Domini reversus est in Angliam. Veneruntque legati regis Scotiæ postulantes Northymbriam dari filio ejus Henrico: quod abnuente rege Stephano, solutæ sunt induciæ."

[MCXXXVIII.]

Anno MCXXXVIII, quarto idus Januarii, Willelmus filius Dunecan, nepos regis David, antelucana præruptione constanter partem exercitus cui præfuit effudit circa oppidum Were, et cœpit expugnare et persequi. Rex vero David, cum majori veniens comitatu, cum balistis et machinis multis in virtute magna expugnavit oppidum tribus ebdomadis. Jurdanus vero de Bussei, nepos Walteri Espec, magister militum oppidanorum, invicta constantia animorum militarium, omnes conatus regis sprexit et contrivit. Signiferum enim regis, et multos alios, singulis diebus mactaverunt.

Rex igitur David, dispositis qui obsidioni insisterent, præmisit Willelmum filium Dunecan cum Scottis in Northymbriam, qui, in die Conversionis Sancti Pauli, veniens in villa Waredun, quæ est contermina locis Hagustaldensibus," cum suis copiis consedit. Progressus vero de agminibus cum suis quidam Scot-

" In the margin there is the following gloss, which occurs twice: "Obiit Aaliz comitissa, soror Henrici regis, et mater Stephani regis." For an account of this illustrious lady, whose Christian name was Adela, the reader must look under the year 1140.

"Sir Roger Twysden has inserted at the beginning of the events of this year the following passage, which is merely a gloss at the foot of the page in the MS.: "Fundata et facta est illa inclita abbatia Sanctæ Mariæ de Bechlanda, ante Nativitatem Domini, a nobili viro Rogero de Molbreio, qui eam prædiis et possessionibus, magnisque pasturis et silvis optime fundavit."

This date is incorrect, in one aspect. Byland was not given to the monks till 1143, but in 1138 they were placed at Hode, from which place they were removed to Byland (Will. Newburgh, i., 43-4. Dugd. Mon., v., 346. MSS. Dodsworth, lxxv., 9). The account of Byland by Wm. of Newburgh is strangely incorrect.

tus, homo potens et dives in terra nativitatis suæ, per Tinam fluvium, spe prædæ ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem pertendere velle visus est. Irruerunt in eum juvenes Hagustaldenses, et, sociis ejus in fugam actis, eundem per corpus transfixum acriter reluctantem ruere compulerunt.^w Mota est super hoc indignatio per cunctum exercitum Scottorum, qui in ultione cædis ejus festinabant irruere super ecclesiam Hagustaldensem, et extirpare eam funditus cum habitatoribus ejus. Revocavit autem eos Willelmus filius Dunecan, sollicitus pro loci illius tuitione.

Subsecutus est rex David cum filio et copiis suis, et in Chorebrige usque post Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ consistens, res provinciæ proturbare non omisit. Deferens autem dignitati et antiquitati ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis, pacem ei, et omnibus qui confugerant ad eam, conservavit, quinque Scottos illuc dirigens, ne quis hostili animo irrumpere præsumeret.

Incredibile relatu est quæ scelestas et flagitiosas et blasphemias in Deum, et abusivas ipsius humanitatis exercitus ille Scottorum egerit. Plena erant omnia cædibus, direptionibus et incendiis. Non miserta est barbaries illa pupillo, aut orphano, seni, aut pauperi. Non pepercit sexui, ætati, aut ordini, conditioni cujusquam, vel professioni. Prægnantes cum parvulis dissecuerunt; virgines et viduas, occisis cunctis maribus, funiculis colligatas nudas catervatim sub jugo servitutis in Scottiam abegerunt. Verumtamen rex quotquot sibi in partem de præda obvenerunt Rodberto, Priori Hagustaldensi, restituit in pignus libertatis.^x Sanctuaria quoque Domini Scotti confregerunt, et in sacratis locis violenta, obscæna, et abhominanda irreverenter perpetraverunt. Ex quibus duo, confracto hostio oratorii Sancti Michaelis ex boreali parte Tine fluminis, extulerunt quæ reppererunt. Adjacet autem basilica hæc ecclesiæ Hagustaldensi. Qui continuo, exagitati furiis, coram exercitu per avia discurrentes, unus sibimet os lapidibus conterens, alter in Tine fluminis natatoriis se suffocans, uterque fædo interitu perierunt.

Persecuti sunt postea trans Tinam provinciales qui confuge-

^w The village of Wardon lies on the Tyne, some two miles above Hexham. On the crest of the hill overlooking it there is an old entrenched camp, of a date long anterior to the inroad of William fitz Duncan. He probably drew up his men in it, and from that elevated and striking position he would have a full view of the adjacent country. He would look right over Hexham. He and his soldiers would see the marauder nearing the town, and mark his untimely end, and it would give Fitz Duncan no little difficulty to restrain his men from rushing down the hill-side to rescue or avenge their comrade.

^x David, as Richard tells us, had granted to Hexham a charter of privilege, and he makes amends for every infringement of it to Robert Biseth, the Prior. This and some other particulars which are omitted by Richard shew the value of this chronicle as an independent authority.

rant ad solitudines, et in loco, qui dicitur Tamefeld,^y irruentes in multitudinem totius provinciæ quietam et securam, omnes trucidaverunt, et prædam copiosam abduxerunt.

Reversus est tandem rex cum suis in sua, et Stephanus rex, in Quadragesima, cum militaribus copiis, adveniens ad Werc, in terram regis Scottiæ, præcepit suos cedere et persequi. Rex vero David, colligens se et suos haud procul intra quandam paludem minutam valde et prorsus inaccessibilem circumquaque, nisi per angustias cujusdam semitæ, præcepit civibus de Rochasburch magnanimiter excipere regem Angliæ intra urbem, si adveniret. Observavit enim tempus, et nocturnas op(p)ortunitates, ut irrueret in eum. Certus quippe fuit socios sibi fore conductæ proditiōis plurimos de proceribus Anglorum exercitus, qui, et ad conflictum clandestinis consiliis conspirantes, concitaverunt eum. Notæ autem factæ sunt insidiæ regi Stephano, qui, parans reditum, iratus coegit Eustachium^z resignare in manu sua munitionem de Bahanburch; et in Angliam festinus regressus est.

Post Paschalis ebdomadæ sollempnitatem, iterum rex David Scottiæ in Northymbriam expeditionem movit, et circa maritima, quæ erant reservata a priori exterminio, cuncta disperdidit. Progressus etiam usque ad Novum-Castellum, præmisit suas copias circa Dunelmum, erga Tesisiam, crudelia et hostilia agere. Inde divertens ad Norhaam, castrum episcopi Dunelmensis, quod obsideri fecit, et citius oppidanos ad deditionem compulit, ipsumque oppidum subruī præcepit.

Interim, Willelmus filius Dunecan, circa Clitherhou cædens et persequens,^a procinctum militiæ Anglorum in turmis quatuor sibi occurrentem excepit. Quem prima congressionis constantia in fugam actum internicioni dedit, multamque prædam et multitudinem captivitatis adduxit. Hoc bellum factum est inter Anglos, Pictos, et Scottos apud Clitherhou, feria sexta, die quintodecimo ante Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno prædicto, id est MCXXXVIII.

Post hos dies, milites de Werch, egressi, ministros et vehi-

^y Tanfield, in the county of Durham, near Chester-le-street, many miles distant from Hexham.

^z Prior John is the only writer who mentions this circumstance. There was treason in Stephen's camp, and Eustace fitz John seems to have been the chief offender. He is deprived therefore of the castle of Bamborough. David counted upon the dislike of the barons to Stephen, and he had not counted in vain. "Exarserat namque tanta rabies procerum contra eum, ut fere ab omnibus quateretur." Wendover's list of the discontented nobles is a formidable one (Wendover, ii., 222).

^a Clitheroe in Lancashire. In the margin is this sentence, "Bellum apud Clitherhou, ubi multi nobiles et ignobiles perierunt." Aelred makes the Scots refer in triumph to this victory in his account of the battle of the Standard (col. 342).

cula cum victualibus regis rapuerunt, intra oppidum retrudentes. Sed, et in filium regis Henricum impetum facientes, et in socios ejus, quosdam occiderunt, quosdam vulneraverunt sive ad redemptionem exposuerunt. Rex ea moleste ferens iterata eos obsidione dampnavit, segetes eorum in agris vastans, et cuncta solatia denegans. Quibus prorsus, non nisi per inopiam victualium, prævalere potuit. Hac enim coacti necessitate, ex præcepto domini sui, Walteri Espec,^b circa festum Sancti Martini, per dominum Willelmum, primum abbatem Rievallensem, oppidum dediderunt: in quo residuum ad esum nichil repertum est, nisi unus caballus vivus, et alter in sale. Eos rex viginti quatuor caballis donatos cum armis suis dimisit liberos, oppidum funditus evertens.

Eodem anno, et eodem tempore, scilicet in autumpno, rex David, junctis viribus, ad Eboraci-sciriam iter direxit, duobus baronibus suis ad obsidendum Werch cum multitudo interim dimissis. Adjunxit se ei commilitonem cum sua militari manu Eustachius filius Johannis, cui rex Stephanus Bahanburch abstulerat. Habuit autem idem in Northymbria castrum munitissimum Alnewich, et aliud in Eboraci-sciria, scilicet Maaltun. Profecti sunt itaque per Bahanburch. Et juvenes ejusdem loci, temere præsumentes de munitione valli quod extruxerant ante castrum, convitiis exagitabant Scottos pertranseuntes. Applicuerunt se il(l)ico Scotti animo concitati ad vallum diruendum, et, citius intus proruentes, quotquot apprehenderunt occiderunt.^c

Præfuit per idem tempus ecclesiæ Eboracensi sanctæ memoriæ Turstinus archiepiscopus, animi constantia inter adversa et prospera invincibilis, annis gravis, corpore debilis ut lecto gestatorio eveheretur quo occasio rerum urgeret. Qui evocatos ad se proceres Eboraci-sciriæ ad instantiam resistendi pastoralis prudentiæ providentia animavit.

Venit etiam Bernardus de Baillolio, in exercitiis militaribus vir experientissimus, directos a rege Stephano ducens secum milites in hoc opus. Sumpta perinde magnanimitate ex delibe-

^b Walter l'Espece, the founder of Rievaulx and Kirkham, was the owner of Wark, and had large possessions in the neighbourhood. He established in that place a cell of Austin canons subordinated to the priory of Kirkham in Yorkshire. The abbat of Rievaulx might be there on some spiritual work, as well as in attendance on his feudal lord.

The garrison of Wark made a vigorous resistance, but it was ineffectual. The castle was restored after its destruction, and it is mentioned in the Survey of the Borders, which was drawn up in 1560. The place was at that time in great decay (Hodgson's Northumberland, vol. ii., part iii., 202-3). A fuller account of the siege of Wark is to be seen in the chronicle of Prior Richard. It extended over many weeks, and was not finished until after the battle of the Standard.

^c This must not be read as if the castle was taken. An outpost only, Prior Richard tells us, was seized, in which a hundred men were slain.

ratione communi, per sacramenta ad constantiam et securitatem sese invicem obligaverunt. Triduo igitur jejuniis et elemosinis Domino repropitiati, et archiepiscopali absolutione et benedictione communiti, omnes pari proposito animi instructi usque ad oppidum Tresc^d progressi sunt. Inde Rodbertus de Brus et Bernardus de Baillol' ad regem Scottiæ super Teisam profecti sunt, Henrico filio ejus comitatum Northymbrorum pollicentes, et eum ab hac inpugnatione cessare commonentes. Noluit acquiescere rex. Iccirco Rodbertus absolvit se ab homagio quod ei fecerat pro baronia quam tenuit de eo in Galewegia, et Bernardus a fide quam ei dudum promisit: sicque ad socios regressi sunt. Qui omnes procedentes secus Alvertun, in campo quodam de feudo Sancti Cuthberti *standart*, id est malum navis, erexerunt, vexillum Sancti Petri et Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco, et Sancti Wulfridi Ripum in eo suspendentes, et corpus Domini super-inponentes, ut esset signifer et dux prælii eorum. Misit ergo cum eis archiepiscopus Turstinus Radulphum Nouellum, episcopum suffraganeum suum,^e et viros disciplinatos, qui ad pœnitentiam susciperent, et de spe futuræ vitæ per satisfactionem instruerent. Ipse archiepiscopus a principibus ab hac profectioe ad pugnam consultius revocatus, orationibus et obsecrationibus in afflictione magna et contritione cordis instabat cum suis clericis, donec renuntiatum ei fuit, quantam ereptionis gratiam populo suo præstitit Deus.

Igitur, in octavis Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, undecimo kalendas Septembris, feria secunda, universus exercitus circa *standard* convenit, ne quis de fuga præsumeret equis procul amotis; omnes autem mori aut vincere pro patria unanimiter decernentes. Fuerunt autem principes hii in honoribus et dignitatibus præ(e)minentes, Willelmus de Albamarla comes, Walterus de Gant, Rodbertus de Brus, Rogerus de Mulbrai, Walterus Espec, Willelmus de Perci, Bernardus de Baillel', Ricardus de Curceio, Willelmus Fossard, Robertus de Stuthavilla, Ilbertus de Lesceio. Hunc ipsum et patrem ipsius, Rodbertum de Lesceio, Henricus rex ejecit e regno Angliæ. Mortuo rege, Willelmum Transversum, qui ex datione regis honori scilicet Pontifracto præsedet, miles quidam Paganus, de honore illo, occidit, et iste Ilbertus honorem jure patrimonii possedit.^f Affuit etiam cum suis copiis de Nothingaham-scira Willelmus Peverel, et Rodbertus de Ferers de Derbi-scira, (et) Galfridus Halsalin.

Accessit etiam rex Scottiæ, cum suis legionibus, stipatus in prælium, Scottis in prima acie dispositis, id sibi ex nativa digni-

^d Thirsk, a town between Northallerton and York.

^e In the margin are the words, "Bellum apud Standard juxta Alvertun inter regem Scottiæ et barones Angliæ." ^f See Prior Richard's chronicle, p. 64.

tate reclamantes quasi unus. Nudi ipsi et pæne inermes progressi adversus cuneos loricatos et iccirco invulnerabiles. Circa regem steterunt equestres ordines militaribus armis instructi. Fide dignum rex arbitratus est vincere vel mori pro sacramento quod juravit hæredibus Henrici regis, et universitas Angliæ cum eo.

Scotti itaque et Picti vix a prima hora initi conflictus usque ad tertiam perstiterunt, videntes se confodi et consui sagittis, et obrui, et opprimi. Qui omnes a campo dilapsi sunt, sarcinas suas a se re(j)icientes. In ignominiam hujus rei vocatus est locus ille Baggamor. Continuo constantia residui exercitus proturbata et infirmata est. Propterea seniores festinantes compulerunt regem equos reposcere, et cum sua conserta acie discedere, ne et ipse cum suis cederet in ruinam. Exercitus quoque Eboraci non est persecutus recedentes, sed unusquisque ad propria regredi festinavit. Plurimi vero Scottorum, ignari locorum aberrantes, ubicunque reperti sunt jugulati sunt. Ipsæ etiam acies Scottorum et Pictorum, ubi adinvicem in reditu concurrerunt, infelici hostilitate concertantes, sese suffocaverunt. Rex igitur, in regnum suum receptus, convocatos ad se Scottos et Pictos multa massa pecuniarum mul(c)tavit, acceptis obsidibus et sacramentis ab eis, quod in omni conflictu et periculo fideliter cum eo et pro eo persisterent. Rex etiam Angliæ, lætatus super his successibus suis, Willelmum de Albamarla comitem in Eboracisciria fecit, et Rodbertum de Ferers comitem in Derbi-scira.^f

Eodem anno mortuus est Petrus Leo (*Leonis*), qui, in inimicitias Innocentii papæ, factione sua a quibusdam intrusus Apostolicus in Urbe, per octo annos Romanam incubabat ecclesiam. Innocentius vero libera auctoritate in Urbe, sicut prius in orbe, ecclesiasticæ monarchiæ præsedet dignitati. Qui et generali decreto omnes Petri Leonis scismatis complices ab omni ecclesiastico ordine et honore deposuit, et, ne quis sedem apostolicam simili præsumptione in posterum usurparet, sub anathemate interdixit.^g

^f After this passage there comes in the MS. the account of the comet of 1133, which I have transferred to that year. After that, there follows the poem of Serlo on the battle of the Standard, which is printed by Twysden (coll. 331-2), and the account of the same conflict by Aelred of Rievaulx which occurs in the same collection (col. 333, etc.). At the end of Aelred's work is this colophon,—

“Explicit descriptio Atheldredi abbatis. Incipit descriptio prædicti Prioris Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ.”

The chronicle of Prior John is then continued, after having been thus strangely cut in two. The transcriber seems to have been more of an utilitarian than a person of taste. The poem of Serlo and the work of Aelred relate to the year 1138, and, therefore, he ruthlessly disjointed the Prior's chronicle, and, without any regard to appearance, inserted what the other two had written in the intervening space, among the occurrences of 1138.

^g Petrus Leonis, a Cluniac by profession (*Vita Petri Ven.*, apud Migne, 20), is better known as the anti-pope Anacletus. He was pushed forward by Roger (king of Sicily), whom he crowned (*Chron. Casinense*, apud Muratori, ed. 1723,

Directus est autem ab eodem papa legatus Angliæ et Scottiæ Albericus Hostiensis episcopus, natione Gallicus, professione monachus Cluniacensis, et in eodem cœnobio, supprioris officio, ad disponendas regulares observationes prælatus monachis cunctis excellentia virtutis et plenitudine eruditionis instructus. Veniens vero in Angliam adjunxit sibi socios sui laboris Robertum episcopum Herefordensem, et Ricardum primum abbatem de Fontibus. Profectusque ad regem Scotiæ reverenter receptus est a fratribus Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, et Aldulfus episcopus cum eo.

Ante triduum autem adventus ejus ad locum illum, Eadgarus, filius Cospatrici comitis, cum satellitiis suis, eruperat e castris regis Scottiæ, prædam agens de quadam villa territorii Hagustaldensis. Irruerunt etiam in quandam villam fratrum Hagustaldensis [ecclesiæ], interfectisque tribus hominibus fratrum, et capta præda ejusdem vici, Priorem Hagustaldensem, quem contigit eadem nocte ibi adesse, contumeliis et ludibrio dehonestaverunt. Super injuria hac, satis compatiendi animo, legatus regem expostulavit apud Karlel, et ad correctionem violentiæ hujus animos regiones adduxit.^a

Per triduum vero cum episcopis et principibus regni Scottiæ, qui ei ex regio præcepto ibi occurrerant, quæ corrigenda erant correxit, et quæ statuenda erant statuit. Aldulfum episcopum, in gratiam ejusdem regis, et in sedem suam de Karlel recipi impetravit. Johannem Glasguensem episcopum, qui omisso episcopali officio apud Tironas monachatu se contradiderat, ex Apostolica auctoritate revocavit. Scottos quoque et Pictos in hoc sibi acquiescentes habuit, ut infra festum Sancti Martini omnem captivitatem ad Karlel reducerent, et libertati donarent, nullusque eorum ecclesias violare, femineo sexui, vel pueris, vel senibus cædem inferre ulterius præsumeret. Ipsius etiam regis

iv., 554), and his conduct and persistency caused great unhappiness and dismay throughout the whole church (Baronii Ann., xviii., 567). He was excommunicated in a council held at Rheims in 1131 (Migne, tom. clxxix., 675), but the sentence only created a more exasperated and determined opposition. St. Bernard rushed into the fray with all his eloquence and impetuosity. He found out that Peter was of Jewish extraction; he saw in him the beast of the Apocalypse; he called him the Leo, and Abelard the Draco, and the contest, it is plain, was a torture and a grief to him (Opp., i., 145, 130, 305-6).

Petrus Leonis was not recognized in England, and our author, therefore, speaks of him severely. There is much on the subject in the Chron. Casinense (Migne, tom. clxxiii.). Cf. Sigonii Hist. rerum Bonon., ed. 1604, 53-5; Ord. Vit., apud Duchesne, 915; Vitam S. Bern., auct. Ernaldo, Opp., ii., 1104-11; Ciaconium de vitis Card., ed. 1677, i., col. 1005 *et seqq.* In Muratori (ed. 1723, iii., pp. 423-432) there is a tractate, "De Schismate orto," by Arnulf, archdeacon of Seez. Peter died suddenly at Rome in 1138. His adherents were afterwards condemned in a great council held at Rome (Baronii Ann., xviii., 579).

^a See Prior Richard's chronicle, pp. 95-6.

genibus provolutus ab hostilitate eum usque ad festum Sancti Martini cessare compulit.

His ibi ita dispositis, in die sollempni Sancti Michaelis ad Hagustaldensem ecclesiam reversus, in Suth-Angliam profectus est. Siquidem Northymbria universa inculta, et in solitudinem redacta fuit. Quotquot enim supererant, vel ad asylum monasteriorum confugerant, vel per solitudines delituerant; potentes intra oppida se concluserant.

Igitur, ex auctoritate Apostolici præcepti, ad festum Sancti Nicholai, apud Lundonias, in Westmonasterio convenerunt ad eundem legatum Albericum episcopi, abbates, et primores regni, anno pontificatus Innocentii papæ nono, et regni Stephani regis tertio. Vacabat ecclesia Cantia, et dominus Turstinus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, infirmatus, pro se direxit Willelmum decanum suum.ⁱ Interdicensque legatus quæ interdicti, et sanctiens quæ sanctiri ecclesiasticæ necessitatis exposcebat ratio, summonuit eos Romæ as(s)istere domino papæ, media Quadragesima. Deposito etiam abbate de Cruland, Godefridum priorem de Sancto Albano loco ejus, et Adam electum ad Bellum juxta Hastings benedixit abbates. Ventilata est et causa electionis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, cujus electum, scilicet Theodbaldum abbatem Beccensem, in eandem sedem consecravit archiepiscopum circa Epiphaniam Domini. Regem quoque Angliæ super reformanda pace cum rege Scottiæ plurima prece sollicitavit. Cooperata est votis ejus domestica instantia Matildis, regina Anglorum, lege consanguinitatis avunculo suo regi Scotiæ, salva pace mariti sui, nequaquam ingrata. Siquidem rex David duas sorores habuit, Mariam, et Matildem quæ nupsit Henrico regi. Mariam vero comes Bononiensis accepit in matrimonium, et genuit ex ea hanc Matildem hæredem suam. Hanc enim, cum comitatu Bononiensi, Stephanus rex duxit uxorem, habuitque ex ea filios Eustachium et Willelmum, qui immatura morte absque liberis defuncti sunt.

Eodem anno quidam vir potens in Northymbria recepit in sua possessione,^j apud castrum quod dicitur Morthpath, mona-

ⁱ Thurstan sends William de St. Barbe, dean of York, to represent him. The archbishop's health was failing. At the time of the council at Winchester in 1139, Malmsbury, speaking of his absence, says, "vix enim animi viribus corpus regebat." (Hist. Nov., 103.)

"—— his limbs were borne up
By his stout heart within."

^j For an account of the foundation of Newminster abbey, near Morpeth, by Ranulph de Merlay, the reader must look in the Memorials of Fountains, and in Hodgson's Northumberland. John of Hexham says that the monks built the abbey, but the founder tells us himself that he gave Ritton, Witton, and other lands "monachis abbatia Novi-monasterii quam ego ipse construxi." (Dugd. Mon., v., 399. MSS. Dodsworth, lxxiv., 143 a.) I have taken this extract from

chos de Fontibus octo, nonis Januarii,^k qui construxerunt cœnobium, scilicet Novum-monasterium vocatum. Quibus, hoc ipso anno, circa Epiphaniæ diem, Galfridus episcopus Dunelmi benedixit abbatem Rodbertum,^l sanctum virum. Quos libenter fovit prædictus vir, scilicet Rannulfus de Merlai.

[MCXXXIX.]

Anno MCXXXIX, præfatus legatus Albericus, post octabas Epiphaniæ reversus est, prosequentibus (*sic*) iter ejus usque Romam Theodaldus archiepiscopus Cantiae pro pallio, et episcopus Rof(f)ensis, et Simon Wigornensis, Rogerus Coventrensis, Rodbertus Excecestrensis. Reliquos episcopos rex ab hac protectione excusatos habuit propter perturbationes regni undique emergentes.

Instantia reginæ vero Anglorum, pax convenit inter duos reges, Henrico filio regis Scotiæ apud Dunelmum accipiente comitatum Northymbriæ. Confirmata est hæc concordia per reginam et Henricum filium regis Scotiæ apud Dunelmum, quinto idus Aprilis, coram comitibus et baronibus Angliæ, datis obsidibus a Scottis in firmamentum fidei. Profectus est autem cum regina Henricus comes ad regem Angliæ ad Notingham, et, obsequens ei, per æstatem inpensas munificas fecit. Qui et accepit conjugem Ada,^m sororem Willelmi comitis de Warene,

the foundation charter out of Dugdale's Monasticon, as an indiscreet use of galls has greatly injured the first pages of the Chartulary of Newminster, which is in the possession of the earl of Carlisle.

I have printed in the Appendix (No. VI.) a deed relating to Ranulph de Merlay. The charter roll or chronicle of the Merlays and the Graystocks is before me, from which much more information can be derived. I found it in the muniment-room at Castle Howard. Dodsworth made some extracts from it whilst it was at Naworth, in the library of Lord William Howard.

* A proper punctuation of this passage makes the date correspond with that which is given in the Memorials of Fountains (i., 60). Thirteen monks, and not eight, generally constituted a Cistercian colony. Mr. Walbran thinks it possible that viii in the MS. may be an error for xiii, but an alteration is unnecessary. In the margin of the MS. are the words, "Hic Novum-monasterium sumpsit initium."

^l Robert, before he came to Fountains, was a monk at Whitby (Memorials of Fountains, i., 60). He is said to have died on the 7th of June, 1159, and there is a life of him in the Acta Sanctorum for that day. His epitaph occurs in MSS. Cotton, Titus, D, xxiv., fol. 82. It consists of nineteen hexameters, of which I give the first four:—

"Hic vir honestatis summæque jacet probitatis
Forma pudicitiae Robertus, fonsque sophiæ.
Optimus abbatum vas iste Deoque sacratum,
Paucorum more sibi viluit hic in honore."

^m This is the "Ada comitissa," who was the mother of Malcolm and William the Lion, kings of Scotland. She gave the manor of Whitfield to the monks of Hexham in the time of Prior John, who wrote this chronicle (see Vol. II.). Her son William adopted at one time his mother's maiden name of Warren (Appendix, xiv.).

et Waleran comitis de Mellant, et Rodberti comitis de Legecestrie, habuitque ex ea filios Melcolmum, Willelmum et David.

Reverso itaque Theodbaldo archiepiscopo cum suis suffraganeis a domino Apostolico, Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus confirmatus est sedis apostolicæ legatus. Romæ vero defunctus est vir approbatæ virtutis, Ricardus primus abbas de Fontibus, quem Turstinus archiepiscopus ad Apostolicum pro se direxit legatum. Obiit etiam Audoenus Ebroicensis episcopus, frater ejusdem Turstini archiepiscopi, apud Meretun, sumpto habitu canonicorum, sepultus. Mortui sunt et Walterus de Gant et Rodbertus de Ferers."

Accidit eodem anno ut ad curiam regis convenirent Rogerus episcopus de Searesberia, Alexander episcopus Lincolnia, et Nigellus episcopus de Heli, scilicet nepotes ejusdem Rogeri; ortaque seditione, ministri episcoporum inter cæteram turbam occiderunt quendam nepotem Alani comitis de Richimunt, qui et mortuus est. Devoluta est iccirco ab eodem comite coram rege calumpnia in episcopos factione eorum seditionem excitatam in insidias salutis regiae. Dilapsus est citius a curia clandestina fuga Nigellus episcopus ad suas munitiones. Et aggravata manus regis ad ulciscendum in episcopos Rogerum et Alexandrum, quos, interdicto eis prorsus cibo, coegit ad deditionem castrorum suorum, cum thesauris suis copiosis in eis confertis. Sed et alia indigna contra honestatem pontificalis excellentiæ irreverenter egit in eos.

Factumque est eo tempore ut laici insurgerent in magnam

* At this point Prior John breaks away from the narrative of his predecessor Richard, and stands alone.

° The first rupture between Stephen and the bishops, in which the king had the mastery. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, the old minister of Henry I., had maintained his influence with Stephen, and had been powerful enough to place his two nephews on the episcopal bench. The lives of these three great men cannot be dwelt upon here. Roger was summoned to the council at Oxford to answer for some misdemeanour, and he went in fear and trembling, accompanied by his kinsmen and a large armed force (Gervase, col. 1345). The king, in consequence, made himself ready to meet force by force. A spark was only wanting to set on fire this combustible matter, and it came. A quarrel about a hostel made the blaze.

"Tunc quasi fortuna famulari videretur voluntati regis; concitatus est tumultus inter homines episcoporum et Alani comitis Brittanniæ pro vendicandis hospitibus, eventum miserabili ut homines episcopi Saresberiensis mensæ assidentes semesis epulis ad pugnam prosilirent. Primo maledictis, mox gladiis res acta. Satellites Alani fugati; nepos ejus paulo minus occisus: victoria non incruenta episcopalibus cessit, multis sauciatis, uno etiam milite occiso." (Malmsb., Hist. Nov., 102 b).

The name of the earl's nephew who was killed is not known, but the king, urged on by the uncle, vented his wrath upon the offending prelates, throwing them into prison and seizing their castles and their treasures. For an account of this, cf. Malmsb., Hist. Novellas, 102-3. Gervase, coll. 1345-6. *Gesta Stephani*, 48 et seqq.

contumaciam et contumeliam adversus sanctam ecclesiam et ecclesiasticas personas. Iccirco Henricus legatus, convocatis ad Wintoniam archiepiscopo Theodbaldo et episcopis Angliæ, cum cæteris Christianæ sollicitudinis ministris, circa mensem Septembrem, decreta omnino necessaria, et in cunctis sæculis valde utilia statuit.^p His enim, usque in hodiernum diem, ecclesiastica severitas potenter ulciscitur in eos, qui vel in læsionem clericorum manus nepharie in(j)iciunt, vel res ecclesiæ diripiunt, sive excommunicationi subjacent, vel in ea obcunt, quoniam quidem, his provulgatis decretis, multorum insolentia, et presumptio rebellis spiritus mansuescere didicit, et sanctuario Domini deferre.

Eodem anno mortuus est Rogerus episcopus Searesberiæ,^q cujus filium, scilicet cancellarium regis, rex in inimicitias patris a regno ejecerat. Sic in novissimis in eo humiliata est gloria pristinarum rerum, ad cujus arbitrium, in diebus Henrici regis, spectaverat omne regni negotium. Secundus enim a rege in regno præ(e)minebat universis judicibus et principibus.^r Successit ei in sede Salesberiensi Joscelinus archidiaconus Wintoniensis.^s Et factum est.

Applicuit in Angliam Aaliz imperatrix, filia Henrici regis, uxor Galfridi comitis Andegavensis.^t Quam rex Stephanus,

^p For an account of this council, which was held at Winchester, see Malmsbury, Hist. Nov., 103.

^q Roger died on the 4th of December, 1139 (Gervase, col. 1346), "mœrore quam senio confectus," (Anglia Sacra, i., 299,) having been a bishop for thirty-two years. His misfortunes broke the old man's heart. Haply he would then remember the words of warning with which his friend Hilderbert ended his letter, in which he congratulated him on becoming a bishop: "Vale! mortemque non pluribus stadiis ab aula, quam a tugurio distare memineris." (Hildeberti Opp., ed. 1708, lib. ii., fol. 92.) A proud prelate he was, with too great a share of the lay element in his character. Roger, the king's chancellor, was his son "nepos, vel plusquam nepos," as Malmsbury satirically observes (Hist. Nov., 103 a). Prior John is, therefore, right in calling him *filius*. Stephen led him before the walls of Devizes castle, when his father was holding it out against him, with a halter around his neck; and vowed that he should be taken at once to the gallows unless the fortress was given up. The son did not follow the example of Regulus;

"Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet, non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos."

^r "Totius regni moderamen illius delegavit justitiæ (rex Henricus) sive ipse adesset Angliæ, sive moraretur Normanniæ." (Malmsbury, Hist. Nov., 91.) Cf. eundem, 104.

^s Jocelyn held the see till 1184, in which year he died, having previously become a Cistercian monk. Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury, was his son.

^t Matilda landed at Portsmouth in August, 1139. For an account of her progress, cf. Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 117 *et seqq.* Gesta Stephani, 56 *et seqq.* Ord. Vit., 920-1. Hist. Novellas, 104. She is called Æthelie in the Saxon Chron. (ed. Ingram, 353), and Adeliza by Wendover (ii., 227).

The castle in which she was besieged was that of Arundel, and Stephen

citius obsessam intra quoddam castellum, et ad deditionem coactam, ex indiscreta animi simplicitate ad Bristoua libere ire permisit. Suscepit eam frater ejus, Rodbertus comes, et milites qui erant in munitionibus, scilicet Gloucestra, et Milo in Hereford, et Brien filius Comitis in Walingaford, cum adjacentibus populis, ejus opere obsecuti sunt. Emersitque per eam in Anglia perturbatio valde gravis, et infirmatum est firmamentum regni Stephani regis.

[MCXL.]

Anno MCXL, sanctæ memoriæ Turstinus archiepiscopus dissolutionem sui corporis imminere præsensit, senio confectus, et laboribus longis confractus. Assumptus enim ad regimen Eboracensis ecclesiæ, anno MCXIII, in Assumptione Sanctæ Mariæ, bonum certamen constanter certavit pro ea, fidem perseveranter servavit; cursum victorioso consummavit, quoniam a rege non exiguis est afflictus inimiciis propter professionem quam Cantuariensibus facere non acquievit, maluitque ipsi electioni renuntiare quam ecclesiæ suæ antiquam libertatem cassare; egressusque a facie regis, apud exterarum nationes crevit in turbam magnam amicorum, scilicet procerum et honestarum mulierum officiose peregrinationi ejus obsequentium." In quibus, et præ

foolishly allowed her to go to Bristol, or Bristow, as that town was called to a comparatively recent period. Her supporters were her brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, earl Miles the constable, and Brian fitz Count, a kinsman of Alan, earl of Richmond. "Concussa protinus Anglia, et eximio pavore tremefacta." (Gesta Stephani, 56.)

It is difficult to say who Brian fitz Count was, save that he was a scion of the noble family of Bretagne. He may either have been an uncle or a son of Alan, earl of Richmond. Eudo, earl of Bretagne, had a son Brientius (Geneal., apud Duchesne, 1079). It was, perhaps, for his soul that his nephew, Alan, earl of Richmond, gave a rent-charge to the monks of St. Michael in Cornwall (Dugd. Bar., 47). Roger Gale speaks about him in his preface to the Registrum Honoris de Richmond (vi.). Alan Fergant, earl of Bretagne (son of Eudo), had a son Brian, who went abroad with the princess Matilda when she married Geoffrey of Anjou (Saxon Chron., ed. Ingram, 353), and he is probably the person who joined and supported her in 1139. He is mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis, and there is a long and interesting letter preserved which Gilbert Foliot wrote to him (Epp., i., 94-102).

"I have told in another place (Fasti Ebor., i., 170-210) the tale of Thurstan's sufferings. One or two extracts from the unpublished life of him by Hugh the Chantor will illustrate this chronicle.

When Thurstan was at Tours with Calixtus II. in 1119, "dedit Deus illi gratiam in conspectu regis Franciæ, episcoporum, principum, procerum, et cujuslibet dignitatis personarum ad quos ille veniebat, vel qui undique ad papam confluebant. Omnes eum diligebant. Servitia sua devote offerebat, et, cognita causa illius, inimicis ejus inimici erant, et pro causa illius dominum papam ac curiam diligentius interpellabant. Ad captandum eorum benivolentiam nemo magis promptus, nemo magis fascetus morem cuique gerere; et, quod maxime amicitias conciliat, juxta illud ecclesiastici, '*non erat illi manus ad accipiendum porrecta*, et

quibus, majori devincta ei devotione animi fuit Adela, comitissa Carnotensis," soror Henrici regis, et mater Stephani regis et Theotbaldi comitis.

Anno mxcix,^w Calixtus papa concilium Remis instituit, decimo tertio kalendas Novembris. Fuit autem Dominus cum præ-

ad dandum collecta :^s sed quod eum contra, si quis ei aliquid dabat non pariter sed uberius reddebat." (Reg. Magn. Album, penes Dec. et Cap. Ebor., 17 a).

"Siquidem in duplicis suæ ejectionis exilio, nemo omnium quos novimus apud excelsos et humiles, apud religiosos et sæculares, apud monachos et moniales, largiendo, serviendo, honore præveniando, tantam amicitiam venatus est." (ibid., 24 a.)

^v Adela, fourth daughter of William the Conqueror (Wm. of Jumièges, apud Duchesne, 310), was married in 1081 to Stephen, count of Blois, by whom she had several children (Ord. Vitalis, 573-4). Her husband died in the East in 1102 (Trivet, ed. Hall, 4), and till her children grew up, and after it, she ruled over her great estates with Thibaut her son. A potent dame she was, and stern withal, if the tale is true that her eldest son was disinherited through her means. She was a correspondent of Peter the Venerable (Epp., ed. Migne, lib. i., 84), of Yves of Chartres (Opp., ed. 1647, ii., 3, 5, 44, 48, 53, 59, 75, 79), of Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (Opp., ed. 1708, lib. i., 5, 7, 11), and a friend of Anselm in his troubles (Anselmi Epp., ed. 1721).

Thurstan's intimacy with Adela is thus described by Hugh the Chantor (22 a, b): "In Francia perveniens ad Blesensem comitissam, corde etiam quam genere nobiliorem, et ad filium suum comitem Teobaldum divertit. A quibus hilariter et accurate suscepto, quamdiu in terra eorum vel transeundo vel perhennando esse placuit, nichil ei defuit. Sororem domini sui regis et nepotem quasi dominam et dominum habebat, et ipsi eum valde diligebant, et de ejus exilio fratri et avunculo suo minime favebant; quæ fecerat, quæ deferebat, non omnia eos celavit."

Soon afterwards Thurstan was again with the countess, and appears to have prompted her to take the veil. "De conversione dominæ et dexteræ Excelsi in ea mutatione contrectatum;" and shortly after this he saw her resolution carried into effect. "Eam cum aliis episcopis et abbatibus usque ad Macuniacum perduxit. Quæ spretis sæculi divitiis et pompis ibi monialis effecta est. Qua quidem, testimonio regis Ludovici, et principum totius Franciæ, nulla prudentior, nec melius composita, nec magis virilis virago ex multa retro ætate in tota Gallia extiterat." This is high praise. Marcigny, where she took the veil, had been consecrated by Calixtus II. in Thurstan's presence on Nov. 1, 1120 (Teulfi Chron. Mauriniac., apud Migne, clxxx., 147). Adela died there in 1137, after spending seventeen years within those walls (cf. L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, ii., part ii., 615-16, ed. 1784. Chron. Alberici, apud Leibnitii Access. Hist., ii., 137. Recueil des Hist. des Gaules, xi., 584; xii., 75. Orderic., 811. Wm. of Jumièges, 313). It is stated by several authorities that Adela took the veil in 1122—instead of 1120.

Martene and Durand have printed two letters that she wrote about the canons of St. Carileph (Thes. Nov. Anecd., i., coll. 373-4). She simply styles herself, "A. Maraniacensis monacha," as she was writing in her cell at Marcigny.

^w At the commencement of this paragraph in the MS. are the words, *Anno mxcxli*, but I have altered them in the text, as they are merely the error of a transcriber, which throws into confusion the chronology of the remainder of the chronicle. He has divided the year 1140 into two, so that after it there is a year wrong to the end of the work. The learned Pagi was the first person who discovered this blunder, in his Annotations to Baronius (xviii., 612). His words are as follows: "In Historia Joannis Prioris Hagustaldensis, alio modo ab exscriptoribus peccatum; annus enim 1140 in duos dividitur, in annum nempe 1140 et 1141; et deinde sub anno 1142 quæ præsentī (sc. 1141) accidere, narrantur, et sic deinceps. Sed feriæ, aliæque temporum notæ in Malmesburiensi et

fato Turstino, unde et omnes adversariorum conatus adversus eum sanioris sententiæ consultu prævertit. Siquidem Apostolicus, intercedentibus cardinalibus, eum in archiepiscopum, sollempni consecratione, et liberi pallii datione confirmavit; qui et regis contradictionem, omnemque Cantuariensium reclamationem irritam duxit. Datis etiam ei ad votum privilegiis, interdixit in posteris sæculis, ne Cantuariensis exigere, neve Eboracensis professionem facere præsumeret. Directaque est domini Apostolici epistola, anno MCXXI, ad regem, et ad Radulfum archiepiscopum Cantiaë, ne quis Divini ministerii cultus in ecclesiis Cantiaë et Eboraci, sive in parochiis eis adjacentibus, celebraretur, præter baptismum parvulorum et pœnitentiam morientium, nisi Turstinus, infra unum mensem post acceptam epistolam hanc, sine exactione professionis, in Eboracensem reciperetur sedem. Iccirco citius in Angliam est a rege revocatus, et in ecclesiam suam sullimiter intronizatus.

Qui receptus, præ fastu honoris nichil remisit a disciplina sanctæ conversationis et proposito mentis. In victu enim, et vestitu, et cæteris regularis vitæ institutis, ubique prætulit frugalitatem pontificalis honestatis. In distribuendis elemosinis, et misericordiis pauperum, in diebus sacerdotii ejus rarus fuit inventus similis ipsius. Qui et frequens in orationibus gratiam lacrimarum in celebratione missarum habuit a Domino. Idem cilicio ad carnem indutus, inter crebras confessiones a corporali vindicta sibi non pepercit. Instantia ejus cotidiana sollicitudo animarum fuit.^z Viros disciplinatos et eruditos officiis ecclesiasticis præficere, per eos ecclesiastica negotia disponere, vitiosorum lenocinia zelo pastoralis demetere. Hospitalis in hilaritate, exorabilis in subjectos cum rectitudine, rigidus in repugnantes sine crudelitate. Biennio ante electionem ejus ad instituta

in Joanne Hagustaldensi sæpe expressæ, ne in errorem trahamur, impediunt." A date, however, is wanted at the beginning of the paragraph, and we can have no doubt in restoring the text as Prior John left it. The writer is giving the life of Thurstan, and he comes to the council of Rheims, a most important event in Thurstan's life. It would be absurd to say that it was held on the 20th of October, without mentioning any year. If therefore the date is changed from MCXLI to MCXIX, we have the correct reading, and the text is restored, in all probability, to its old purity.

^z Thurstan's metrical biographer, Geoffrey, archdeacon of Nottingham, thus speaks of him (MSS. Cotton, Titus, A, xix., 56). This is an extract:—

"Gemma sacerdotum, jubar ecclesiæ, monachorum
Dux, flos pastorum, claustrum speculum, via morum,
Semitæ justorum, supplantator vitiorum,
In te cunctorum viguit mixtura bonorum!
Transiit antistes ad gaudia summa polorum,
Præmia sumpturus indefinita laborum.
Proh dolor! Anglorum flos marcuit, aruit iste
Mundo, sed cœlo vivat, te præside, Christe.

Ergo non doleat quisquis licet hic moriatur,
Cœlica vita beat hunc qui Christo famulatur."

regularis ordinis initiatam Hagustaldensem ecclesiam terris, possessionibus et donariis magnis auctam ad bonum statum Divini ministerii promovit. Qui et monachis cœnobii de Fontibus, cujus fundator fuit, simili sedulitate munificentiae describitur. In ecclesia Eboracensi, et in aliis ecclesiis, ob recordationem ejus, in magna veneratione habentur reposita exœnnia, quæ illis contulit larga manu, plurima et pretiosa. Sic homines suos, terras, et domum suam disposuit in tranquilla pace, et rerum opulentia; sic ecclesiarum et ecclesiasticarum personarum libertates, dignitates, immunitates, conservavit, provexit ad cotidiana religiosa incrementa, ut plane dixerim Divinam sapientiam ei cooperatam. Rarus in his diebus qui sic religiosas personas reverenter excolat, beneficiis provehat, locis indignis sumptuosis elemosinis frequenter subveniat.

Sentiens igitur in se vitalem tepescere virtutem, disposuit sapienter domui suæ, mercedes ministrantibus sibi persolvendo, ablata restituendo, de singulis quibusque rebus prudenti procuratione recogitando. Convocatisque in sua capella Eboracensis ecclesiæ sacerdotibus, facta coram eis sollempniter confessione, coram altari Sancti Andreæ nudus humi expositus, corporalis vindictæ disciplinam, profusis lacrimis ex contrito corde, ab eis suscepit;^y memorque voti sui quod juvenis apud Cluniacum fecerat, ad monachos Cluniacæ^z professionis apud

^y Robert Betun, bishop of Hereford, scourged himself in his last illness at Rheims in 1148. "Corripiens virgas propriis manibus supplevit, quod alienis non poterat." (*Anglia Sacra*, ii., 318.) Other instances of this death-bed penance could be given. This scene occurred in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at York.

^z A youthful vow fixed the resting-place of the archbishop, and yet in a letter which he wrote a few years before this to his brother of Canterbury, when the secession took place from St. Mary's abbey, Thurstan censured somewhat sharply the discipline of the Cluniacs (*Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, i., 22). St. Bernard spoke in the same tone when he strove to call back his nephew, Robert, who had deserted the Cistercians for the Cluniacs. "Inter hæc autem pereat anima pro qua Christus mortuus est, et hoc, quia Cluniacenses volunt." (*Opp.*, i., col. 4.) Bernard was much more severe upon that order in his famous Apology addressed to William, abbat of St. Thierry (*Opp.*, i., col. 525, etc.). The self-denying champion of Clairvaux groaned in spirit when he observed the comparative luxury at Clugny which Peter the Venerable had been unable to repress, although some years before it was the "districtio ordinis" at Clugny which prevented Anselm from going there. (*Vita Anselmi*, apud *Opp.*, ed. 1721, 3.) The difference between the two orders is clearly set forth in the Dialogue between a Cluniac and a Cistercian, which has been printed by Martene and Durand (*Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, v., col. 1369 *et seqq.*).

Before Thurstan took this step, he consulted St. Bernard, and the Saint's answer is preserved (*Opp.*, i., col. 297): "He bids him retain his see, and shew to the world that a bishop can be an ascetic. He is not bound to resign his charge 'verbo promissionis, qualem vos fecisse dicitis' (an allusion probably to the vow about the Cluniacs). If any secret cause impels him, or the pope consents, let no roughness of fare and clothing, no poverty deter him from seeking after the greatest purity. May God guide him to a right decision. May He suffer him so

Pontem-fractum^a profectus est, prosequentibus eum senioribus ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et laicis plurimis. Siquidem, in die Conversionis Sancti Pauli, habitum et benedictionem monachi sollempniter suscepit, et residuis diebus quibus supervixit de salute animæ remissus non fuit.

Anno igitur ab Incarnatione Domini MCXL, et ab adventu Normannorum in Angliam septuagesimo quinto, et regni Stephani quinto, et archiepiscopatus sui vicesimo sexto, et mense sexto, octavo idus Februarii,^b feria quinta, circumstantibus maioribus ecclesiæ Eboracensis et aliis religiosis viris, imminente hora suæ vocationis, ipse Vigiliis pro defunctis celebravit, Novem Lectiones ipse legit, versum Responsi *Dies illa, dies iræ*, subjunxit, signanter expresse ad singula verba ingemiscens; terminatisque Laudibus, convocatis monachis universis et orantibus,

to bear the burden of the day and the heat, that in the evening he may receive the penny stamped with the royal image."

The old vow still kept its hold on Thurstan's mind,—the Benedictins, the Cistercians, the canons of St. Austin to whom his brother had allied himself, the monasteries of which he himself was the founder, were passed by,—the words of his youth were irresistible, and a Cluniac he would die.

Among the statutes of the congregation of Cluniacs made by Peter the Venerable, the thirty-fifth rule is that no one should become a monk without the permission of the abbat of Clugny, "exceptis magnis et utilibus personis." (Opp. Petri Ven., apud Migne, 1055.) This would exactly meet Thurstan's case, and, besides this, Bernard told him (Opp., i., col. 297) that care would be taken for his infirmities. "In hujusmodi siquidem domibus, animabus sic consulitur, ut pro ætate et imbecillitate congrua cura corporibus non negetur."

^a The Cluniac priory of St. John at Pontefract was a daughter of the foreign house of La Charité sur Loire, and was founded by Robert de Lacy, "consilio T. venerabilis archiepiscopi Ebor.," for the souls of Ilbert and Haweis his parents and others. Hugh de la Val was also a benefactor to this house "suggerente et assentiente Turstino archiepiscopo Ebor." (Dugdale's Mon., v., 118-120). The monks of this house seem to have been present in the chapter-house of St. Mary's, York, when the scene took place which ended in the establishment of Fountains abbey (Memorials of Fountains, i., 24).

Thurstan was a friend to this monastery; indeed it may be said to have had its origin in him, as in his confirmation of the gift of the vill of Dodworth by Robert de Lacy, he says that Lacy gave it "ex consilio nostro, pro amore Dei, et pro salute animæ domini sui et nostri Henrici serenissimi regis." (Ex chart. de Pontefract penes Godfridum Wentworth de Woolley, arm.) Thurstan also confirmed the charter of Ralph de Catwick and Simon his son, in which they gave to Pontefract a moiety of the church of Catwick. He likewise confirmed the deed by which the founder first endowed the monastery with divers churches and estates. We thus have another motive for Thurstan's selection of Pontefract. The monastery owed its origin to his advice and counsels. Lacy was only one of the many strings of that harp from which Thurstan educed such divine music.

^b The chief officers (majores) of the church of York accompany Thurstan to Pontefract, and are with him when he dies. The date of his death is variously given. Gervase (col. 1350) and Stubbs (col. 1721) place it on the 5th of February, 1140; John of Hexham on the 6th. Thurstan's obit was observed at Durham on the 8th (Liber Vitæ, ed. Surtees Society, 139). In the MS. life of Thurstan in the Cottonian library (Titus, A, xix., 55 b) it is said that he died on Feb. 6. This date, probably the correct one, agrees with John of Hexham.

reddit spiritum,^c et in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ ante magnum altare condigno honore sepultus est.

Evolutis post hæc aliquot diebus, cuidam archidiacono suo Galfrido Turcople, viro celebris peritiæ in sc(h)olari eruditione, in sompnis quiescenti astitit, pontificalibus sollempniter præcinctus infulis.^d Cui sciscitanti, "Estne spes salvationis tuæ, patermi?" respondit,

" Vivere carne mori fuerat, sed carne resolvi
Est modo vera salus, vita beata mihi."^e

Post plurimos etiam annos, monachis volentibus corrigere quippiam circa locum sepulturæ ejus, remotus est lapis superpositus, nullumque signum corruptionis inventum est in carne ejus sive vestimentis.^f

Post mortem ejus continuo emersit insolentia, et indisciplinata dissensionis vaga licentia in clericos, impudensque contemptus, irreverentia laicorum adversus ecclesiasticas leges et personas, regnique integritas dissoluta est, quia unicuique quod libuit licuit.

Eodem anno Henricus comes, cum conjuge sua, ad regem Angliæ profectus est. Insurrexit in inimicitias in eum Ranulfus comes Cestriæ propter Karlel et Cumberland, quam jure patri-

^c This fearful death-bed scene and its accompaniments are unauthorized by the rules laid down for the treatment of the sick and dying in the *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii* (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ed. 1723, i., 699). The case of Thurstan was an exceptional one.

^d Stories of this kind are common enough in the old chronicles and legends. Several posthumous appearances of St. Bernard are recorded. In that valuable MS. in the library of C. C. C. Cambridge, F. v., 139, a "visio ejusdam clerici de gloria regis Malcolm" is detailed, in which the clerk questions the king as the archdeacon did Thurstan, and with the same result. Henry I. is said to have appeared after death to one of his knights to tell him that he had been saved by the prayers of Peter the Venerable (*Vita Petri Ven.*, apud Migne, 25). Henry had won those prayers by a grant of a hundred marks per annum to Clugny (Labbe, *Conc.*, x., 962).

^e These lines are taken from an unpublished life of Thurstan in the Cottonian MS., Titus, A, xix., in prose and verse, by Hugh de Pontefract and Geoffrey de Nottingham. The whole work, however, is of little value. Geoffrey was a poet, and a bad one he was. He was archdeacon of Nottingham, and his surname seems to have been not Turcople, but Trocope. The story is thus told in the MS. (55 b). We can well imagine how vivid in the archdeacon's mind would be the recollection of Thurstan and his fearful death-bed.

" Clericus insignis Galfridus Trocope dictus
Notinghamensis archelevita fuit.
Post mortem præsulem in somnis vidit—
Atque requisitus quomodo fecit, ait:
Vivere carne mori fuerat, sed carne resolvi,
Est modo vera salus, vita beata michi.
Quadraginta dies vixi monachus gregis hujus
Cum monachis monachus, sed præenendo monos."

The last word but one stands, I presume, for præhendinando?

^f The above-mentioned Life gives a rather different account (55 b): "Corpus post duos annos repertum est odoriferum et incorruptum."

monii sibi reposcebat,^g voluitque eum in reditu cum armata manu involvere. Rex vero, reginæ precibus commonitus, ab intentato periculo tutatum eum patri et patriæ restituit, transpositaque est indignatio hæc in insidias regiæ salutis. Rannulfus enim comes omnes munitiones Lincolnæ occupavit sibi.

Alanus comes, nocturno furto ascendens per murum, irrupit cum suis in castellum de Galclint,^h posseditque castellum ipsum cum thesauro copioso, ejecto Willelmo de Albanh cum suis. Idem Alanus, comes Rikemundæ,ⁱ firmavit castrum ad Hoiun,^j scilicet terram episcopi Dunelmi, et aggravata est manus ejus super Ripun et homines loci illius. Ipse enim, et alii quique potentes viri tulerunt quæcunque in horreis, et in aliis rebus, Turstinus archiepiscopus reservaverat successori suo necessaria,^k prout quisque conterminus fuit terris archiepiscopalibus.

^g The father of this great and restless noble, another Ranulph, had been earl of Cumberland or Carlisle, but seems to have ceded that honour on being made earl of Chester (Dugdale, Bar., i., 37). The Cumbrian earldom had been recently given to Henry, prince of Scotland, and Ranulph now tries to recover it, as well as to seize the prince. Stephen aided Henry, and thereby made Ranulph his bitter enemy.

^h Dugdale (Bar., i., 49) suggests that this is a part of the castle of Lincoln, but this passage contradicts such a supposition. The place was probably in Lincolnshire.

ⁱ This great nobleman was the son of Stephen, count of Penthievre. He was himself earl of Richmond in Yorkshire, and in right of his wife, Bertha, the daughter of duke Conan, the title of earl of Bretagne came to him and his family. This chronicle contains several notices of his exploits (Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne, Paris, 1707, tom. i.; table genealogique. Morice, Histoire de Bretagne, Paris, 1750, 96, 99). According to the chronicles of Kemperlè and Ruys, in which there are obituaries of the earls of Bretagne (Baluzii Misc., ed. Mansi, i., 266. Bouquet, xii., 564), Alan died in 1146. He was surnamed Niger.

The pedigree of the earls of Richmond requires supervision and correction. Much information about them will be discovered in the chartularies of St. Edmundsbury. There is also a large quantity of evidences relating to them preserved at Nantes, and these I have permission to examine.

^j Dugdale and other writers have assumed that this is Sheriffhutton castle, near York. This castle, however, did not exist till John lord Neville obtained leave to build it in the fifth of Richard II. (Cal. Rot. Pat., 206). Mr. Walbran detects the real place: "I think that the Hotun alluded to by the historian, is Hutton-Conyers in the suburb of Ripon, immediately opposite to Turstin's park; where, at the time of the Domesday survey, the bishop of Durham had an important manor, subsequently subinfeudated to the family of Conyers; and where rugged mounds of earth, and a vast moat, still remain to testify the site of a fortified mansion, though all tradition of a castle has passed away." (Memorials of Fountains, i., 79.)

^k Thurstan had left some stock and provision upon his manors for the benefit of his successor. The delay in the appointment of a new archbishop was too much for the avarice of earl Alan. The quantity of stock to be left on each of the archiepiscopal manors was afterwards laid down by Walter Gray, and confirmed by the king and pope (Stubbs, col. 1725). The earls of Richmond had large possessions near Ripon. Cf. Reg. Honoris de Richmond.

[MCXLI.]

Anno MCXLI.^l Post mortem Turstini archiepiscopi, clerici Eboracenses, secundum desideria cordis sui, varia et vaga sententia circumacti fuerant toto anno super electione facienda. Elegerant autem, persuadente legato Henrico Wintoniæ (episcopo), nepotem regis Stephani, Henricum de Coilli. Qui quia præfuit abbatix Kadomensi, noluit dominus Apostolicus eum præfici archiepiscopatu nisi renunciaret priori honori.^m

Mense Januario, iterum de electione tractantes, in personam Willelmi, t(h)esaurarii, plurimi consenserunt.ⁿ Interfuit Willelmus comes Eboracensis, sollicitus super promotione ejus. Apparuit autem hora eadem super eos in æere magnum signum crucis, per longitudinem et latitudinem ecclesiæ Sancti Petri protensum. Adversatus est electioni huic magister Walterus Londoniensis, archidiaconus,^o cum sociis suis archidiaconibus.

^l To cover his recent chronological blunder the scribe adds a year throughout his chronicle. I have taken the liberty of correcting him. In the MS. the year is 1142.

^m Henry de Sully was a son of William, brother of king Stephen and Henry bishop of Winchester, who married the heiress of de Soliaco, or Sully, and took the name of her estate (Duchesne, 1071). Henry de Sully was a Cluniac monk, and in 1140 his uncle Henry, bishop of Winchester, wished to have him preferred to the vacant see of Salisbury, but was foiled in his desire, to his great wrath. To make up for this disappointment, the abbey of Fécamp (not Caen, as Prior John says) was given to the youthful monk (Ord. Vit., apud Duchesne, 924. Neustria Pia, 233). He was the fifth abbat of that house, and ruled it till his death, which occurred in 1188-9 (Recueil des Hist. des Gaules, xiv., 384. Gallia Christiana, xi., 209. Mabillon, Ann. Ben., vi., 323). He was interred in his own church in the chapel of St. Peter (Labbe, Bibl. Nov., i., 328). The monks of Durham were bound to perform certain services for him after his decease (Liber Vitæ, ed. Surtees Society, 138). A bishopric, it will be seen, slipped on two occasions from his grasp. We must not confound him with another person of the same name who became archbishop of Bourges (Labbe, Bibl. Nov., ii., 94-6. Gallia Christiana, ii., col. 56). There are several epistles to Sully among the letters of Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux.

ⁿ The beginning of the great struggle about the appointment to the see of York. It may be regarded as a contest between the court and the reforming body among the clergy. The attempt to place the king's nephew, Henry de Sully, in two bishoprics in one year gave much offence to the clergy, and in January, 1140-1, when another nephew of Stephen, William Fitz-herbert, was chosen, apparently by royal influence, archbishop of York, the opposition of the clergy could not be kept under. The presence of William, earl of Albemarle, when the election was made, savoured strongly of royal interference, and this inference was fully justified by the subsequent conduct of Stephen. The dispute was as long as it was unseemly to the church at large, for it caused much unhappiness and excitement, which extended far beyond the narrow boundaries of Yorkshire.

^o Walter of London, and the other archdeacons of the church of York, oppose the election. Among them was Osbert of Bayeux, who was afterwards charged with poisoning William. This charge, however, was a groundless one. Subsequently, Osbert was deprived of his office for some misconduct towards Selby abbey, and he entered the priory of the Holy Trinity at York (Epp. Gilb. Foliot,

Quem, proficiscentem ad regem, idem comes interceperat, et in castro suo de Biham incluserat. Perductum itaque electum ad Lincolniam rex libenter suscepit, et in terris et possessionibus Eboracensibus confirmavit.

Siquidem, eodem mense Januario, in Lincolnia,^p Ranulfus comes Cestriæ, cum suis conjuratione facta, obfirmavit animum suum in persecutionem regis et regni. Auditus autem fuerat ter terræ motus in eadem urbe infra Natale Domini. Innotuit regi Stephano citius conspiratio hæc. Qui festinus improvisus affuit, et comitem obsedit. Egressus est comes nocte de turre in qua inclusus fuit, et profectus ad Rodbertum comitem Glaocestriæ, cujus filiam habuit uxorem, eum et familiam imperatricis sibi contraxit in auxilium, et Walanos pariter. Persuaserunt regi seniores viri congregare exercitum, sese inermes ad regis colloquium occurrisse, non ad prælii procinctum, profitentes. Aspernabatur rex, clamans eos pueros imbelles nichil hujusmodi ausuros in eum. Delinitus enim erat juvenum comitum favoribus regi verbo faventium, vires adversariorum consilio et auxilio foventium.

Igitur, in die Purificationis Sanctæ Mariæ, accesserunt Rodbertus comes Glaocestriæ, Rannulfus comes Cestriæ, Willelmus de Romar, frater ejus, in manu valida, fuitque Rodbertus dux et dispositor prælii. Rex quoque produxit suos socios in pugnam. Alanus comes de Richemund cum suis, conflictu nondum inito, regi et prælio renuntiavit. Willelmus comes Eboraci, a pugna elapsus, regem periculo exposuit. Adversarii iccirco, sumpta fidenter audacia, resistentes trucidaverunt. Capti sunt autem Bernardus de Baillel, Rogerus de Mulbrai, Ricardus de Curceio, Willelmus Fossart, Willelmus Peverel, Willelmus Cler-

i., 152. Epp. Joh. Saresber., i., 158, 170. Hist. Mon. Selebiensis, apud Labbei Bibl. Nov., i., 620. Stubbs, col. 1721. Wm. Newburgh, i., 71-2). It was against Walter or Osbert that the author of the unpublished life of St. William wrote as follows :—

“Imperiosus etiam amor dominandi quendam ejusdem ecclesiæ archilevitam adeo traxerat in regionem dissimilitudinis, ut lucernam virtutum super candelabrum positam et omnibus expositam non poterat intueri, sed tot gratiarum radiis, quibus illuminari debuerat, excæcatus, inter eligentes excitavit discidium, thesaurarium a saniori parte electum impediens.” (MSS. Harl., ii., 76-7.)

The archdeacons were on their way to state their case to the king, who was at Lincoln, when they were seized by the earl of Albemarle, who detained them in his castle of Biham, or Bytham, in Lincolnshire. This is the place which the earl afterwards gave to the monks of Fountains that they might plant there a colony of Cistercians, and the name of Bytham henceforward merged in that of Vallis Dei or Vaudey (Memorials of Fountains, i., 93-4).

^p An account of the struggle at Lincoln is to be found in the *Gesta Stephani*, 70 *et seqq.* Malmsbury, Hist. Nov., 105-6. Ord. Vitalis, 922. Chron. Normann., apud Duchesne, 978-9, from which the account in the Chron. de Haghebie is derived (MSS. Cotton, Vesp., B, xi., 6 *b*). Huntingdon, 224 *b*. Gervase, col. 1350 *et seqq.*

feith, et multi alii.^q Multi cæsi, dispersi tandem universi, etiam et Waleran comes de Mellant.^r

Stetit autem rex in acie, quasi leo, fortiorum fortissimus, ad nullius perterritus occursum, dissecuitque omnes ad congressum sese opposcentes donec comminueretur gladius in manibus ejus. Posuit vero in manu ejus securem Danicam quidam civis Lincolniae. Nec facile dictu est quanto spiritu fortitudinis ipse imminuit adversariis; viditque tandem, omnibus sociis suis pæne dispersis, se solum residuum fore; nemo tamen, ut comprehenderetur, præsumpsit manus in(j)icere in eum. Rannulfum comitem, aliquid intentare volentem in eum, ipse securi in capite impetiit, genibusque in terra sese excipientem non plus sapere debere, quam oportuit sapere docuit. Ad arbitrium itaque ejus vocatus est Rodbertus comes, consanguineus ipsius, cui filio regis Henrici ipse rex sui corporis deditionem facere adquevit. Ductus est igitur ad Bristou, ibique sub custodia positus est.

Willelmus de Clerfeith, prudenter elapsus de manibus comitis Rannulfi, in Thicchehill, castrum suum,^s se recepit, frequentique procinctu proturbavit comitem ipsum et socios ejus. Gilebertum de Gant, tunc adolescentulum, captum cum rege, compulit idem comes ducere neptem suam uxorem.^t Alanum comitem de Richemunt, evocatum ad colloquium suum, Rannulfus comes

^q These are the northern barons who had fought for Stephen at the battle of the Standard, and who still adhered to him.

^r A son of Robert, earl of Mellent, and brother of Robert, earl of Leicester (Duchesne, 1091). After their father's death the two brothers were brought up at the court of Henry I., who treated as his own the children of his lost friend, "post mortem patris ut propriam sobolem dulciter educavit." (Ord. Vitalis, 875.) Waleran's life was a very chequered one (Dugdale, Bar., i., 85), and although Stephen betrothed his own daughter to him when she was under two years of age, that king was not always his friend. It was perhaps upon him that Stephen of Rouen, monk of Bec, wrote a long epitaph, of which this is a specimen (Martene et Durand, Ampliss. Coll., ed. 1724, i., col. 875):—

"Emitat hic magni laus, gloria, mors Galerani,
Flos comitum, decus imperii, vis maxima belli,
Militiæ splendor, sensus acutus obit."

^s This is the castle of Tickhill, near Doncaster. William de Clarfait was an intruder there, as the honour belonged to the earl of Eu; but the unsettled state of the country enabled Clarfait to maintain his position. Mr. Hunter clearly identifies him with William fitz Godric, who, by Albreda de Lizours, was the progenitor of the family of Fitzwilliam of Sprotborough (South Yorkshire, i., 226, 332). Clarfait founded the nunnery at Hampole.

^t A son of that stout old soldier, Walter de Gant, and a nephew of Alan, earl of Richmond. He founded Rufford abbey, and was a great benefactor to the northern monasteries. He died in 1156, probably in the cowl of an Austin canon, in the priory of Bridlington. Two daughters, both of them childless, were his issue. The lady to whom Gilbert de Gant was thus forcibly allied was Rohesia, said to have been the daughter and heiress of William de Romara, earl of Lincoln. Many would think that there was no hardship in the case, for the lady brought to her husband her broad acres and the title of earl of Lincoln (Dugdale, Bar., i., 400). Cf. The Topographer and Genealogist, i., 301 *et seqq.*

apprehendit, et castrum de Galclint, et thesaurum in eo repertum, sibi reconsignare coegit.^u Multa famis afflictione, et alia egit in eum molesta. Castrum de Notingham imperatrix Adela exegit a Willelmo Peverel,^v et imposuit custodem in eo Willelmum Paniel cum militibus suis. Alios potentes viros captos cum rege absolvit sub pecuniariæ redemptionis sponsione, tradiditque se plurima regni portio, acquiescentibus Henrico legato et Theodbaldo archiepiscopo, dominio ejusdem imperatricis, pariter et Lundonia et Wintonia civitas.^w

Vacavit sedes Lundoniæ, et ad ipsius favorem Rodbertus de Sigillo,^x qui fuit cancellarius regis Henrici, tunc monachus de Redingas, vir bonus, ad regemen illius sedis accitus est.

Post Pascha Galfridus episcopus Dunelmi defunctus est. Super quo parentes ejus tacitum habentes, evisceratum, et sale conspersum et infusum, eum inhumatum reservaverunt, donec, sub auctoritate David regis Scotiæ, in munitionibus Dunelmi reciperent Willelmum Cumin, cancellarium ejusdem regis.^y Fuerat enim idem Willelmus clericus et alumpnus ejusdem Galfridi episcopi in obsequiis Henrici regis. Videns itaque David rex multa competere in imperatricis, neptis suæ, promotionem,

^u The historians of Bretagne allude thus to the disaster of their earl: "Le comte de Richemont, pour venger son roi, tendit un embuscade au comte de Chestre qui avoit commandé t'arméé victorieuse: mais il fut pris lui-même en voulant prendre son adversaire. Chargé de chaines, comme une bête feroce, il fut jetté dans une prison obscure et mal-saine." (Morice, 96. Lobineau, i., 137.) For the capture of the earl, cf. *Gesta Stephani*, col. 73-4.

^v Peverel was present at the battle of the Standard, and founded the priories of St. James, near Northampton, and Lenton, co. Notts. His only son, William, is said to have poisoned Ranulph, earl of Chester, in 1155, and, to escape the wrath of the king, he gave up all his lands and became a monk at Lenton (Gervase, col. 1377. Dugdale, Bar., i., 437). It was probably *Ralph*, and not William, Paganel, or Paniel, who was at Nottingham (cf. Gervase, col. 1350. Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 128).

^w Cf. *Gesta Stephani*, 74-5. *Hist. Novell.*, 105-6.

^x Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 131. Gervase, col. 1355. Newcourt, i., 11. He was consecrated in 1141.

^y An extraordinary story, which is explained farther by Simeon (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*, 263-4). Cumin desired that the death of bishop Geoffrey should be concealed till he had time to see king David, and secure the vacant see through his aid. A strange process was resorted to, which, however, was not unknown. On the death of the emperor Henry in 1125, "corpus ejus ejectis intestinis sale respersum Spiræ relatum est." (*Chronicon Alberici*, apud Leibnitii *Access. Hist.*, ed. 1698, ii., 249.) Henry I. died abroad in 1135, "cujus corpus exenteratum, ac sale conditum, delatum est in Angliam." (Rad. Coggeshale, *Chron. Angliæ*, apud Martene and Durand, *Ampliss. Coll.*, v., 806). When Sir John fitz Marmaduke died at Perth in the reign of Edward II., his attendants *boiled* his body, and kept the bones till they could inter them at Durham (Wills and Inv., ed. Surtees Society, i., 16-17).

The death of bishop Geoffrey has been generally fixed in a wrong year. From an ancient calendar belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham it appears that he died in 1141, and not in 1140 (*Reg. ii., Pr. et Conv. Dunelm.*, fol. 350).

post Ascensionem Domini ad eam in Suth-Angliam profectus est. Divertensque ad Dunelmum receptus est in oppidum, præcepitque omnia arbitrio imperatricis reservari, Willelmumque Cumin rerum gerendam curam interim gerere.^z

Venit itaque rex ad neptem suam, plurimosque ex principibus sibi acquiescentes habuit ut ipsa promoveretur ad totius regni fastigium. Illa vero, nequaquam secuta consilium regis, feminea levitate erecta in quoddam regii animi fastidium, contumacibus comminationibus principes contristavit. In regem quoque Stephanum truculenta se acturam professa est. Iccirco Henricus, legatus, Wintoniensis episcopus, frater regis Stephani, aversus est ab ea, plurimique in inimicitias adversus eam concitati sunt. Lundonienses etiam eam ex urbe ejecerunt, plurimusque in regno tumultus exortus est, dissidentibus adversus se alterutrum his qui cum imperatrice perseveraverunt, et qui ei renuntiaverant.^a

Rexit autem familiam regis Stephani Willelmus d'Iprè,^b homo Flandrensis, et Pharamus,^c nepos reginæ Matildis, et iste Bononiensis. Regina omnibus supplicavit, omnes pro ereptione mariti sui precibus, promissis, et obsequiis sollicitavit. Et Deus superbæ restitit, humili vero dedit gratiam. Etenim imperatrix, collectis viribus suis, cum rege Scotiæ et Rodberto comite,

^z Cf. Contin. Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., ed. Bedford, 265-6.

^a For the history of this period, cf. Gesta Stephani, 76-7, 85. Hist. Novell., 107-8. Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 132, etc.

^b William of Yprès in Flanders, a noble adventurer, who followed Stephen into England and was in his pay. He is said to have been an illegitimate son of Philip, earl of Yprès, according to one account (Annot. ad Vitam Ludovici Grossi, auct. Sugerio, apud Migne, tom. clxxxvi., 1327), whilst Ordericus Vitalis (885) makes him a son of Robert, the "Morinorum marchio." In 1127, when Charles, duke of Flanders, was murdered at Bruges, William at once assaulted the supposed murderer (Ordericus, *ut supra*). After this he laid claim to the countship of Flanders, and was captured at Yprès and banished (Sugerii Vita Ludovici Grossi, *ut supra*. Chron. Alberici, apud Leibnitii Access. Hist., 246-7. Bouquet, xii., 188, 343 *et seqq.*). Afterwards, William attached himself to the fortunes of king Stephen, whom he served valorously and well at home and abroad. Some of his exploits are recorded in this chronicle. Others are in Ordericus (909, 916, 919-22). He was a rash, unscrupulous man, and, as a mercenary, would be unpopular in England. His spirit became quieter as he grew older. In 1144, as a compensation perhaps for destroying the nunnery of Wherwell, he founded the Cistercian abbey of Boxley in Kent. When Stephen died, he was expelled from England, and became a monk at Laon in Flanders, a house which he founded, living there till the month of January, 1162 (Dugdale's Bar., i., 611-12, and the Chronicle of John of Yprès, apud Thes. Nov. Anecd., iii., coll. 643, 646, where there is some valuable information about William of Yprès). "Famosissimus ille tyrannus," is what John of Salisbury calls him (Epp., ed. Giles, i., 174), and many would think it a just criticism, for Yprès was a stirrer up of strife.

^c Pharamus was a son of William of Boulogne, and is mentioned in the 30th of Henry I. (Rot. Pipæ, 50). Far(amus) de Bolonia witnesses a charter made by William, earl of Boulogne, king Stephen's son, to Feversham abbey (Dugd. Mon., iv., 574).

ascendit in Wintoniam, audiens milites suos inclusos in regia munitione expugnari a militibus legati, qui erant in mœnibus illius. Quam receptam in civitate regina adveniens cum suis obsedit, adjunxitque se ei in hoc opus Henricus legatus et Lundonienses, et de die in diem conveniens principum regni multitudo, cum quibus et Rannulfus comes Cestriæ. Adversus quem concitatum est murmur in exercitu timentium dolum, iccirco aufugit ad obsessos. Cumque obsidio in dies protraheretur, fame afflicta est multitudo. Emissi sunt autem ducenti milites cum Rodberto, filio Edæ et Henrici regis notho,^d et Johanne Marascaldo, ut conducerent in urbem eos qui comportabant victualia, in ministerium imperatricis, et eorum qui obsessi fuerant. Quos persecuti Willelmus d'Iprè, et pars exercitus usque Warewella^e (ubi est congregatio sanctimonialium) et milites et omnem apparatus, qui erat copiosus, abduxerunt.

Nota facta sunt hæc his qui in urbe erant. Qui jam, non in concertatione sed in fuga spem salutis gerentes, egressi sunt, ne forte victores cum Willelmo d'Iprè ad socios regressi, sumpta fiducia ex cotidianis successibus, aliquid subitum in eos excogitarent. Et imperatrix quidem, non sine magno conflictu, et plurima difficultate, erepta est. Emeruit in propugnatione ejus Galfridus Boterel,^f frater Alani comitis de Richemunt, celebrem laudem, extremos sociorum recolligens, et incursus hostium magnanimiter excipiens, et potenter relidens.

Rex vero Scotiæ, amissis pæne universis sociis, imminens periculum evasit, et in regnum suum festinanter se recepit. Abscondit enim eum quidam filiulus suus, David Holcfard, commilito eorum qui urbem Wintoniam obsederant.^g Iccirco qui regem anxie requisierunt non invenerunt.

Rodbertus comes in angustiis cujusdam pontis interceptus et retentus est. Et, non multo post, id est circa festum Sancti Martini, habito ad alterutrum deliberativo consensu, rex Ste-

^d An illegitimate son of Henry I. Eda, or Edith, his mother, was a daughter of Forne, the great northern baron. She afterwards married Robert d'Oilli (Lapenberg's *Anglo-Norman Kings*, ed. Thorpe, 348, annot.).

^e Wherwell, an ancient nunnery in Hampshire, founded by queen Elfrida. Emma the mother, and Editha the wife of Edward the Confessor, are said to have been imprisoned there (*Dugd. Mon.*, ii., 634). There is a longer account of the assault upon the abbey in the *Gesta Stephani*, 83.

^f A son of Stephen, count of Penthievre (Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, i.; table genealogique, Paris, 1707). He was himself count of Lambelle, and had somewhat to do with the establishment of the Cistercians in Bretagne in 1130. In 1134 he founded the Cistercian monastery of S. Aubin des Bois (Morice, *Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Bretagne*; Paris, 1750; pp. 93, 95).

^g In the *Gesta Stephani* (85) it is said that David was taken, but that a bribe saved him; "captus, sed, præmio semper intercurrente dimissus, dolens et defatigatus vix ad sua cum paucis defugit."

phanus regno restitutus est, et Rodbertus comes liber dimissus est suis.

Henricus episcopus Wintoniæ, legatus, ad audientiam domini Apostolici direxit Willelmum electum Eboracensem.^h Interpellabant enim eum Willelmus abbas Rie-vallis, et Ricardus abbas de Fontibus secundus, Cuthbertus prior de Giseburn, Wallefusⁱ prior de Cirkaham, et Rodbertus hospitalis,^j quod pecuniaria sponsione ambierit ad honorem hunc.

Rodbertus quoque Biseth, Prior Hagustaldensis, audita electione ejus, statim domum suam exposuit et fratres, et sub Bernardo abbate Claræ-vallis monachatus se contradidit.^k

^h The great York controversy is continued. William goes to Stephen at Lincoln in 1141, and is invested with the temporalities of his see. His uncle Henry now sends him, in quest of consecration, to Rome. I have spoken already of several members of the formidable party arrayed against him.

ⁱ Waldeve, or Waltheof, Prior of Kirkham, was the second son of the earl of Northampton by Matilda, who re-married David king of Scotland. He was at first an Austin canon at Nostell, whence he was removed to the Priorate of Kirkham. Whilst in that position he would have been made archbishop of York on Thurstan's death, had not Stephen feared the influence which the Scottish party would secure by his election. This perhaps accounts for the opposition which Waltheof offered to William. A change soon came over his mind, and he became a Cistercian, taking the vow first of all at Wardon: afterwards he removed to Rievaux, and, at last, from 1148 to 1159 he was the abbat of Melrose, where he was buried, leaving behind him a saintly reputation.

There are lives of Waltheof by Antonius Gentius and Josceline of Furness, which are in print (*Acta SS.*, Bollandists, Aug. 3. Henriquez, *Menologium Cisterciense*, 147, 259. Fascic. Ord. Cisterciensis, i., 298-300. *Chron. de Mailros*, 76). In the Chronicle of Alberic an extraordinary event is mentioned in connection with him: "Sanctus Wasleus de Mailros araneam in calice lapsam cum sacramento absorbit, et nihil ei nocuit, sed per minimum digitum de corpore exivit." (*Leibnitii Access. Hist.*, ii., 272.)

^j Master of the hospital of St. Peter (afterwards St. Leonard) at York. He was present in 1132 when Thurstan visited St. Mary's abbey. On that occasion he is styled "Robertus sacerdos de hospitali." (*Memorials of Fountains*, i., 25.) This hospital, I believe, was injured or destroyed by fire in June, 1137 (*Gervase*, col. 1343). That writer speaks of Thurstan as its founder. The ruins of the hospital that may still be seen are portions, to a great extent, of the work of John Romanus.

^k Robert Biseth, the second Prior of Hexham, had been in office since 1130, when the all-potent influence of St. Bernard fell upon him, and drew him away to Clairvaux. It is evident from what John and Aelred say that he was censured for leaving his Priory, but he who could resist St. Bernard could withstand a very powerful spell. If the canons besought Bernard to send him home, he would answer them as he replied to their brethren of Aildicurve (*S. Bern.*, Opp., i., coll. 14-15), and reproach them for wishing to recall their late superior from the type of the true Jerusalem (*ibid.*, coll. 64-5). Bernard would have studied the weal of Hexham better had he said to Robert what he wrote to Arnold the abbat:—

"Quomodo, inquam, securus abis, qui gregi tibi commisso omnem de se securitatem in perpetuum aufers? Quis occurret lupis incursantibus, quis consolabitur in tribulationibus, quis providebit in tentationibus, quis denique leoni resistet rugienti et quærenti quem devoret? Patebunt sine dubio morsibus malignantium, qui devorant plebem Christi sicut escam panis.—Rectene forte dividere esse dices, soli animæ tuæ consulere; et filios tuos quos orphanos relin-

[MCXLII.]

Anno MCXLII, Ricardus confirmatus est Prior Hagustaldensis, secundum electionem fratrum, per manum Willelmi decani, et capituli Eboracensis.^l

Siquidem his diebus Willelmi electi Eboracensis causa audita est in consistorio papæ Innocentii.^m Affuit et magister Walterus Londoniensis, archidiaconus, præ manibus scriptas gerens allegationes abbatum et priorum in eum. Tandem datum est præceptum, ut in Dominica tertia Quadragesimæ sequenti anno, super quæstione hac, et qui affuerant tunc, et qui abfuerant, illuc concurrerent.

Willelmus Painel, magister militum in Notingham, movit militarem manum ad Suthwellam,ⁿ volens irrumpere vallum quo consepta ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ muniebantur, et prædam agere. Viriliter egit multitudo provinciæ quæ confugerat illuc in propugnatione loci. Periiit etiam in ictu sagittæ miles quidam ex hostili numero quiddam arrogans adversus locum hunc locutus. Profectus est itaque idem Willelmus ad imperatricem, ut, cum numero militum revertens, locum ipsum expugnaret. Et, ecce! sub nocturnis tenebris, secundum adinventionem duorum juvenum qui molendinis præerant, milites Willelmi Peverel conscendentes per clivum arcis, oppidum optinuerunt, omnesque qui imperatrici faverunt de Notingham ejecerunt.

Post Pascha vero Stephanus, prosequente eum regina sua

quis, consilio paterno destituere? O miseros et miserabiles, et eo miserabiliores, quo vivo se conspiciunt orbari patre! Quamquam dubitare te quoque oportuerit, an vel tibi recte consulas, in eo videlicet, quod absque consilio fratrum rem tam novam præsumis." (S. Bernardi Opp., i., col. 15.)

Very touching, and persuasive also, was the rebuke which the monk of Fountains addressed to Richard his abbat, who was longing to set out for Clairvaux: "Noli viscera tua relinquere, noli filios deserere quos ipse genuisti;" (Memorials of Fountains, i., 77,) reminding him "how St. Paul, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, was willing to remain in the flesh for the sake of his brethren; how St. Martin, even within sight of the golden gates, even when the bosom of Abraham was open to receive him, would have tarried a while for the welfare of his flock."

^l This is the historian of whom there is an account in the Preface. As the see of York was vacant, the dean and chapter of York confirmed his election and received his oath of obedience. They would also install him as prebendary of Salton.

^m This cause seems to have been heard by Innocent in 1142 (Fasti Ebor., i., 222).

ⁿ This sacrilegious attack on Southwell minster is mentioned in no other place. Peverel and Painel have occurred before. The friends of the empress seem to have fortified the church, and the canons were probably with them. Stephen, when at York, desired Peverel to allow the prebendaries to have the woods belonging to their stalls in their own hands, so that it is possible enough that they had been punished for their rebellion (Thoroton's Notts, vet. edit., ex Libro Albo de Southwell).

Mathilde, venit Eboracum, militaresque nundinas a Willelmo comite Eboraci et Alano comite de Richemunt adversus alterutrum conductas solvit;^o habuitque in votis pristinas suas injurias ultum ire, et regnum ad antiquam dignitatem et integritatem reformare. Præventus vero infirmitate copias militum quas contraxerat remisit ad propria.

His diebus Rodbertus de Brus obiit.^p

Willelmus quoque Cumin, ex datione imperatricis dominatus in rebus episcopalibus Dunelmensibus, plurimos plurimum affixit. Potestas ejus quiddam tyrannicum sapuit. Rannulfus archidiaconus Dunelmensis, nepos Rannulfi episcopi Dunelmi, vir præclaræ probitatis in ecclesiasticis necessitatibus, egressus est, malens exulare quam intrusioni, qua Willelmus Cumin ad episcopalem dignitatem spiravit, acquiescere.^q Secutus est eum citius Rogerus, Prior ejusdem ecclesiæ, vir sanctissimi meriti, a primævis annis enutritus in claustralibus institutis. Nec multo post, in ecclesia Dunelmensi interdictum est Divinum officium, cessavitque in ea omne Divinum canticum.^r

^o As there is no evidence of the existence of any ill-feeling between these two noblemen, this was probably a friendly joust or tournament. We know that similar meetings were proposed and checked at York in the time of the Edwards. York was not one of the places at which Richard I. formally sanctioned the holding of tournaments. There was no place in the North where they were permitted save Blyth, on the border of Notts. This visit to York, and the notice of the tournament, are not mentioned elsewhere. Lappenberg very properly says that the visit was made in the spring of 1142. Malmsbury speaks of the king's illness at Northampton, which was of a very serious kind, and lasted till after Pentecost. It was so severe "ut in tota propemodum Anglia sicut moriturus conclamaretur." (Hist. Novell., 109 b.)

^p One of the commanders at the battle of the Standard, and the founder of the Priory at Gisborough in Cleveland. Dugdale gives an account of his life (Baronage, 447-8). Brus died on the 5th of May, 1141 (Monast., vi., 267). Prior John's date is only an approximate one. In MSS. Dodsworth, lxxxii., 11, there is a pedigree of the family of Brus derived from the chartulary of the family of Metham, which was in the possession of the late Mr. Traherne. In the muniment-room of a Yorkshire family there is a large collection of Brus deeds.

^q Cf. Simeonis Hist. Eccl. Dunelm., Continuat., ed. Bedford, 268-9 *et seqq.*, where there is a long account of Cumin's intrusion and its disastrous consequences. The archdeacon was not a voluntary exile, as Cumin, "cum cotidie Rannulfus archidiaconus instaret, neque aliquo modo flectere posset eum ad suum velle, tandem de Dunelmo eum disturbavit, immo et a toto episcopatu exulem reddidit." (ibid., 269.) These events probably occurred in 1142. It is probable that the archdeacon stood in a nearer position to bishop Flambard than that of nephew. On the 8th of January the monks of Durham kept the obit of "Rannulfus clericus, filius Rannulfi episcopi." (Liber Vitæ, 141.)

^r Cumin blockaded the Priory, and used the common seal. It was with difficulty that the Prior made his escape to the legate (Simeon, 272). The same author gives a sad account of the cruelty of Cumin to the monks.

[MCXLIII.]

Anno MCXLIII, secundum tenorem præcepti Apostolici, Will-elmus abbas Rie-vallis, Ricardus abbas secundus de Fontibus, Cuthbertus prior Giseburne, Wallevus prior de Kirchaham, et Rodbertus hospitalis Romæ convenerunt; cum quibus Walterus Lundoniensis, archidiaconus, et Willelmus, cantor Eboracensis.^s Astitit et Willelmus electus cum suis coadjutoribus. Adversus quem coram Apostolico processerunt in causam hi qui eum appellaverant. Summa vero querelæ eorum in hoc niti videbatur, quod Willelmus comes Eboraci in capitulo Eboracensi præcepit, ex hore (*ore*) regis, hunc Willelmum eligi. Iccirco decrevit Apostolicus, ut si decanus Eboracensis, Willelmus, juraret hoc regis præceptum ad capitulum per comitem nequaquam perlatum, hunc ad consecrationem sollempniter posse admitti; si tamen et ipse pro se fidem daret datione pecuniæ hunc honorem se non appetisse. Impetratum etiam fuit vice decani aliam approbatam personam ad sacramentum posse substitui.^t

Rogerus, Prior Dunelmensis,^u et Rannulfus archidiaconus, directa legatione ad Apostolicum, ei afflictiones ecclesiæ Dunelmi exposuere.^v Cujus auctoritate freti, convocaverunt ad se apud Eboracum in capella Sancti Andreae, quæ est sita secus ecclesiam Sancti Petri, paucos de personis diocesis Dunelmensis, quos vix habere poterant propter persecutionem Willelmi Cumin, in media Quadragesima. Consenserunt ergo omnes in electione Willelmi decani Eboracensis, qui his diebus cuidam concilio apud Lundoniam intererat. Erat enim grandævus, scientia litterarum, prudentia animi, et honestate conversationis episcopali dignus officio. Remeanti vero occurrentes apud Wintringham^w super flumen Humbram, in ecclesiam eum assumentes, consilii sui negotium manifestarunt, et, quamvis multum renitente et adversante in eo, consensum suæ electionis confirmaverunt invocatione Divinæ gratiæ. Super promotione ejus facta est dilatio, quia Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis, legatus, in

^s William de Augo, precentor of York. He witnessed archbishop Murdac's charter of confirmation granted to Watton nunnery (Dugd. Mon., vi., 955), and another deed between the dean and chapter of York and Suanus, master of St. Leonard's hospital (MSS. Cotton, Claudius, B, iii., 11 a). He is also mentioned in the Letters of Gilbert Foliot (ii., 173, ed. Giles).

^t No other writer tells us this.

^u Roger was Prior from 1137 to 1149.

^v This account of Cumin seems to be derived, with some additions, from the Continuator of Simeon (ed. Bedford, 273 *et seqq.*).

^w Wintringham is a place in the wapentake of Mauley in Lincolnshire, not far from Barton. Etheldreda halted there on her way to Ely (Liber Eliensis, ed. 1848, 43), and it was the place at which travellers from the South would take ship to cross the Humber.

Normanniam transfretavit. Ad cujus reditum, circa Pentecosten, ipse electus cum personis Dunelmensibus, Wintoniam adierunt. Impetrato, igitur, assensu legati, et per eum regis super eo, in octabis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, cum sollempni reverentia, co-operantibus novem episcopis, consecratus est in ecclesia Sancti Swithini.^x

Apostolicus vero posuit Willelmum Cumin sub anathemate, et archidiaconatus ejus, quem habuit in Wigornensi ecclesia, sine spe reposcendi, alii datus est.^y Qui super his exasperatus, in clericos et laicos quoscumque comprehendit, instar immanissimi prædonis grassatus est, totamque pecuniam exhaustit provinciæ. Non erat princeps neque dux qui ejus violentias comprimeret. Erat autem miles quidam, Rogerus de Coincneriis,^z vir bonus et fidelis, hic non acquievit communicare acctibus Willelmi Cumin. Unde in possessione sua, scilicet in Biscop-tun, firmavit sibi munitiunculam, quia locus congruebat, circumcinctus palude.^a In hac receptus est Willelmus episcopus, fuitque positus in mærore quia vidit homines et res episcopales affligi. Henricus comes, filius regis Scotiæ, et Alanus comes Richemundi, pecuniis Willelmi Cumin corrupti, episcopum cas-

^x William de St. Barbe was consecrated at Winchester on the 20th of June, 1143 (Reg. ii., Prioris et Conv. Dunelm., 350).

^y Cumin was archdeacon of Worcester (Le Neve, iii., 73), and was deprived. In his disgrace, Gilbert Foliot, then abbat of Gloucester, pleaded in his behalf with the archbishop of Canterbury, and said, "dominus Wigorniensis nisi per vos in communionem non recipit quem auctoritate vestra a communione privavit." (Epp., ed. Giles, i., 44.) Cumin had been excommunicated by the bishop of Worcester, and continued under that ban for a year (i., 125).

^z Roger Conyers, of Sockburn, near Darlington, the head of an illustrious family. He and his son Robert gave the church of Rungton to the Priory of Durham, and the churches of Sockburn and Bishopton to Sherburn hospital, near Durham (Surtees' Durham, iii., 244, 247).

^a Bishopton is a small village in the south-eastern part of the county of Durham. Mr. Surtees thus describes the fortalice of Conyers (iii., 67):—

"The most observable matter at Bishopton is the ancient mound or stronghold in a field at the east end of the village. This mound or agger is nearly a regular cone, with a flat or truncated summit, formed of the common clay and coble-stone of the country thrown together. Its base is surrounded by a deep circular trench: a second, or outward fosse, runs at the distance of a bow-shot to the east and west, but approaches the inner ditch much nearer on the north and south, forming an irregular square; and on the south of the station flows the Bishopton beck, by means of which the trenches might be easily inundated. The site of this little stronghold is a narrow area of low plashy meadow, completely commanded by the rising ground to the north-west, occupied by the village and church. It is evident that the chief confidence of the occupants against assault or surprise must have rested on the facility with which they could flood the trenches,—a mode of defence extremely common among the lower order of castelets, or fortified manor-houses; and sometimes even adopted in castles of the highest class in preference to all more obvious advantages of situation."

Hutchinson (Hist. of Durham, iii., 163) gives an engraving of the mound at Bishopton, where the affrighted bishop was guarded by his faithful baron.

sis obsequiis sæpe deluserant. Venit idem episcopus cum multitudine ad Dunelmum, ecclesiam Sancti Egidii^b vallo circumcingere elaborans, ut haberet locum illum ad munimen sui. Et monachi, qui inclusi erant, occultum aditum paraverant, per quem episcopum cum suis introducere proposuerant. Innotuit res Willelmo Cumin, qui, cum satellitiis suis armatis irruens, violenter irrupit in monasterium, monachosque circa corpus beati Cuthberti prostratos, in angustia spiritus reperiens, jussit trucidari, licet nullus acquiesceret, reposuitque illic custodes et arma.

His etiam temporibus plurimi plurimis in locis similes intulere violentias ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis.^c Galfridus enim de Magna-villa, ejectis monachis, monasterio de Ramesbi abusus est vice castri.^d Comes Eboracensis Willelmus, inimi-

^b The church of St. Giles crowns the summit of a lofty hill which looks down upon Durham. "It commands one of the richest views of the deep wooded vale of Wear, with the town to the right rising from the foot of Elvet in wavy ridges, crowned by the castle and cathedral, mingling their towers in magnificent masses." As a military position the church and churchyard would be invaluable. There are no traces of earthworks around the church, which seems to have been repaired and restored in 1414 (Reg. episc. Langley, 68).

The object of the bishop was to gain access to the castle and priory of which Cumin was the master, for the monks had devised a secret passage by which he could be admitted and enthroned. Cumin, however, was not to be foiled. I shall give the story in the spirited words of Mr. Surtees, who has translated and paraphrased the account given by the Continuator of Simeon:—

"He ordered the soldiers whom he had about him to sally out and attack the bishop's men, who betook themselves to St. Giles' church, at some distance from the walls, and there stayed they all night; but at day-break William Comyn, with a jolly ruffling crew, broke the doors and rushed into the church. Then might you see mailed coats gleaming amidst the shrines, archers mingled with monks, weeping and praying and threatening their invaders with heaven's vengeance; the whole church, like a stormy sea, in tumult and uproar. Yet did they, though scanty, keep their hands off the monks; but when they had felled one of them with a stone, they left a guard of soldiers and archers in the church, and drew off, dancing with joy, to light their fires and cook their meat; using for frankincense the savour of their roasted flesh, and for the song of the choristers the mad shouts of reckless wasters, with the braying and bellowing of horns."

The bishop made his escape and got himself away to Bishopton, and then the monks in the Priory meet with their share of peril and persecution. Cumin in his castle cared for no one, plundering and torturing and burning. "One might imagine the monk (Simeon's Continuator) was describing the exploits of some chief of banditti, whose castle in the fourteenth century had frowned over some shaggy pass of the Alps or Appenines."

^c The tale of the disasters of their brethren at Durham would be listened to with grief in the Priory of Hexham, and, as the tidings were brought to the canons of other outrages elsewhere, they would muse, like Prior John, upon the evil days in which their lot had been cast.

^d Of this outrage committed by Geoffrey de Mandeville, or Magneville, earl of Essex, there is an account in *Gesta Stephani*, 103-4; *Chron. Gervasii*, col. 1360. Mandeville was a brave, dashing, unscrupulous man. In 1144 he took the abbey of Ramsey by surprise, entering it whilst the monks were asleep. He plundered the church and drove out its inmates. Very striking indeed was his end, and the monks would see in it the hand of an avenging God. He received

citiis afflicto Rannulfi comitis Cestriæ, et Gileberti de Gant, monasterium Sanctæ Mariæ de Brellintun castrum sibi fecit.^e Alanus etiam comes de Richemunt^f apud Ripun, armatus cum armatis irrumpens in ecclesiam, Willelmum archiepiscopum secus corpus beati Wilfridi irreverenter dehonestavit.

Qui Willelmus, a transmarina regressus profectione, mense Septembris apud Wintoniam, secundum Apostolici decretum, legati constitit iudicio, considentibus cleri Angliæ nobilibus. Instabat pro eo multitudinis desiderium non tam deposcentis, quam exigentis eum consecrari. Non apparuit ibi quisquam qui adversus eum mutire præsumeret. Mandatus ad hunc conventum Willelmus episcopus Dunelmensis, directo responsali, excusavit se per urgentes Willelmi Cumin perturbationes. Vice ejus surrexerunt Radulfus Nuel, episcopus de Orcadis, Severinus abbas Eboracensis, et Benedictus abbas de Witebi,^g satisfacturi

a mortal wound at the village of Burwell in Cambridgeshire, and, before the breath left his body, some Templars arrived, who put upon him, excommunicated although he was, the red cross and the habit of their order. He died, and they could not bury him, but they carried his body to the Old Temple in London, and kept it in their orchard till it could be interred. It hung there, swathed in lead, upon a crooked tree, till the sentence of the church was withdrawn. What a strange end !

“He was, to weete, a stout and sturdy thiefe,
Wont to robbe churches of their ornaments.”

^e William de Albemarle takes possession of the Priory of Bridlington, of which Walter de Gant, the father of Gilbert, was the founder. There is too much evidence to shew that, at this time, some of the great barons were tempted to look upon monasteries as private estates of their own. And yet we would fain hope that these outrages may have been the result of some hasty feeling, for which the perpetrators afterwards atoned. Very grand indeed were these old barons in their crimes and in their repentance. Gilbert de Gant himself is said to have put on the cowl of an Austin canon at Bridlington ; and, haply, it was his sorrow for his attack on that house that opened the heart of Albemarle, to some extent, to the voices of religion. He was the founder of four monasteries, and very touching is the account given of him by the chronicler of Meaux : “When crossing the seas, if the vessel was in danger of being wrecked, during darkness, he remained sleepless until midnight ; resigning himself then to rest, in the assurance that his convents at Aumarle and Thornton had risen to their devotions ; and that likewise after cock-crow, when their orisons would be finished,—whether sleeping or waking,—he was careless of the danger, and calmly awaited the return of daylight, in reliance on the prayers which he knew were arising in the choirs of Vaudey and Meaux.” (*Memorials of Fountains*, i., 94.)

^f Alan, earl of Richmond, the oppressor of several ecclesiastical persons and bodies in the north of England, has been mentioned already.

The canons of Ripon claimed the presence of the body of St. Wilfrid, whilst others asserted that it had been removed to Canterbury. I have spoken on this subject in the *Fasti Ebor.* The present passage merely shews that in the opinion of the men of the North the remains of Wilfrid were at Ripon in the twelfth century. In the recent alterations in Ripon minster some fragments of the stone shrine have been discovered, in which the bones of Wilfrid are said to have been laid.

^g Severinus, or Savaricus, was abbat of York from 1132 to 1161. Benedict became abbat of Whitby in 1139, and was deposed in 1148. The chronicle of St.

cum electo et pro electo.^h Consecratus est itaque a legato, scilicet Henrico episcopo Wintoniensi, sexto kalendas Octobris, Willelmus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, multis collætantibus super ejus promotione.

Hoc anno obiit papa Innocentius:ⁱ substitutus est pro eo Celestinus, vir grandævus, supra vires quædam animo concipiens adversus Rogerum regem Siciliae,^j propter eandem Siciliam, quæ juri Apostolici competebat. Fuerat autem alumpnus Andegavensium, eorumque manus corroborare in depressionem regis Stephani proposuerat. Qui et hac de causa in inimicitias Henrici episcopi Wintoniensis concitabatur.^k

Obiit Milo comes Herefordiæ^l in vigilia Natalis Domini, venatui insistens, et sagitta transfixus. Obiit et Adam de Brus.

[MCXLIV.]

Anno MCXLIV, Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis Romam profecturus, apud Cluniacum moratus est.^m Interim Celestinus

Mary's is in the Bodleian library, A, iii., 20; that of Whitby is in private hands in Yorkshire. Whitby and St. Mary's, we must remember, were Benedictin houses: their abbats represented the old system against the reformers.

^h The pope had authorized William's consecration *if* the bishop of Durham would swear that the election had been a fair one. The bishop does *not* take the oath, but others do so for him, and thus the papal condition, although equitably, was perhaps not legally, fulfilled. There was evidently some *locus standi* for opponents. Archbishop Theobald objected to the election (Gervase, col. 1357).

ⁱ Innocent II. died on the 24th of September, 1143 (Baronii Ann., xviii., 624. L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, ed. 1783, i., 285). Celestine II. was elected two days subsequently.

^j For information about this great man, the supporter of the anti-pope Anacletus, the reader must be referred, *inter alios*, to Fazellus de Rebus Siculis, ed. 1751, ii., 368, etc.; Bonincrontii Hist. Sicula, apud Lamii Delic. Eruditorum, tom. ix.; D' Achery, Spicilegium, ed. 1723, iii., 6, etc.; Leibnitii Access. Hist., ed. 1698, ii., 280; Nicolai Stizzia Hist. Regum Siciliae, apud Baluzii Misc., ed. Mansi, i., 474; Baronii Ann., xviii., 618 *et seqq.*, ed. Pagius; Vita S. Bernardi, apud Opp., ii., col. 1109-10, etc.; Chron. Falconis Beneventani, apud Muratori, ed. 1723, v., 105 *et seqq.*

^k It is this, probably, that Foliot alludes to (Epp., i., 92) when he says that the bishop of Winchester and other prelates had been suspended by the pope, and that the archbishop of Canterbury had interceded for them in vain. The bishop of Winchester was made legate first in 1139 (Chron. Mailros, 71).

^l This stout friend of Matilda died through what Gervase calls a "triste infortunium," (col. 1359,) being pierced by an arrow which a knight was aiming at a stag (Gesta Stephani, 101). He was buried in the chapter-house of Lantony abbey, which he re-founded (Dugd. Bar., 538), in spite of the opposition of the monks of Gloucester (Foliot's Letters, i., 82). Adam de Brus was a kinsman of Robert de Brus, who has been already mentioned.

^m Henry was originally a monk at Clugny, and was one of the greatest benefactors that the monastery ever knew (Chron. Prioris Vosiensis, apud Labbei Bibl. Nov., ii., 309). Peter the Venerable praised and honoured him (Opp., ed. Migne, tom. clxxxix., 32, 204, 229-33 *et seqq.*). Two extracts from these letters will be read with interest. One was written after a visit from Henry to Clugny (ibid., 277), and Peter thus speaks of him:—

papaⁿ obiit, cui Lucius successit, non adeo austerum spiritum gerens animi. In conspectu ejus prædictus Henricus episcopus gratiam repperit, et eorum quos imperatrix adversus eum direxit illuc allegationes accusationum infirmavit. Legati tamen nomen et officium non optinuit.

His diebus juvenis miles, Willelmus, nepos Willelmi Cumin, cum favore multorum edoctus res militares disponere et negotia populi amministrare, apud Merrington ecclesiam Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ vallo circumcinxit, et custodiam militum ibi disposuit.^o Perdidit autem sensum juvenis quidam cæmentarius et periit, qui propugnacula in muris ecclesiæ construxit. Percussus est et ipse miles passione, et, morte subsequente, citius mul(c)tatus est. Quo mortuo, concidit spes et fiducia Willelmi

“Ex quo amplectenda reverentia vestra nuper a Cluniaco recessit, muta vobis permansit lingua mea, sed non tacuit de vobis conscientia mea. Siluit allocutio, sed non siluit devotio; tepuit loquacitas, sed non refriguit charitas. Nec mirum. Cum enim omnes pæne Cluniacensis ovilis amici, cum omnes provisos, cum omnes benefactores in vobis uno confluerint, non est mirandum, si per multos olim divisus noster amor ad vos solum concurrerit.”

“Most touching is the following appeal from the same writer, that the dead body of their benefactor should be permitted to rest in the church for which he had done so much:—

“Illud unum, illud singulariter, illud præ omnibus, et super omnia hac vice omnium rogo, et per eam salutis vestræ spem, quam in vestro Cluniaco habetis, obsecro, ut ecclesiæ illi vestræ, cui post Deum animam vestram commisistis, corpus etiam non negetis. Erit hoc largitatis vestræ donum omni nobis munere charius, quod omnibus Anglicis thesauris gratius accipiemus, si in hoc vos munificum senserimus. Decet Cluniacum corpus vestrum saltem post spiritum possidere, ut cui vos in monachatu vovistis, ei post functum sacerdotium vos reddatis.” (ibid., 243.)

It is probable that Peter's wish was gratified, but Henry lived until the 9th of August, 1171 (Migne, clxxxix., 32), and as no trace of his interment in England can be discovered, it seems likely that he was laid in the grave at Clugny, as his “depositio” is mentioned in the chronicle of that place (Bouquet, xii., 315). He made a monk of that house abbat of Malmsbury in 1140 (Contin. Flor. Wigorn., ii., 129). There is more about Henry in the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis and the Chronicon Cluniacense. More catholic and more generally diffused was that munificence of his which John of Salisbury commends (Epp., ed. Giles, ii., 164) when he says, “vestras eleemosynas enarrat et approbat omnis ecclesia Sanctorum.”

“Celestine II. died on the 9th of March, 1144 (L'Art de Vérier les Dates, ed. 1783, i., 285).

^o Cf. Contin. Hist. Dunelm., ed. Bedford, pp. 288-90. The church of Merrington stands in a most commanding position on that lofty ridge of limestone which runs through the centre of the county of Durham, crossing the North-Eastern railway at Ferryhill, from which Merrington is distant three or four miles. The church belonged to the convent of Durham, and the fabric, which recently existed, could not have been erected long before this period. The large, square, massive tower was evidently built for defence, and I have seen few views more striking than that which presented itself to me from its summit. The tower was removed some ten years since on the pretext that it was falling to the ground. Instead of falling, it was with great difficulty that the workmen could dislodge the solid masses of masonry with gunpowder, so strongly had they been constructed!

Cumin. Jamque modestius sapere didicit, et velle reconciliari episcopo priusquam de eo similis expeteretur vindicta. Mediante ergo Willelmo archiepiscopo, Willelmus episcopus, et Willelmus Cumin convenerunt in fœdus pacis,^p ut Ricardus Cumin teneret de episcopo Alvertun et totum illum honorem, cætera de integro resignarentur in manu episcopi. Erat autem iste Ricardus nepos Willelmi Cumin, frater illius Willelmi defuncti.^q Die itaque Sancti Lucae Evangelistæ, episcopus in sedem episcopalem intronizatus per manum Willelmi archiepiscopi, et Willelmus Cumin cum multitudo sua absolutus est. Prosecuta est tamen eum debitæ ultionis pœna a Domino. Post aliquot enim dies miles quidam, Rodbertus de Mundavilla,^r in quem et in uxorem ejus, scilicet filiam Galfridi episcopi Dunelmensis, idem Willelmus Cumin nequiter egerat, percussit nepotem ejusdem Willelmi, Osbertum, adolescentem militem, amantissimum omnibus qui in obsequio Henrici comitis, filii regis Scotiæ, fuerunt, et militem cum eo, Stephanum, potentem viribus, et strenuum inter socios Willelmi Cumin. Ipsum etiam Willelmum Cumin Ricardus de Luvetot^s comprehendit, et per multos dies in carcere tormentis gravibus et pœnis afflixit.

Stephanus rex imperatricem in Oxeneford obsedit, ipsius deditionem potius quam oppidi appetens. Ipsa vero in nivibus, niveis involuta linteis, beneficio noctis adjuta, effugit, et in Walvingforda salvata est.^t

^p Cf. *Contin. Hist. Dunelm.*, ed. Bedford, 283-4, 292. (St.) William, archbishop of York, acts as mediator. The matter was to be referred to the pope, and, in the meantime, Cumin was to retain the castle of Durham, and a third part of the revenues of the see between the Tees and Tyne. He afterwards gave up everything, and was deeply penitent. A day of vengeance, however, was in store for him.

^q The usurper Cumin had previously built the castle at Allerton, and had given it to his nephew William, who married the niece of the earl of Albemarle (*Contin. Hist. Dunelm.*, 272). Richard Cumin, the brother of William, married the lady Hextilda (p. 8), and gave the lands of Carraw on the Roman wall to the Priory of Hexham (MSS. Dodsworth, xlv., 33 a).

^r Probably the person who gave his name to the village of Coatham-Amundeville, near Darlington. The grudge between Cumin and Amundeville is alluded to by the Continuator of Simeon (286), where it is said that Cumin was arrested by Robert. He would not suffer thus without reprisals.

^s It is not easy to conjecture what the quarrel might be between Cumin and Lovetot, who was a south-countryman. I observe, however, that in the thirteenth century there was a connection between the Lovetots and the Amundevilles, so it is possible that there was some tie of kinship earlier, and, if so, the ill-treatment of Robert de Amundeville by Cumin might be the cause of his arrest.

^t Cf. *Gesta Stephani*, 90; *Hist. Novell.*, 110; Gervase, col. 1358; Wendover, ii., 232. In the *Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Ingram, 372) it is said that the empress escaped, like St. Paul from Damascus, being let down from the wall with ropes. "Recessit per Tamisiam glaciata circumamicta vestibis albis, reverberatione nivis et similitudine fallentibus oculis obsidentium." (*Chron. de Hagnebie*, apud MSS. Cotton, Vesp., B, xi., 6 b.)

[MCXLV.]

Anno MCXLV, Hicmarus,^u episcopus-cardinalis, directus ab Apostolico Lucio, legatus venit in Angliam, habens pallium Willelmo archiepiscopo destinatum. Moram autem fecit per negligentiam idem Willelmus occurrere ei, circa alia minus necessaria occupatus, ut consuetudinem habuit. Fuerat enim filius Herberti Wintoniensis, thesaurarii Henrici regis,^v enutritus semper in deliciis et divitiis, et raro labori assuetus, benignitate tamen animi innocentis, et liberalitate, plebi valde karus.

Obiit itaque Lucius papa, rexitque Apostolicam sedem Eugenius, abbas observationis Cisterciensis, prius vocatus Bernardus.^w

Defunctus est etiam Willelmus, primus abbas Rie-vallis,^x usque in hodiernum diem pro meritis consummatæ virtutis apud posteros reverendæ memoriæ habitus. Præfuit pro eo Mauritius,

* There is an account of this cardinal in Ciaconius, ed. 1677, i., col. 1002, and Cardella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali*, Romæ, 1792, i., pars ii., 32-3. He was "di nazione Francese, amico di S. Bernardo," and died at Clugny in 1164. Hincmar, as Pagi says, came to England not in 1146, but in 1144. He was sent by Lucius II., who recalled him and sent him into France. Lucius died on the 25th of February, 1145 (*Annot. in Baronii Ann.*, xviii., 636). See also D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, iii., 473, etc.

^v A brief notice of the parentage of St. William of York. It is not known at all who earl Herbert was, but he had a son bearing his own name, and another, St. William (MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A, ii., 107. Rot. Chart., 215). There is an account of the descendants of the elder brother in Dugdale's Bar., i., 624, and Coll. Topogr. et Geneal., i., 219. As to the mother of St. William there is some difference of opinion. In the MS. Life of the Saint, formerly in the library of Thornton abbey (MSS. Harl., ii., 76), this passage occurs, which has been followed by Stubbs (col. 1721):—

"Ex spectabili prosapia regis illustris Anglorum Stephani ortus, præclaris natalium titulis fuerat insignitus. Erat enim filius strenuissimi comitis Herberti, viri secundum caducos hujus mundi honores potentissimi, ex Emma sorore prædicti regis."

In no pedigree of the house of Blois that I have seen is it said that Stephen had a sister called Emma. We are told also that Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, was "Stephani regis e sorore nepos," and about him there is the same difficulty as about St. William. It has been suggested by Mr. Stubbs that these two sisters were illegitimate. In the additions to Dugdale's Baronage, published in the Collectanea Topographica, it is said plainly that the mother of St. William and the wife of earl Herbert was Adela, daughter and co-heir of Sir Robert Corbet, formerly a concubine of Henry I. Some also say that earl Herbert himself was a natural son of Henry I., and that he was called Herbert fitz Henry or Herbert fitz Roy. More evidence is required to settle this point, as what Dugdale says does not carry conviction to my mind. It is evident from this chronicle of Prior John that St. William was closely connected with the family of king Stephen.

^w Bernardus, abbat of St. Anastasius at Rome; elected two days after the death of Lucius, Feb. 27th, 1145 (*L'Art de Vérefier les Dates*, ed. 1783, i., 286).

^x See p. 108. William died on the 2nd of August, 1145 (*Chron. Mailros*, 72). Of Maurice, his successor, some time a Benedictin at Durham, there is nothing known. About the famous Aelred, or Ethelredus, who followed him, I shall speak elsewhere. He also was connected with Durham through his kinsmen as well as his friends.

a puero educatus in claustro Dunelmensi monachus, et ad disciplinam rigoris Cisterciensis voto perfectionis se transferens. Quo post modicum officio abbatis eodem fervore perfectionis renuntiante, substitutus est pro eo Ethelredus abbas, præ(e)minentem gratiam in sermone sapientiæ adeptus a Domino. Defunctus est et Ricardus secundus, abbas de Fontibus.^y Transtulit ad regimen illius loci^z Bernardus abbas Claræ-vallis Henricum Murdac, abbatem Vallis-claræ,^a excellentia quidem generis sed potius præcellentem frugalitate conversationis, ante monachatum sub venerabili archiepiscopo Turstino, tam in Eboracensi ecclesia quam in circumjacenti provincia, ex dono parentum honoribus et divitiis locupletatum.^b

Resumpta itaque confidentia^c convenerunt qui adversati fuerant Willelmo archiepiscopo, et, cum eis, iste Henricus, plurimum præsumens sibi de gratia Apostolici. Quibus instantibus in appellatione adversus eundem archiepiscopum Eboraci, Hicmarus revocatus Romam rediit, palliumque reportavit.

[MCXLVI.]

Anno MCXLVI, Willelmus, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Apos-

^y At one time the sacrist at St. Mary's abbey, York, and the second Richard who was abbat of Fountains. He went abroad to the general chapter of his order, and died at Clairvaux—on his fourth visit to St. Bernard—a place to which he had been most anxious to retire. His death took place in October, 1143 (Memorials of Fountains, i., 73-6, 180). St. Bernard himself announced his death to the monks of Fountains (Opp., i., 297).

^z For an account of the election of Murdac, see The Memorials of Fountains, i., 81 *et seqq.*, and Fasti Ebor., i., 213.

^a Vaucclair, a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Laon. It was founded in 1134, and soon afterwards Murdac was sent there to be the first abbat (Chron. Alberici, apud Leibnitii Access. Hist. Gallia Christiana, ix., 633. Mabillon, Ann. Ben., vi., 223, and Annot. ejusdem ad Opp. S. Bernardi, i., 298). Vaucclair and Murdac are mentioned in the celebrated Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins, ii., 39.

^b The family of Murdac was an influential one in the North. Galfrid Murdac witnessed a charter of archbishop Thurstan in 1128 (Anglia Sacra, ii., 237). Hugh Murdac, a justice itinerant, became archdeacon of Cleveland in 1200, and founded the Gilbertin Priory of St. Andrew at York. Henry Murdac was a justice itinerant in 1189 (Foss' Judges, i., 404), and, about the same time, Ralph Murdac was constable of Nottingham castle (Hoveden, 419). There is a pedigree of the Murdacs of Compton Murdac in Dugdale's Warwickshire, *n. e.*, 404, and another in the Dodsworth MSS.

We may infer from our chronicle that Murdac had originally an estate in Yorkshire, as well as some preferment in the minster which Thurstan gave him. St. Bernard drew him away from all these things in a wonderfully persuasive letter which need not be quoted again (Opp., i., 110). The Saint calls Murdac "magister," as if he were a scholar and a graduate.

^c In Murdac the opponents of St. William found a new leader, and on that account, "resumpta confidentia," the controversy was renewed. Probably there was an arrangement between them and St. Bernard, whose sympathies were already with them.

tolicum Eugenium adiit, officii sui plenitudinem, id est pallium postulaturus.^d Astipulabantur ei instanter suffragia Romani senatus. Scripsit vero adversus eum Bernardus abbas Clarævallis,^e cui Apostolicus quasi peccatum Arriolandi^f reputavit repugnare, et quasi scelus idolatriæ nolle acquiescere.^g Fuitque in angustia animi positus, dum, frustrata Romanorum sententia, abbatis consulto præfert satisfacere. Præcepit itaque tandem eundem Willelmum ab officio episcopali cessare, donec Willelmus episcopus Dunelmi, decanus quondam Eboracensis, secundum decretum Innocentii papæ, sacramento suo huic controversiæ finem daret.^h Videns ergo idem Willelmus conatus suos nequaquam prosperari, ad Rogerum regem Siciliae,ⁱ cognatum suum, divertit, et cum Rodberto cancellario ejusdem regis, ori-

^d In 1146 William visits Rome in quest of the pall, and instead of getting it is deprived, temporarily, of his see. Eugenius was in a dilemma, for he must either offend St. Bernard, or the sacred college. The goodwill of our chronicler went with William.

^e S. Bernardi Opp., i., 236, 249. There is a long account of this controversy in the Acta SS., June 8, and in Alford's Annals, iv., part ii., 36 *et seqq.*

^f *i. e.*, becoming an Arian.

^g Gervase (col. 1361) says that the Saint "domini papæ dominus et magister videbatur." Bernard himself said jestingly to Eugenius, "aiunt non vos esse papam sed me." (Opp., i., col. 235). What a noble letter is the preceding one, in which Bernard congratulates Eugenius on his exaltation! "Loquar ad dominum meum, jam enim filium dicere non audeo, quia filius in patrem, pater mutatus est in filium. Qui post me venit ante me factus est: sed non invideo, quia quod mihi deerat, in eo me habere confido, qui non solum post me, sed etiam per me venit. Nam si dignaris, quodammodo per Evangelium ego te genui."

^h Bernard wrote to the pope a deprecatory letter when he heard of this decision (Opp., i., coll. 229-30). "Mitissima plane sententia," says Bernard, and then he turns with contempt upon William, "nam qui ut iudicium evaderet, ultro elegit ad testimonium Willelmi decani confugere: illo sibi deficiente, quid nisi iudicio suo a causa decedit, ore proprio condemnatus?"

ⁱ Roger, king of Sicily, or duke of Apulia, as others called him, seems to have been a kinsman of William, and, as he was generally in opposition to the papal court, the wandering archbishop would be sure to have a kindly welcome from him. Roger had the art of attracting men of ability around him, "quoscumque viros aut consiliis utiles aut bello claros compererat, cumulatis eos ad virtutem beneficiis, invitabat," (Fazellus de Rebus Siculis, ii., 376,) and Hildebert of Le Mans would assent to the truth of this remark (Vita Hildeberti, apud Vetera Analecta, ed. 1723, 315). Peter the Venerable bestows far higher praise upon him in the following letter which he wrote to him (Epp., apud Migne, lib. iii., 280), in which the special care which the king took of the afflicted is commended.

"Quis audiens clericos, monachos, milites, rusticos, onustos pecuniis et diversis mercibus mercatores, omneque genus hominum in terra vestra manentium, aut per eam transeuntium, tyrannorum, raptorum, insuper ipsorum latronum omni timore sublato, sua omnia pacifice obtinere; quis, inquam, tanta bona per unum bonum principem tot tantisque hominum generibus impendi audiens, non quas potest Regi regum gratias agat, et ut tali regi regnum ab Eo conservetur et au-geatur, imploret!"

Bernard, also, showers his praises upon Roger for the hospitality that he had shewn to some poor travellers whom he had commended to him. "Quos in verbo

undo de Anglia, scilicet in Salesbia,^j plurimis diebus commoratus est. Erat autem Rodbertus idem potentissimus inter amicos regis, pecuniosus, et donatus honoribus magnis.

Afflictione ejusdem Willelmi permoti, quidam milites, consanguinei ejus, quandam possessionem monachorum de Fontibus, cum copiis opum quæ ibi congestæ conservabantur, incenderunt.^k Facta est super hoc querela coram Apostolico, qui plurimum voluit posse manus in eundem Willelmum in(j)icere et ulcisci.

His temporibus orta simultate inter Theobaldum archiepiscopum Cantiae et Henricum episcopum Wintoniae, ipsi adversus alterutrum Apostolicum appellaverunt; scriptisque directis et exenniis sumptuosis papam et senatum quisque pro se prævenire studuit.^l Interdixit etiam archiepiscopus episcopo episcopale et sacerdotale officium. Industria tamen regis Stephani episcopus, frater ejus, in gratiam archiepiscopi receptus est. Super quo archiepiscopus peren(n)em offensam Apostolici incurrit, quia eo inconsulto hoc factum est: animus enim Apostolici cum rege Stephano et fratre ejus Henrico episcopo non fuit.

Præ(e)minuit his diebus in clero Romano Rodbertus Pul-lanus,^m cancellarius Apostolicæ sedis, in omni sapientia et doc-

vestro exposuimus, et misimus peregrinari, regia sunt liberalitate suscepti. Occuristis eis cum panibus, eduxistis eos in refrigerium, constituistis eos super excelsam terram." (Opp., i., col. 196.)

^j This, I presume, is Selby in Yorkshire. Twysden has "Salesberia;" I imagine "quia nomen Salesbyriæ percelebre fuit Selebeiae vero satis incognitum." (Hist. Mon. Seleb., apud Labbei Bibl. Nov., i., 599).

^k The chronicler of Fountains (i., 101-2) goes much farther. He says that the abbey was all but destroyed, and that Murdac escaped with great difficulty. Where the exact truth lies it is not easy to say, but it is probable that Serlo is more correct than his brother-historian. "The reports of fires in monasteries and churches were often exaggerated greatly by the mediæval chroniclers; and, probably, in this case, we should infer no more from Serlo's statement than the destruction of such portions of the rising church as were inflammable, and of the offices, which, at the period alluded to, would not be built of stone, but chiefly of combustible and temporary materials." (Memorials of Fountains, i., 101.) Bernard, upon this, wrote an eager and impassioned letter to Eugenius (Opp., i., col. 249), begging for justice, and that the blood of his slaughtered brethren should be avenged. "Clamat contra eorum capita sanguis Sanctorum de terra, quorum animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget eos tormentum malitiæ, verum-tamen viscera mea erant: effusa sunt; non recipio de verbis consolationem."

^l Several collisions caused this feud, which was violent and unseemly. The bishop was too great a man to be a suffragan, and his commission and conduct as legate would be very distasteful to the primate. For an account of the quarrel, see Gervase, coll. 1348, 1357, 1359, 1363, 1367; Thorne, col. 1800 *et seqq.*; Huntingdon, 226 b. St. Bernard heard of the wrangling, and took the side of Theobald (Opp., i., coll. 197, 235). "Pro ipso petimus," as he wrote to pope Eugenius, "ut respondeat ei justitia sua."

^m Robert Poulain, or Pulleine, an Englishman by birth, was renowned at Paris as well as at Oxford, and was one of the greatest scholars of the age. "Cum iste præstantissimus doctor esset, literarum fautor, et Mæcenas munificentissimus, multa publice docuit et dictavit, privatimque ad æternam ejus memoriam et rei-

trina experientissimus, Britannia oriundus, ab ineunte ætate philosophiæ deditus, ejusque optentu episcopalem honorem ab Henrico rege oblatum respuens, victum et vestitum habens his contentus fuit.

[MCXLVII.]

Anno MCXLVII, Ludovicus, rex Franciæ, zelo Christianæ fidei paganam multitudinem expugnaturus, Ierosolimam profectus est, peregre proficiscente cum eo regina sua Alienora, filia Willelmi ducis Aquitanniæ.ⁿ Profecta est cum eo pæne infinitas quædam ex universitate regnorum et provinciarum Christiani cultus,^o pari proposito ducta. Periit in hac profectione Willelmus de Waren, comes, a paganis interceptus, qui custodiam posteram Christiani exercitus observabat.^p Perierunt et nobiles principes de trans-

publicæ literariæ utilitatem scripsit." (Oudin, ii., col. 1118). He was created a cardinal by Innocent II., and died circa 1150 (Ciaconius, i., col. 986). This is somewhat inconsistent with the character given him of despising honours, which is repeated by Cardella. "Contento di menare vita privata, ricusò la dignità episcopale, a cui veniva stimolato dal re Errico." (Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali, ii., 4.) St. Bernard mentions him in a letter to the bishop of Rochester (Opp., i., coll. 194-5); and in another (col. 325) he begs Pulleine to give his advice and aid to Eugenius, the new pope.

Pulleine wrote a volume of Sermons and eight books of Sententiæ Theologiæ. The last work was printed at Paris in 1655, in folio, by Hugh Mathoud, a Benedictin, and it has been reproduced in the great series of Migne, vol. clxxxvi., 626 *et seqq.*

ⁿ The ill-fated Crusade of 1147-8, by which Louis VII. lost his wife, and his army, without winning renown or rescuing the holy places. Conrad, emperor of Germany, went with him. The enterprise originated, really, in the storming of Vitry, and St. Bernard fanned too eagerly the flame which Suger was anxious to quench. The result was disgrace and ruin, of which even Bernard himself was ashamed. For an account of this Crusade, I must refer my readers to the writers on that special theme. Cf. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii., 166, etc.; *Germ. rerum Chronograph.*, etc., ed. 1566, 140 *a*; *Ottonem Frisingensem*, apud Muratori, ed. 1723, vi., 673, etc.

Eleanora, the French queen, the daughter of the count of Poitiers and Aquitaine, and the niece of Raymond prince of Antioch, misconducted herself so whilst staying with her uncle, that on her return home she was divorced from her husband. She had been ensnared by the seductive luxuries of the East. She found another spouse, within a few weeks, in Henry duke of Anjou, afterwards our Henry II (*Mezeray, Histoire de France*, ed. 1643, i., 454-6. *Chron. of John of Yprès*, apud *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, iii., col. 644. *Bouquet*, xii., 201-2).

^o "Una cum fratribus suis, viribus potentibus et robustis, et innumera multitudo militum electorum regni sui, ac alio exercitu copioso." (*Baluzii Misc.*, ed. Mansi, 1761, i., 201.)

^p The third William de Warren, earl of Surrey, a great and gallant soldier. He took up the cross at the instigation of St. Bernard in 1145 (*Chron. Norm.*, apud *Duchesne*, 982). He "made hymself a lorde of the crosse, and went into the Holy Lande, and there died," (*Lel. Coll.*, ed. 1774, i., 239,) "captus a Turcis" in 1147 (*Chron. Mailros*, 73). He left an only daughter, the countess Isabella, who was twice married. For a life of earl William, see the *Memoirs of the earls of Warren and Surrey*, i., 118-141. He is said to have died on the 13th of January (1148), probably in the disastrous defeat among the hills near Laodicea.

marinis partibus, et multitudo plurima cum eo. Promeruit celebrem gloriam Rogerus de Mulbrai,^q singulari certamine de quodam pagano tyranno triumphans.

Eugenius papa, in Gallis concilio præsidens,^r Willelmum Eboracensem generali edicto ab archiepiscopatus Eboracensis officio et beneficio ammovendum censuit. Qui etiam, directa epistola ad Willelmum episcopum Dunelmi et capitulum Eboracense, infra dies quadraginta acceptæ epistolæ loco ejus virum litteratum, discretum, religiosum eligendum decrevit.^s

Eundem itaque Willelmum, de Sicilia reversum, Henricus episcopus Wintoniæ ad se tulit, eique non nisi quasi archiepiscopo officiosissime cotidianum ministerium prærogavit. Qui in toto tempore humiliationis suæ non protulit murmur, non querimoniam, sed corde tacito mens sibi conscia conservavit patientiam. Adversus æmulos non oblocutus est, immo ab obloquentibus animum et auditum avertit. Nullus ex sociis adeo frequens et continuus assedit lectioni, institit orationi, totus enim mutatus est in virum alterum.^t

^q A noble-hearted Christian and soldier, whose military career began at the battle of the Standard in 1138. Undismayed by the disastrous end of the crusade of 1147-8, he took up the cross again late in life, and was taken prisoner by the Saracens. The Templars, however, ransomed him. Some say that he died in that expedition, but the chronicler of Byland tells us that he came home to die, accompanied by a lion, whose life he saved in a fight with a dragon, and the faithful beast followed him, like Una, to the end of the world.

“The lyon would not leave her desolate,
But with her went along, as a strong gard
Of her chast person, and a faythfull mate
Of her sad troubles and misfortunes hard.”

Cf. Hoveden, 361 *et seqq.* Dugd. Bar., 122-3. Dugd. Mon., vi., 320. It is quite impossible to tell here the story of his renown and piety.

^r This council was at Rheims in 1147 (Gervase, col. 1363). Murdac and the opponents of William were there, and he was deposed on the ground of his having been nominated by the king. Alberic, bishop of Ostia, pronounced the sentence. William had been already suspended for a year, as the chronicler of Melrose (p. 73) says, “quia episcopus Dunelmensis nolebat eum sacramento purgare.” William would think, no doubt, of the reconciliation that he had effected between St. Barbe and the intruder Cumin, and muse upon the seeming ingratitude of St. Barbe.

^s It is strange to see the bishop of Durham concerned in the election of an archbishop. The bishop, however, had already been interested in this case in a peculiar way, and the pope would think it wise to desire him to preside over the diocesan synod.

^t The conduct of William in his misfortunes is alluded to in Hoveden, 278; Brompton, coll. 1029, 1041; Jo. Saresber., Opp., ii., 172; D'Achery, Spicilegium, iii., 147. The following passage from the unpublished life of St. William (MSS. Harl., ii., 77) describes his life in his retirement:—

“Ad virum magnanimum Henricum Wintoniensem episcopum, patrum suum, festinanter accessit. Qui quidem, adventanti peregrino nobis, nobilium mansionum suarum optulit optionem, ad ejus obsequia numerosam clientelam volens inclinare. Sed ab hiis electus Dei elongavit se fugiens, et in cujusdam mansi prædicti præsulis mansit solitudine, cupiens ibidem commissorum suorum

Igitur, secundum Apostolici decretum, in suburbio de Riche-mund, apud ecclesiam Sancti Martini," in vigilia Sancti Jacobi Apostoli, convenerunt majores cleri Eboracensis ecclesiæ et dio-ceseos, de electione archiepiscopi tractaturi. Noluit enim Willelmus episcopus Dunelmi Eboracum venire, quia infestus ei fuit Willelmus comes Eboraci, a quo sub vi anathematis episcopus exigebat Ovendon et alias possessiones ecclesiæ Dunelmensis sibi præreptas a comite. Factaque est dissensio inter eos de qualitate personæ eligendæ.^v Rodbertus, enim, de Gant, cancellarius regis et decanus, et Hugo Putheacensis, nepos regis et thesaurarius, quos Willelmus archiepiscopus promoverat ad honores in ecclesia Eboracensi, et pars cum eis, consenserunt in electione magistri Hylarii clerici Apostolici. Willelmus, autem, episcopus Dunelmensis, Aldulfus episcopus de Karleol, Willelmus de Augo cantor Eboraci, et archidiaconi, et pars residua cum eis, Henricum Murdac, abbatem de Fontibus, prætulerunt in electione. Litem hanc eorum diremit Apostolicus, consecrans Henricum archiepiscopum Eboracensem apud civitatem Treveris, in octabis Sancti Andreæ, Dominica secunda Adventus Domini.^w

pœnitudinem gerere, et ultrices pœnarum flammæ lacrimarum ubertate restinguere.—Inferioris ac superioris irrigui novus possessor effectus, per cœlestes ambulabat mansiones, pauca sed debita indulgens naturæ, nulla gulæ. Ut enim fertur ab antiquissimis illius provinciæ viris, tanta et tam edax studiorum fames illum urgebat, quod cibum potumque raro ante occasum solis capiebat, ut sic tempus lucis Divinæ scripturæ paginæ, et curam corporis nocti sociaret. Et si quando generositatis eminentia visitantium turbas offerret etiam invito, ipso visu tam honorabilis, tam lætus oculis, et omnis reverentiæ et gratiæ plenus apparuit, ut eum aliquid angelicum habere quod in alterius hominis natura non esset ipsa visio indicaret."

" A cell of St. Mary's abbey, York, the ruins of which may be seen close to the railway-station at Richmond in Yorkshire. The bishop probably relied upon the protection of Conan, earl of Brittany, whose castle was close at hand. The bishop had no doubt offended William of Albemarle, St. William's great friend, by not taking the oath which would establish the exile in his see.

" Ovendon " is probably Ovington on the Tees, close to Wycliffe and Winston.

" The royal party again exerts its influence, represented by the king's chancellor and nephew, but without success.

Robert de Gant is supposed to have been a son of Gilbert de Gant, the first baron (Foss' Judges, i., 149), but without authority or probability. There is little known about him. In 1154 Gant, as dean, opposed the installation of St. William, and he afterwards was zealous in securing the election of Roger (Will. Neubr., i., 71, 73).

Hugh de Puiset cannot be spoken of here, as a volume might be written on the life of the great bishop of Durham. He will soon be mentioned again. His kinsman, St. William, seems to have given him his office at York, and he did not forget his dignity and rank in that position. He calls himself "Hugo de Pusac, Dei gratia Ebor. thesaurarius et archidiaconus." (Dugd. Mon. v., 315.) Puiset seems to have aided St. William as far as he could, and in 1154 he interred him at York (Hoveden, 281).

^w Murdac was consecrated at Trèves on the 7th of December (Chron. Mailros,

Hylarius vero, ex Apostolici præcepto, jam fuit consecratus episcopus ecclesiæ Cicestriæ.^x Qui Hylarius in ministerio Henrici Wintoniæ episcopi plurimum gloriæ pretium emeruit. Postea ad ministerium Apostolici translatus, in reddendis et prosequendis causis advocatus dissertissimus et juris-consulti peritus in curia Romana fuit.

Defunctus est eodem anno Johannes episcopus Glasguensis, propter excellentiam virtutis David regis Scotiæ familiarissimus; sepultusque est in ecclesia de Geddewird, in qua conventum regularium clericorum ipse disposuit.^y Electus pro eo Herbertus abbas de Calceio,^z vir et ipse strenuus; consecratus est a papa Eugenio apud Autisiodorum. Obiit Alexander episcopus Lincolnæ.^a Obiit et Rodbertus comes Glawornia, filius nothus Henrici regis.^b

[MCXLVIII.]

Anno MCXLVIII, Malachias, archiepiscopus Hybernia,^c plenus fide et Spiritu Sancto, mandatus ab Apostolico, venit iter faciens

73. *Gesta Trevirensium archiep.*, apud Martene et Durand, *Ampl. Coll.*, ed. 1724, iv., col. 203). The petition of the majority of the electors was presented to Eugenius at Auxerre (Gervase, col. 1363), and he speedily brought the controversy to a conclusion, "zelo, prout præsumitur, pio." (*Vita S. Willelmi*, apud MSS. Harl., ii., 77.)

^x This information about Hillary is new, and there is little more known about him. He was consecrated bishop of Chichester on August 3, 1147, and died in 1169 (Stubbs' *Episc. Succession*, 29). The chronicle of Battle abbey describes him as "reverendus vir, moribus honestis, artiumque liberalium præfulgens nitore." (68.) John of Salisbury was a correspondent of his, and an intimate friend (Epp. ed. Giles, i., 47, 123,) and Foliot, also, wrote to him (Epp., ii., 296).

^y John bishop of Glasgow died in 1147 (*Chron. Mailros*, 73). He has been already mentioned in Prior Richard's chronicle (p. 99). John was buried in the abbey of Jedburgh, which (king) David founded with his aid and counsel. He was a restless, energetic man, bold in action and undaunted in spirit: he had been David's tutor, and that monarch was greatly attached to him. For an account of him see Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, ed. 1824, 231-2; Grub's *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, i., 222, 264-5; Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, 3.

^z The word in the original is *Ralceio*, so evident a blunder for *Calceio* (*Calcou*, or *Kelso*) that I have taken the liberty of altering it. Herbert, there being at that time no archbishop of York, was consecrated by Eugenius III. at Auxerre on the 24th of August, 1147 (*Chron. Mailros*, 73). He died in 1164 (*ibid.*, 79). There is a life of him, and an engraving of his official seal as abbat, in Mr. Morton's account of Kelso abbey (*Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, 78-80).

^a He was at Auxerre in August, 1147, and there the excessive heat laid the seeds of the illness which carried him off. He was buried in Lincoln cathedral on Ash-Wednesday, 1147-8 (*Huntingdon*, 226). To that building he was a great benefactor, "voltas lapideas ecclesiæ fieri fecit." (MSS. Cotton, Titus A, xix., 4 b.)

^b This great soldier died on the 31st of October, 1147, and was buried in the monastery of St. James at Bristol, of which he was the founder (*Dugdale's Bar.*, 535). He and his exploits in behalf of the empress have been often mentioned in this chronicle.

^c The holy Malachi, whom Bernard seems to have wished should become the Saint of Clairvaux, and whose praises and piety he has set forth in language as

per Angliam, benefaciens multis consilio Salutarii in verbo doctrinæ; profectusque ad Claram-vallem, infirmatus, quarto nonas Novembris sanctissimo fine quievit in Domino. Qui qualiter ab ineunte ætate vixerit, quia gregem Domini pavit in innocentia cordis sui, et intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit, Bernardus abbas Claræ-vallis fideli scribit relatu.

Rodbertus quoque episcopus Herefordensis, in transmarinis partibus cum Apostolico consistens, infirmatus obiit: quem clerici ejus, propter reverentissimum vitæ ipsius meritum, inde reportatum ad sedem episcopalem sepelierunt.^d

His temporibus civitas Holisiponis in Hyspania, circumcincta obsidione et expugnatione, a Christianis capta est. In qua ejectis idolatris sedem episcopalem resuscitaverunt.^e

touching and as eloquent as ever proceeded from a human pen. In some respects no two persons could be more dissimilar than they, for they were the representatives of the old and the new schools, but piety and simplicity of character were the common ground on which they met, and their friendship was fast and sure. When Malachi left Scotland for the last time he passed through Yorkshire, halting at the monastery of Gisborough. With Waldeve, Prior of Kirkham, he had been previously acquainted. He went back to Clairvaux, and finished his days there in the presence of his beloved friend on the 2nd of November, 1148. St. Bernard himself gives us the exact date.

Bernard exerted his unrivalled powers to exalt the memory of his friend, adviser, and correspondent. He preached his funeral sermons, which for eloquence and pathos have never been surpassed (Opp., i., coll. 1043-9). He wrote his life, which fills thirty-one chapters (ibid., 657-692). He celebrated him in a hymn, of which the following extract is a specimen (Martene et Durand, Ampliss. Coll., i., col. 746):—

“Nobilis signis, moribus suavis,
Meritis sanctus, inclytus triumphis,
Hodie carnis pondere levatus,
Migravit antistes.
Nec vacat viro Malachiae nomen,
Angelum sonans, angelorum signat
Similem esse puritate vitæ
Gloria parem.
O Malachia, Clara-vallis tuo
Clarior tui corporis thesauro
Postulat supplex, te tuente, frui
Pace perenni.”

When Bernard himself died he was laid in the grave in the tunic which Malachi had worn, and which he had himself regularly used at the celebration of the mass. His friend was swathed in one of Bernard's vestments (Opp., ii., col. 1160). These are touching incidents in a friendship which for fervour and steadfastness has perhaps never been surpassed.

St. Bernard's Life of Malachi is reprinted by Messingham, in his *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*, pp. 350, etc. It is to be found, also, in Henriquez, *Fascic. Ord. Cisterc.*, ii., 40 *et seqq.*, and in other places.

^d Robert de Betun, bishop of Hereford, whose election to that see in 1131 has been already mentioned. He died at Rheims on the 16th of April, 1148, and his remains were brought to England. His first wish as to the disposal of his body was a characteristic one. “Obruite ubilibet in scrobem depressam cadaver indignum, et restituite vermibus hæreditatem suam.” (*Vita ejusdem patris*, apud *Angl. Sacr.*, ii., 319.) There is a nice letter from the bishop addressed to the famous Suger in Bouquet, xv., 498.

^e Lisbon was taken from the Moors in 1147 by prince Alphonso and the Cru-

Henricus archiepiscopus Eboracensis in Angliam venit;^f quem recipere rex Stephanus^g et civitas Eboracensis non acquivit, factaque est confusio maxima infidelitatis in ea. Quisquis enim ad eum egredi præsumeret, a civitate, si in manus civium recideret, cum tormento et dampno rerum quas habebat ejectus est. Præbendæ in fiscum regium redactæ sunt, et homines Sancti Petri violentiis et direptionibus expositi. In Ripun Henricus archiepiscopus se recepit,^h et in Hugonem Putheacensem, thesaurarium, anathematis sententiam dedit, et in omnes in civitate Eboraci consistentes. Willelmum, quoque, comitem Eboracensem, et omnes a se dissidentes pari pœna mul(c)tavit. Hugo vero thesaurarius, in Eboracensi ecclesia principans, nichil de ecclesiasticis servitiis omitti permittens, Henricum archiepiscopum et ei obsequentes pari instantia excommunicari fecit. Facta est fæda in archiepiscopatu super hac re dissensio et zeli contentio. Willelmus episcopus Dunelmi Henricum archiepiscopum sollempniter excepit. Cui venienti ad regem David in Karleolum, Addulfus episcopus ejus urbis parem reverentiam exhibuit. His temporibus Henricus episcopus Wintoniæ, in expensis opulentis, et gloria divitiarum multa Romam profectus, a minis adversariorum coram Apostolico potenter se evolvit. A quo postulatus papa scripsit Henrico archiepiscopo, ut in Hugonem Putheacensem, nepotem ejus, mitius ageret. Qui Hugo thesaurarius interim episcopales possessiones Wintoniæ, et castra cum militari manu ipse militans defensabat.ⁱ Cujus complicum

saders after a siege of several months (Baronii Ann., xix., 14. Mariana de rebus Hisp., ed. 1733, i., 426-7. Sanctius de rebus Hispan., 4to, 1634, 209. Memorials of Ric. I., i., cxliii., etc.). The Christians, "cum hymnis ecclesiam dedicantes, episcopum ibi et clericos ordinaverunt." (Rob. de Monte.) A person of the name of Gilbert was made bishop, who is mentioned under the year 1150. Walter Mapes tells a curious story in connection with the siege (De Nugis Curialium, 188-9).

^f A paragraph which shews that the consecration of Murdac had not allayed the heat of this great controversy. Murdac had gained the prize, but he could not use it. The king was against him, the citizens of York were hostile, and the primate took up his quarters at Ripon, close to his old monastery of Fountains, where he must have remained some two or three years. Confiscations and excommunications were frequent, and were pressed in a most unseemly way. No other early chronicler describes this quarrel. The historian of Fountains only alludes to it (i., 103), and the brief notice of it in William of Newburgh (i., 47-8) is, of course, derived principally from John of Hexham; so is that in Trivet's Annals (22-3).

^g "Nisi præstita sibi juratoria cautione de fidelitate servanda." (Newburgh, i., 48.) Murdac's loyalty, evidently, was doubted. Newburgh also says that the kinsmen of St. William caught the senior archdeacon of York, and that great fears were entertained for his life.

^h "Ipse igitur divertit Riponam, dans locum iræ, donec deferveat regis indignatio." (Memorials of Fountains, i., 103.)

ⁱ Whilst the bishop was at Rome pleading Puiset's cause, Puiset himself was in charge of his kinsman's castles and possessions. The quarrel between the bishop and the primate is mentioned p. 152.

contentio in hac ejus remotione quietius egit in Henricum archiepiscopum.

[MCXLIX.]

Anno MCXLIX, Henricus filius Galfridi comitis Andegavis et Adelæ imperatricis, ad Pentecosten, venit Karleol.^j Excepit eum rex David cum reverentia magna et sumptuosa præparatione opulentæ munificentæ. Militiæ enim cingulo donavit eum, cooperantibus sibi Henrico filio suo et Rannulfo comite Cestriæ.^k Remisit autem idem Rannulfus indignationem qua Karleol sub patrimoniali jure reposcere consueverat, fecitque homagium eidem regi David. Convenit enim sermo inter eos ut pro Karlel haberet honorem de Lanecastre; filiusque Rannulfi comitis ducturus foret uxorem, unam de filiabus Henrici filii regis Scotiæ.^l

His diebus rex Stephanus venit Eboracum,^m munitiunculamque Coldricⁿ in manus civium diruendam tradidit. Pollicitatione enim magnarum pecuniarum adventum regis illuc impetravere, terrore op(p)idanorum ex illa parte urbe ingredi vel egredi non præsumentes.

Et rex David et tyro Henricus dux Normanniæ, et Rannulfus comes Cestriæ in unam sententiam convenerunt, junctis viribus in regem Stephanum pergere. Processitque rex David cum copiis suis ad Lanacastrea, et Henricus prædictus cum eo; ibi enim Rannulfus comes promisit cum collectis agminibus suis occurrere illis. Qui, nichil eorum quæ condixerat prosecutus,

^j Henry fitz Empress, afterwards our Henry II., goes to his great uncle David at Carlisle in 1149, and is knighted. The boy was only sixteen years old, but many would even now regard him as a candidate for the English throne. The visit, to judge from the result, was for political purposes, as well as a mark of affection.

^k Earl Ranulph is said by Dr. Lappenberg to have married Matilda, the sister of Henry fitz Empress, but Dugdale is silent on this point. If this were the case, there was a good reason for his friendship with Henry. Earl Ranulph's aid and promises, it will be seen, amounted to little or nothing. The new league seems to have been broken up as soon as it was devised and agreed upon.

^l It is not known that this marriage ever took place.

^m Stephen came to York in 1149 to watch the proceedings of David (Gervase, 1366).

ⁿ A castle or fortalice had been built at Wheldrake, a few miles to the south-east of York, to the great terror of the citizens, and it is dismantled. An attempt to rebuild the castle at Wheldrake was made in the reign of king John by Richard Malbys, but the citizens of York were potent enough to have the erection of it prevented a second time, "considerantes hoc fieri in eorum damnum et opprobrium." (Hoveden, 456 *b*.) The site and what remained of the building were afterwards given by Malbys to the nunnery of Thicket, and the prioress and nuns passed them away to Fountains abbey (Burton's Mon. Ebor., 192). The foundations of this building have been discovered in recent years.

In 1154 Stephen took and destroyed a fortress at Drax on the Ouse, not far from York, which Philip de Colville erected and maintained against him (Newburgh, i., 86. Huntingdon, 228).

avertit propositum eorum. Iccirco Henricus dux in patriam suam reversus, in militaribus se exercuit disciplinis; viribus corporis prævalidus, moribus quiddam senile præferens. Fuitque inter eum et Eustachium filium regis Stephani æmulatio alternæ probitatis, erant enim ambientes ad ejusdem regni honorem. Quem Eustachium pater suus rex ad militiæ fascēs celebriter extulit,^o adjutus favore et munificentis Henrici episcopi Wintoniēsis, fratris sui.

Et Stephanus rex, suggerentibus civibus Eboracensibus, ad Beverlacum divertens, pecuniaria pœna in homines loci illius ultus est, qui Henricum archiepiscopum, eo inconsulto, in villam recipere præsumpserunt. Revocatus est autem ne castrum ibi construeret, beati Johannis evidenti revelatione conterritus, et com(m)inatione.^p Reversus vero ad Eboracum, ab optimatibus singillatim, secundum uniuscujusque personæ qualitatem, exegit, et pecuniæ quantitatem. Fuit etiam in regno magnum dispendium, unusquisque enim ad adinventionis suæ libitum corruptit monetæ et numismatis pretium. Post regis abscessum, venit filius ejus Eustachius Eboracum, Divinaque officia in eo cessare reperiens, clericos de Divinis ministeriis nihil omittere coegit. Scripsit super hoc Henricus archiepiscopus papæ anxie querelam.^q

Eodem anno Rodbertus de Chennehai, archidiaconus ecclesiæ de Lincolnia, assumptus ad regimen ejusdem ecclesiæ, episcopus consecratus est.^r

Rex etiam Franciæ Lodowicus a Jerosolimitana profectioe in sedem regni reversus est.^s

[MCL.]

Anno MCL, Rodbertus de Sigillo, episcopus Lundoniensis, in episcopalibus officiis sancte conversatus, inter reficiendum gustans uvas veneno illitas obiit. Defuncti sunt et in eadem refectioe

^o Cf. *Gesta Stephani*, 130. This was a counterstroke to the knighting of Henry. The two young men were eager and angry rivals (*Gervase*, col. 1366-7).

^p Monks and canons were very naturally averse to the introduction into their neighbourhood of a lay element such as the erection of a castle presupposed. In the chronicle of Selby there is a curious account of the construction of a castle in that place by Henry de Lacy (*Labbei, Bibl. Nov.*, i., 613 *et seqq.*).

^q A continuation of the quarrel mentioned at p. 158. For all this Prior John is the earliest authority. It appears that archbishop Murdac was not without friends. He was welcomed at Beverley and Ripon, at Hexham and Carlisle.

^r Robert de Chesney was consecrated at Canterbury on Dec. 19, 1148 (*Gervase*, col. 1365). He died on Jan. 26, 1167 (*Diceto*, col. 547). Cf. *Angliam Sacram*, ii., 417. Chesney was an archdeacon in the church of Lincoln (*Foliot's Letters*, i., 114).

^s See p. 153. Louis returned to France in August, 1148 (*Chron. Norm.*, apud Duchesne, 984).

ei adjuncti plurimi eruditi, magni nominis viri;^t successit pro eo Ricardus archidiaconus Lundoniæ,^u eloquentia præditus valde commendanda, cujus novissima plena erant mœrore. Obmutescens enim plurimis annis tandem tristi fine periit.

Gilebertus episcopus Olisiponis, prædicans in Angliam, plurimos sollicitavit in Hyspaniam proficisci Ispalim obsessuros et expugnaturus.^v

Circa hæc tempora, Rannulfus comes Cestriæ,^w quiddam priscarum insidiarum renovare velle in regem Stephanum deprehensus (*sic*), ar(c)tissimæ custodiæ est traditus. Qui et expositus plurimo tormento et afflictione Lincolniam et alias munitiones suas regi restituit. Post multos autem dies, dato pro se obside Gileberto de Clara nepote suo, a vinculis ipse solutus, omnia quæ promiserat irrita fecit, obsidemque periculo exposuit. Qui et anxius super ablatis munitionibus sibi id suum adinvenit remedium, de Normannia revocare Henricum ducem in Angliam, cui etiam ad optinendum regnum pollicitus fuit suam operam et multorum consensum.

Applicuit igitur in Angliam dux Normanniæ Henricus, divertitque in ecclesiam littori contiguam oraturus. Ingrediensque basilicam subito obvium habuit ministrum altaris,^x acceptumque a presbytero celebrante Divina misteria osculum pacis oblatum ab eo primus omnium ipse accepit. Contulit se ad eum Rod-

^t The bishop and many others are killed by eating poisoned grapes. It is he whom St. Bernard calls his "antiquus amicus, fidelis servus, devotus filius;" (Opp., i., col. 197,) and whom pope Eugenius commended to king Stephen and his queen (Labbe, Conc., x., col. 1048). There is a letter from Gilbert Foliot to archbishop Theobald, in which the death of this bishop is mentioned—as if there was nothing unusual about it (Epp., ed. Giles, i., 158).

^u Consecrated Sept. 28th, 1151 (Gervase, col. 1370). His name was Richard de Beames, and he died in 1162 (Diceto, col. 533), having lost his speech, probably through paralysis, some years before he died. This circumstance is not mentioned elsewhere. He was connected by blood and friendship with Gilbert Foliot (Epp., ed. Giles, i., 40).

^v The Moors were attacking Seville, and Gilbert bishop of Lisbon comes to England to beg for aid against them. Gilbert was made bishop of Lisbon in 1147, "externus quidem homo, cæterum eruditionis et opinione probitatis laude præstans." (Mariana, Hist. de rebus Hisp., i., 426-7.) When Lisbon was recovered from the Moors in 1147 a large fleet of German, English and French vessels had aided in the capture, and Gilbert, probably, was now in quest of similar help.

In 1136 a great scandal befell the Spanish church. John, archbishop of Seville, denied the faith through fear of the Moors. He was rebuked for his apostacy in a long letter by Hugh de St. Victor, the great mystic (Baronii Ann., xviii., 536). Seville was captured by Alfonso (Chron. Roderici Toletani, apud Rerum Hispan. Script., ed. 1579, i., 245, 251).

^w This restless nobleman is again in trouble. He now takes up the side of Henry, which he had neglected when at Carlisle.

^x See Gervase, col. 1372, where this story is given somewhat differently. It reminds us of some of the legends in La Mort d'Arthur.

bertus comes de Legacestria,^y et sanioris consilii quidam procures regni, videntes in eo sapientiam Dei ad faciendum iudicium. Qui vero volebant sibi posse licere quæ temere libebant, ab eo declinabant.

Hugo Putheacensis, thesaurarius Eboracensis, apud Jarum^z ab anathemate absolutus, in gratiam Henrici archiepiscopi receptus est. Filius quoque regis Stephani Eustachius, solus cum solo Henrico archiepiscopo locutus, omnem inimicitiam remisit.

[MCLI.]

Anno MCLI, Stephanus rex et Henricus archiepiscopus convenerunt in gratiam, remissaque est in alterutrum adversus omnes cuncta querela. Idemque archiepiscopus in die Conversionis Sancti Pauli in sede sua Eboracensi magnifice receptus est. Privilegia dignitatum, libertatum, immunitatum ab Apostolicis ecclesiæ Eboracensi antiquitus collata, ipse redempta super altare obtulit. Qui et sub anathemate interdixit, ne quis ea denuo ab ecclesia illa alienare præsumeret. Willelmus enim archiepiscopus, et privilegia, et multa alia pretiosa de thesauro ecclesiæ Eboracensis, pro pecuniis quas in profectionibus suis ad Romam insumpserat, nummulariis exposuerat.^a Igitur quæ proposuit in ecclesia Eboracensi dispositis, Henricus archiepiscopus citius Romam adiens, cum Eugenio papa Paschale festum celebravit, directus intercessor ad eum super negotiis regis et regni; in quibus præcipuum fuit, ut Eustachius filius regis Apostolica auctoritate confirmaretur hæres regni.^b

His diebus appulit apud Tynamutha in Northymbria Johannes presbyter-cardinalis, directus Apostolicæ sedis legatus,^c cum

^y A son of Robert, earl de Mellent, and a great nobleman. He was bound to Ranulph, earl of Chester, by a curious treaty, which is given in Dugdale (Bar., 38).

^z Yarm, I presume; a small town on the Yorkshire side of the Tees.

^a All this occurs in no other author.

^b This reconciliation with Murdac has the appearance of a political necessity on the part of Stephen. The king, worn out with strife and surrounded by danger, the sense of which would be quickened by the presence of Henry, wishes to secure the succession of his son. The southern primate, in obedience to a papal mandate, refused to crown him. The king, therefore, and Eustace, knowing the influence of Murdac with St. Bernard and the pope, became reconciled to him to gain his aid. All was in vain, for death cast down all their schemes (see Gervase, col. 1371. Huntingdon, 226 b).

^c John Paparo was sent to Ireland in 1151, and in the library at the Vatican there is an account of the Irish sees as they were divided and distributed by him (Baronii Ann., xix., 55). He was cardinal-deacon of St. Hadrian (Ciaconius, i., col. 1016. Cardella, Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali, ii., 44). St. Bernard speaks most favourably of his conduct as legate in another part of the world: "Cujus laus est in ecclesia, quippe honorificantis ubique ministerium suum." (Opp., i., col. 279). In the chronicle of Normandy (Duchesne, 985) it is said that one of the four palls which John brought was given to the bishop of Durham.

palliis Hyberniensibus directis. Excepit eum Willelmus episcopus Dunelmi cum reverentia. Scripsit autem David regi Scotiæ significans de se et de causa adventus sui, expetens conductum ejus in Hyberniam.

Et rex tunc cum exercitu suo confirmavit Willelmum filium Dunecani,^d nepotem suum, in honorem de Sciptun et Crafna, munitiunculamque^e ab hostibus constructam effregit, ejectisque militibus diruit. Peccaverunt ibi Scotti in direptionibus ecclesiarum, pro quibus rex, dato unicuique ecclesiæ calice argenteo, satisfecit.

Auditis litteris domini cardinalis, rex festinanter occurrit apud Karlel, præmittens ad eum cancellarium suum apud Hagustaldensem ecclesiam. In ea enim idem cardinalis excellenter susceptus est, et cum eo quidam episcopus Hyberniae. Venientem itaque ad se cardinalem, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, rex et filius ejus Henricus comes officiose susceperunt, ejusque favorem expensis et obsequiis devotis emeruerunt. Profectus inde in Hyberniam, quatuor pallia certis sedibus distribuit, gentemque in ea legi nuptiarum non assuetam plurimum correxit.^f Venerat

^d See p. 82. Skipton-in-Craven belonged to Fitz Duncan in right of his wife, Alice de Romille. It appears that he had been deprived of it, and the loss made him commit the horrible cruelties that Prior Richard has described. He is now restored to his own. "Thus, like many other conquerors, the author of all these outrages became peaceably possessed of the country which he had undone, and spent the remainder of his life surrounded by objects whom he had reduced to misery." (Whitaker's Craven, ed. 1812, 14). A heavy stroke was laid upon him, in which many would trace the avenging hand of Providence. The "Boy of Egremond" was Fitz Duncan's son, and the touching question, "What is good for a hootless bene?" would recall to the thoughts of the sorrowing parents the petitions of the wretched captives in bygone years which had been equally unavailing.

"Say, What remains when hope is fled?
She answered, 'Endless weeping!'
For in the herdsman's eye she read
Who in his shroud lay sleeping.

* * * *

Sit now and answer groan for groan,
The child before thee is thy own;
And she who wildly wanders there,
The mother in her long despair,
Shall oft remind thee, waking, sleeping,
Of those who by the Wharfe were weeping;
Of those who would not be consoled
When red with blood the river rolled."

The beautiful monastery of Bolton owed its origin, as it is said, to the penitence of Fitz Duncan in 1151, and the monks of Fountains experienced his munificence (Memorials of Fountains, i., 86).

^e "There are no vestiges that I know of this munitiuncula. It seems most probable that the enemies of William would hold Skipton castle itself against him, but the Prior of Hexham would scarcely call it a munitiuncula; and still less would David destroy the seat of his nephew's barony." (Whitaker's Craven, 14.)

^f St. Bernard says that Malachi re-established in Ireland, shortly before this, confession, confirmation, and marriage, "quæ omnia aut ignorabant, aut negli-

autem idem cardinalis-presbyter in præcedenti anno ad regem Angliæ, cui non acquievit rex conductum præstare, nisi fidem daret se in hac profectione regno Anglorum nullum dampnum quærere.^g Reversus est ob hunc sermonem cardinalis ad Apostolicum indignans, fuitque super hoc Romana curia ingrata regi.

Galfridus comes Andegavensis, princeps potens et prudens valde in disponenda republica sua, obiit,^h filium suum Henricum ducem Normanniæ hæredem suæ virtutis et honoris dimittens. Cui, in augmentum divitiarum, additus est ducatus Aquitanniæ. Causâ enim consanguinitatis, facto divortio inter Ludovicum regem Franciæ et Alienoram reginam suam, iste Henricus accepit eam uxorem cum ducatu supradicto.ⁱ Erat enim ipsa hæres unica Willelmi ducis, patris sui.

[MCLII.]

Anno MCLII, Johannes presbyter-cardinalis, legatus, in Hibernia propter quæ missus fuerat dispositis, post Pascha reversus est ad regem Scottiæ; propter devotissimum reverentiæ obsequium plurimo sibi dilectionis affectu devinctum. Stephanus vero rex, prioris repulsæ suæ pœnitens, eundem cardinalem ad se rogavit venire, pollicens ei de priori injuria se velle satisfacere.

Eisdem diebus Matildis, regina Angliæ, uxor Stephani regis, obiit,^j sepultaque est in villa regia Fefresham, in qua conventum monachorum et mansionem eorum ipse disposuerat.

gebant." (S. Bernardi Opp., i., col. 662.) Much immorality and indecency seem to have prevailed in Ireland, and this made some of the Irish Saints so averse to the society of women. From them, probably, rather than from the false charge said to have been brought against him, Cuthbert inherited his dislike of the gentler sex. Fiacrius was like him, and Senanus also (Usserii Antiq., ed. 1687, 488-9).

"Oh haste and leave this sacred isle,
Unholy bark, ere morning smile,
For on thy deck, though dark it be,
A female form I see."

Geraldus Cambrensis says that the same immorality prevailed in Wales (Lel. Coll., iii., 84. Anglia Sacra, ii., 450). He speaks also of what took place in Ireland (Topogr. Hibern., apud Camden, 733, 748). Haply all this had been inherited from the Britons (Ric. Cicest., ed. Giles, 91).

^g Wendover (ii., 251) says that the cardinal "*fidelitatem juravit*" to Stephen in 1151.

^h He died on Sept. 7th, 1150, "*vir magnæ probitatis et industriæ, suis indefinite plangendus.*" (Chron. Norm., apud Duchesne, 984.) "*Ante mortem Henrico duci Normanniæ, primogenito suo, concessit comitatum Andegavensem.*" (Ibid., et Chron. Andegav., apud Labbei Nov. Bibl. Libr., i., 289.)

ⁱ See p. 153. Cf. Gul. Neuburg., i., 84-5, and Huntingdon, 226 b. The wealth and power which accrued to Henry from this alliance were immense, "*Francis quidem invidia tabescentibus, sed impedire non valentibus ejusdem ducis provectum.*" Geraldus Cambrensis speaks very unfavourably of this lady (De Instruct. Principum, ed. 1846, 153).

^j She died on the 3rd of May, 1152 (Gervase, col. 1372). Feversham was

Post Pentecosten defunctus est cognatus ejus, Henricus comes,^k filius David regis Scottiæ, modestissimi spiritus princeps, homo disciplinatus, et timoratus, et devotus in misericordiis pauperum; sepultusque est in monasterio monac(h)orum apud Calcehou secus Rochesburh, quod David pater ejus construxerat. Rex autem David, dissimulato mœrore super interitu reginæ Angliæ, neptis suæ, et filii sui unici, tulit continuo Melcholmum primogenitum filii sui, et dato ei rectore Dunecan comite cum exercitu copioso, jussit eundem puerum per provincias Scotiæ circumduci et proclamari hæredem regni. Juniorem vero filium Willelmum ipse assumens, venit ad Novum Castellum, acceptisque obsidibus a principibus Northymbriæ omnes ejusdem pueri dominio subditos fecit.

Decessit et Theobaldus comes Palatinus,^l nepos Henrici regis,

founded by Stephen, and the first abbat was consecrated in 1147. The queen took the greatest interest in this monastery (Gervase, coll. 1365-6. Dugd. Mon., iv., 568).

^k The amiable and excellent prince-royal of Scotland, who was followed to the grave by the regrets of all good men, whether in England or Scotland. This is he whom archbishop Malachi is said to have restored to health on a previous occasion, and Bernard, speaking of him, says, "Henricus est iste, nam vivit adhuc unicus patris sui, miles fortis et prudens, patrizans, ut aiunt, in sectando justitiam et amorem viri." (Opp. S. Bern., i., col. 674.) Aelred pays him a great compliment in his account of the battle of the Standard, col. 342.

Henry died in 1152 (Chron. de Mailros, 74), on the 12th of June (Chron. S. Crucis, apud Angl. Sacr., i., 160). Of all the panegyrics bestowed upon this prince the most touching is that of his friend Aelred of Rievaulx (MSS. Cotton, Vesp., B, xi., 109), which is omitted by Sir Roger Twysden in his edition of the life of king David. Pinkerton inserts it.

"Effudisti super eum (sc. David) iram Tuam et omnem iram furoris Tui, castigans eum castigatione crudeli, cum ejus filium unicum abstulisti. At qualem filium! Erat certe adolescens speciosissimus, amabilis omnibus, et, ut breviter omnes virtutes ejus commemorem, excepto quod paulo suavior fuerat, per omnia patri similis. O Domine, Deus meus, quibus flagris dolorum afflixisti cor ejus, cum unigenitum suum, quem amantissimum, et sibi similem fuerat expertus, ipse portaret ad tumulum a quo simile speraret officium! At tamen cæteris fletibus et ejulantibus, vir ille, cui nichil defuit ad virtutem, tanta patientia virgam Patris excepit, ut et lacrimis parceret, et cibum ipsa die obitus sui cum familia sua regali more perciperet."

The two sons of Henry here mentioned were, in succession, kings of Scotland. The greater part of this passage about Henry has been transferred by Fordun to his chronicle (ed. Hearne, iii., 689).

^l Theobald, count of Champagne and Blois, the elder brother of king Stephen, died on the 8th of January, 1152, *n. s.* (L'Art de Vérier les Dates, ii., part ii., 618), and was buried at Lagny-sur-Marne. To the piety and goodness of Theobald all contemporary writers bear concurrent testimony. In the Life of St. Bernard and in the Letters of that Saint no one is spoken of with greater affection or regard. One passage will suffice: "propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et justitiam diligitur et honoratur inter principes terræ (Opp., i., col. 380).

Geraldus Cambrensis holds Theobald up for imitation in his work, De Instructione Principis (198-9), and John of Salisbury (Epp., i., 129) gives him the proud title of "justitiæ amator." See Wm. of Jumièges and Chron. Norm. (Duchesne,

multorum cœnobiorum constructor, munificus in peregrinos et pauperes, princeps pacis et justitiarum, utilissimus in moderanda republica totius regni Franciæ.

Henricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit ad Hagustaldensem ecclesiam, moratusque est ibi in possessione sua per plurimos dies æstatis. Querelam etiam fecit apud Karleol regi David super foresta sua quam vastaverunt homines regis qui operabantur in argentaria.^m

Zelo etiam legis ductus, dum esset ibi, canonicis in eadem ecclesia plurimam austeritatem quarundam institutionum superaddere studuit.ⁿ Idem in præbendis ecclesiæ Sancti Oswaldi apud Glaucestrie canonicos regulares induxit, prælato eis Priore Unfredo, litterato et religioso de conventu Lantonix.^o Qui et de præbendis ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis Beverlaci idem propositum animi, mortuo Turstino præposito, gessit, quod tamen cita morte præventus consummare non potuit.^p

Eodem anno Willelmus episcopus Dunelmi, sanctæ memoriæ, obiit idus Novembris.^q Post cujus obitum continuo emergerunt

310, 985). There is a long account of Theobald by Pagi in his notes to Baronius, xix., 64. Robert, a monk of Auxerre, speaks of him as follows (Bouquet, xii., 293): "pater orphanorum et iudex viduarum, cæcorum oculus, pes claudorum, in sustentandis pauperibus singulariter munificus, in extruendis cœnobiis et erga religiosos quosque incomparabili largitate."

^m A silver or lead mine. In 1133 veins of silver ore were discovered at Carlisle; and the miners who dug for it in the bowels of the earth paid five hundred pounds yearly to king Henry (Rob. de Monte, among Church Hist. of England, 705). The miners had probably been cutting down timber for their works in the archbishop's woods, or, perhaps, killing the deer.

ⁿ A short notice of some of Murdac's ecclesiastical reforms. Hexham had its share. We must not infer that the archbishop wished to displace the Austin rule at that monastery, but he certainly wished it to be most rigorously observed—too rigorously indeed, as Prior John's words imply. This would be the result of a visitation of the monastery.

^o The priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester, together with the abbey of Selby, was given to the archbishops of York by William Rufus, in lieu of their power over Lindsey. Murdac removed the seculars who were there, and put in their room some Austin canons. The monastery of Lantony, from which the new Prior and probably the canons were derived (Lantony the Second), was within half a mile of St. Oswald's. The papers preserved at York relating to St. Oswald's would fill a small volume.

^p Beverley, it seems, had a narrow escape from losing its secular canons, who ruled that church until the Reformation. For a notice of the early provosts of Beverley, see Fasti Ebor., i., 164. If we had the means of acquiring the information, we should probably find that Murdac "tried his hand" upon most of the monasteries in his diocese. He endeavoured to reform Selby by making Germanus, prior of Tynemouth, the abbat, an appointment which excited much angry feeling (Matt. Paris, de S. Albani Abb., ed. 1684, 1018. Hist. Mon. Selebiensis, apud Labbeum, Bibl. Nov., i., 620). Murdac also deposed Benedict, abbat of Whitby, at a special chapter held at Beverley in 1148 (Charlton's Whitby, 110).

^q On the 13th of November, 1152, but other dates have been assigned. He

incrementa tribulationum adversus clericos et laicos in episcopatu Dunelmensi. Clerici enim prorsus eluctabantur omne præceptum et mandatum Henrici archiepiscopi dissimulare, et absque ejus præjudicio, quod valde pertimescebant, episcopum sibi prævidere. Rogerus etiam de Cogneriis, vice patris sui Rogeri jam defuncti, munitionis Dunelmensis et terrarum potestatem agens, in procinctu militari augmentum gloriæ juveniliter sibi quærens, homines episcopatus pecuniaria exactione sæpe gravavit, eisque causa direptionis apud alios frequentius fuit.^r

[MCLIII.]

Anno MCLIII, apud Dunelmum, in die Sancti Vincentii martyris, Laurentius Prior, Wazo, et Rannulfus archidiaconus, universitasque cleri, consenserunt in electione Hugonis thesaurarii Eboracensis, et per responsales suos Wazonem archidiaconem et Nicolaum Priorem de Brincaburch^s rem gestam citius Henrico archiepiscopo apud Beverlacum denuntiaverunt. Archiepiscopus vero electionem improbens,^t accessumque responsalium ad se præveniens, diluculo ipse Missam de Spiritu Sancto celebravit, Prioremque et archidiaconos anathemate dampnavit. Exortusque est tumultus multus adversus archiepiscopum super repulsa hac. Siquidem in Capite Jejunii apud Eboracum convenerunt ad archiepiscopum Prior et archidiaconi Dunelmenses, et magister Laurentius, et Nicolaus Prior, quos pariter excommunicaverat, sese absolvi postulantes, electionemque suam canonum firmitate niti constanter astruentes. Insurrexerunt etiam in murmur cives Eboraci cum eis, contumelias regiæ majestatis vociferantes in eum. Iccirco archiepiscopus festinavit egredi ab urbe, et non est regressus in eam usque ad diem mortis suæ. Qui, nec propter preces Eustachii filii regis venientis ad eum apud Beverlacum, de sententia hac aliquid remisit.

was buried in the chapter-house of Durham. I was the possessor, till recently, of a portion of one of the richly-embroidered vestments in which he was interred.

^r This conduct of Roger Conyers, the constable of Durham castle, is mentioned by Reginald (104-6), and by no one else. Geoffrey de Coldingham, however, speaks of the troubles that followed after the death of St. Barbe (*Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres*, 4 *et seqq.*). Archbishop Murdac was a harsh, severe man, and at no period would his rule have been popular in the North. Of course the clergy of Durham would regard his interference as intrusive.

^t Brinkburn, an Augustinian Priory on the Coquet in Northumberland, founded by William Bertram a few years before this.

^t Murdac objected to the character and age of Puiset, who had also the additional disadvantage of being related to king Stephen (*Wm. Newburgh*, i., 70). There was some force in his objection, in which St. Bernard joined, but it unfortunately gave Murdac another opportunity of exhibiting the harsher side of his character. For an account of the whole matter, I must refer my reader to the work of Geoffrey de Coldingham (*Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres*, 4-6). His description varies from that of the Hexham Prior.

Dum hæc gererentur, Hugo electus, in Suth-Anglia moratus, non se immiscuit jurgio huic. Et clerici quidem Dunelmi videntes Apostolici gratiam archiepiscopo arridere, neque de rege neque de quoquam alio ad munimen sui præsumpsere. Verumptamen post multas difficultates absoluti sunt, adjuti mandatis Theodaldi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, legato sedis Apostolicæ.^u Mense Augusto Hugo venit Eboracum, et archiepiscopum sibi propitium non habuit; cui capitulum Eboracense consilium vel auxilium ferre non præsumpsit. Fretus itaque scriptis Theodaldi archiepiscopi, et aliarum approbatarum personarum Angliæ, ipse cum clericis Dunelmi præsentiam papæ adiit. Magister vero Laurentius,^v divertens ab eis, apud Sanctum Albanum monachorum se contradidit institutis, post paucos annos a rege Henrico monachis Westmonasterii sullimiter prælatus, amoto abbate Gervasio, filio regis Stephani, qui res loci illius juveniliter dissipavit.

Eodem anno David rex Scottiæ apud Karlel, pressus infirmitate, nono kalendas Junii obiit;^w cujus memoria per omnes generationes in benedictione est. Similis illius principis in diebus nostris non fuit; devotus Divinis officiis, singulis diebus

^u Prior John does not mention the price paid for this absolution. The Prior of Durham and his friends were publicly whipped at the door of Beverley minster! (Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, 5).

^v This is not Lawrence, Prior of Durham, for he died in France on his way to Rome (Geoff. Coldingham, 6), but an officer of the church of Durham of the same name. He was made abbat of Westminster, as some say, in 1160. John of Hexham is the only person who asserts that Gervase was removed for misconduct (cf. Dugd. Mon., *n. e.*, i., 269. Lel. Coll., ed. 1774, vi., 122).

^w All chroniclers give the same date for David's death (Chron. S. Crucis, apud Angl. Sacr., i., 161. Chron. Mailros, 75), and the praise given by Prior John seems to be fully due. The canons of Hexham had good cause to speak of David with affection. They were really more under his control than under that of Stephen, and they would hear with wondering delight of the monasteries which their patron was erecting in the North, and of the dioceses which he created or remodelled. The following passage from the panegyric upon him by Aelred of Rievaulx has been omitted in Twysden's edition of it, although it appears in that by Pinkerton (439). They are touching words, coming as they do from the pen of an old friend and servant. I have taken them from a MS. of Aelred's work preserved in the Cottonian library (Vesp., B, xi., 107 a):—

"O dulcis anima, quo abi(i)sti? quo recessisti? Quærunt te oculi nostri nec inveniunt. Erigunt se aures nostræ ut audiant vocem jocunditatis tuæ, vocem humilitatis, vocem confessionis, vocem consolationis, et, ecce! silentium. Ubi vultus ille suavissimus qui se tam mitem pauperibus, sanctis tam humilem, sociis se præbuit tam jocundum? Ubi oculi illi pleni pietatis et gratiæ, quibus et congaudere gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus consuesti? Quid agitis, o mei oculi, quid agitis? Quid dissimulatis emittere quod parturit, producere quod intus reconditis? Deducite lacrimas per diem et noctem. Nolite parcere quum hæ deliciæ meæ erunt in recordatione dulcissimi domini et amici mei."

In the margin of our chronicle is the following gloss: "Hic pius David, rex Scottorum, compater dulcissimus religiosorum, pauperum et peregrinorum sidus, Aug(e)lorum Domini visionem quam semper optaverat adeptus est."

omnes canonicas Horas, etiam Vigiliis Defunctorum audire non prætermittens. Prædicabile quidem in eo, quod in spiritu consilii et fortitudinis barbaræ gentis suæ feritatem sapienter moderatus est: quod in abluendis pedibus pauperum frequens, alendisque eis et vestiendis misericors fuit: quod cœnobiaz^x Saltehou, Mailros, Neubothle, Holmcoltran, Jeddewerd, Crag, et hæc quidem cis mare Scottiæ sita, terris et redditibus ad sufficientiam locupletata ipse construxit; præter ea quæ in Scotia et in aliis locis bona operatus est. Qui etiam apud exterarum nationes, peregrinos, religiosos et sæculares suis munificentis donavit. Gloriosius dixerim, quod frugalitate cotidiana victus et vestitus, sanctitate honestæ conversationis, disciplina morum etiam viris cœnobialibus se imitabilem præbuit. Regnavit autem viginti novem annis, corpusque ejus ad Dunfermelin delatum in sepulchro

* The chronicler now enumerates the monasteries of which David was the founder on this side of the Frith of Forth:—

1. *Selkirk* or *Kelso* (Saltehou in the text, the chronicler confounding the two places). In 1113 David, whilst earl, brought thirteen monks from Tiron, and placed them at Selkirk. This colony was removed to Kelso and an abbey built there by the king between 1126 and 1128; “in loco qui dicitur Calkou; consilio et ammonitione venerabilis memoriæ Johannis episcopi Glasguensis.” (Reg. Cartarum de Kelso, i., 1-2, 5-6.)

2. *Melrose*. Founded, or rather re-founded, in 1136 for Cistercian monks. “Facta est abbatia S.M. de Malros, feria secunda Paschæ.” (Chron de Mailros, 70.) David, also, gave the granges of “Eldune, Dernewic et Galtuneside Deo et S.M. de Melr’, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus de Rie-valle, annuente et concedente Henrico filio meo et hærede—sicut ego ipse, et Henricus filius meus, et abbas Ricardus ejusdem ecclesiæ prævivimus et circuivimus die Veneris crastino Ascensionis Domini, anno scilicet secundo quo Stephanus rex Angliæ captus est.” (Liber de Melros, i., 3-4.)

3. *Newbottle*, a Cistercian house, founded in 1141, as appears by a deed of abbat Alwin. “Fundata fuit ecclesia illa a David rege anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo c^{mo}, xlj^{mo}.” (Reg. S. M. de Neubottle, 5). The monks came from Melrose.

4. *Holm-cultram*, in Cumberland. Established for Cistercian monks in 1150 (Chron. Mailros, 74). Leland joins our author in calling David the founder (Coll., ed. 1774, i., 33), but his son, prince Henry, gave the monks two parts of Holm-cultram, and Alan fitz Waldeve the other third (Dugd. Mon., v., 594-5). There are two most interesting registers of this house in the British Museum, abounding with Scottish deeds.

5. *Jedburgh*. A house of Austin canons brought from Beauvais is said to have been founded in 1118 (Morton’s Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, 4).

6. *Holyrood*, “quod appellatur Crage,” (Fordun, ed. Hearne, iii., 684,) founded for Austin canons in 1128, “assensu Henrici filii mei.” (Liber Cartarum S. Crucis, i. Chron. S. Crucis, apud Angl. Sacr., i., 160.) Richard Cumin, who has been already mentioned (p. 8-9) in connection with Hexham, gave lands to Holyrood “assensu et consilio Hestild uxoris meæ.”

It is unnecessary to mention the other good works of David or the rest of the monasteries that he founded. Henriquez says that he established fourteen religious houses, six of which were Cistercian (Menologium, Cist., 148). Aelred increases the number to nineteen, reckoning among them those that were repaired and restored (MSS. Cotton, Vesp., B, xi., 107 a). Mr. Grub mentions the whole of them in the first volume of his Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.

regum Scottiæ sepultum est, ubi et Sancta Margereta regina, mater ejus, requiescit. De quo fertur, quia mare quod adjacet Dunfermelin^y procellosis ventorum æstuavit fragoribus, naufragium minitans transfretare cum corpore volentibus: posito vero corpore regis in navi, mare quievit a fervore suo. Cumque corpus in aliud lit(t)us a navi exponeretur, mare iteratis agitaturn æstibus tempestatum. Tollens igitur omnis populus terræ Melcholum, filium Henrici comitis filii ipsius David regis, apud Scotiam, sicut consuetudo illius nationis est, puerum admodum duodennem constituerunt regem pro David avo suo. De quo veraciter dici potest, *cum semine eorum permanent, bona hæreditas sancta, nepotes eorum.*^z Northymbria vero subjecta fuit Willelmo fratri ejus.^a

Obiit Eustachius filius regis Stephani;^b et Henricus episcopus Wintoniæ instantius promotiones Henrici ducis excoluit. Quo mediante, frater ejus Stephanus rex, et Henricus dux, datis acceptisque sacramentis, abinvicem convenerunt in fœdus sub vinculo pacis.^c Confirmatumque est inter eos, quod Henricus dux negotia regni disponderet, hæresque regni post regem Stephanum haberetur, idemque Henrico episcopo Wintoniæ ut patri acquiesceret de causis agendis in regno. Qui et Willelmo, filio regis Stephani, cum comitatu de Waren,^d conservatis ei quæ ex

^y David re-modelled the monastery at Dunfermline about 1150, and placed in it an abbat and twelve Benedictin monks who came from Canterbury. He acted in this "Henrici filii mei assensu et Matildis reginæ uxoris meæ." (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, l.)

The corpse of David stilled the raging of the sea; that of Henry IV., as Clement of Maidstone would have us believe, had the contrary effect, and, like Jonah, was cast overboard to save the mariners and the ship (Anglia Sacra, ii., 372). Dunfermline was a place of renown, and was one of the royal burghs of Scotland.

"The king sits in Dunfermline toun
Drinking the blude-red wine."

^z Eccl. xlv. 11, 12.

^a The whole of this passage about David, with the exception of the part about Dunfermline, has been copied by Fordun (ed. Hearne, iii., 690-693).

^b In the Saxon Chronicle (Ed. Ingram, 372) a bad character is given to Eustace: "He died more evil than good, and Christ would not that he should long reign;" and speaking of his wife it says: "Good woman she was; but she had little bliss with him." Eustace died in the month of August, 1153 (Bouquet, xiii., 296). Gervase gives a strange account of his end (col. 1374).

^c A tacit acknowledgment of defeat on the part of Stephen, who was now comparatively resourceless. His wife and his son were dead, and his brother had turned against him. This was a melancholy result for one who had never known what it was to give way, but it was unavoidable. It is probable, also, that Stephen's own health was failing.

^d See Watson's History of the House of Warren, i., 152-3; L'Art de Vêrifier les Dates, ii., part ii., 763-4. There is very little known about William, who is said to have died in 1159 or 1160. The history of this nobleman is in great obscurity.

jure hæreditario ei competebant, scilicet comitatus duo in Anglia, principatum super negotia regni ei contraderet. Consenserunt in hoc omnes principes regni, humiliatique sunt sub manu regis Stephani qui adversati sunt ei. Continuo exiit edictum ab eis per omnes provincias violentias comprimi, direptiones interdici, milites conductitios et sagittarios exterarum nationum a regno e(j)ici, munitionesque quas quisque in sua possessione post mortem Henrici regis construxerat dirui. Justitia ergo et pax ubique in regno revocata est.^e

Obiit Simon Silvanectensis comes Northamtoniæ,^f et Ranulfus comes Cestriæ.^g Obiit Eugenius papa. Successit ei Anastasius, vir grandævus.^h Bernardus quoque abbas Claræ-vallis,ⁱ quem unctio Spiritus docuit de omnibus, defunctus est. Henricus, etiam, archiepiscopus Eboracensis,^j apud Beverlacum,^k pridie idus Octobris obiit; cujus corpus ad Eboracum delatum, in sepulchro pontificum ejusdem ecclesiæ conditum est. De quo in hoc opere quoddam miraculum mirabile, et in his diebus fere fatu et relatu incredibile, inserere volumus, sicut vir vitæ

^e The Saxon Chronicle speaks in strong terms of the happiness which followed after this arrangement with Henry; "there was soon so good a peace as never was here before." (Ed. Ingram, 373.) Cf. Gul. Newburg., i., 82-3; Huntingdon, 228.

^f The step-son of David king of Scotland. He died in 1153, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew at Northampton (Huntingdon, 227 b).

^g Earl Ranulph, who has been often mentioned, died on the 16th of December, 1153, having been poisoned, as was thought, by William Peverel (Gervase, col. 1374). He was buried in the abbey of St. Werburga at Chester (Dugd. Bar., 40).

^h Eugenius III. died at Tivoli on the night of the 7th or 8th of July, 1153, and Anastasius IV. was elected on the 9th (Vitæ Pontif. Rom., apud Muratori, ed. 1723, iii., 439. L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, ed. 1783, i., 286).

ⁱ In the margin is the following gloss: "Hic Sanctus Bernardus exultavit ut videret diem Domini: vidit, et gavisus." The sun of the Cistercians set at Clairvaux on the 20th of August, 1153. Bernard was in his climacteric year. The death of his friend Eugenius would move him, for the pope was "ejusdem patris sancti in conversatione sancta filius," (Vita Bernardi, apud Opp., ii., col. 1157,) and the Saint was not long in following him. They laid him in the grave at Clairvaux, and put, by his desire, upon his breast some relics of St. Thaddeus the apostle, which had been sent to him from Jerusalem, "ut eidem Apostolo in die communis resurrectionis adhæreant."

^j In the margin are these words, "Hic Henricus, archiepiscopus Ebor., de miseria mundi ascendit ad contemplationem Dei." The three friends were not long parted. The withered leaf that falls from the tree seldom descends alone. Murdac owed to Bernard his conversion and to Eugenius his mitre, and he did not long survive them. Those are touching words of the chronicler of Fountains when he tells us that the archbishop was removed by death; "subsecutus est eos quos amavit. Dilexerunt se in vita sua, in morte quoque non sunt divisi; duces regis Dominici; ecclesiæ columnæ; luminaria mundi." (Memorials of Fountains, i., 109.)

^k Stubbs (col. 1721) and the President book of Fountains (Memorials of Fountains, i., 109) say that Murdac died at Sherburn, meaning of course Sherburn in Elmet, where the archbishops of York had a residence.

venerabilis Etheldredus abbas Ric-vallis stilo veraci et lenibus exaravit verbis.¹

EXPLICIT OPUS JOHANNIS PRIORIS, XXV. ANNORUM; INCIPIT DE
QUODAM MIRACULO MIRABILI, [AUCTORE AELREDO ABBATE
RIE-VALLENSI.]

¹ The last sentence is probably added by the scribe to introduce a tractate by Aelred of Rievaulx, "De quodam Miraculo mirabili," in which Murdac is represented as appearing after death to comfort a poor sinning and afflicted woman. Twysden has printed it, coll. 415-422. It is quite possible that Aelred described this miracle for some friend in the North, as he says at the end of his description, "hæc ideo tibi, karissimo meo, longe ab his partibus remoto maxime scribendum putavi." This friend could scarcely be Prior John. The dates forbid this supposition. I turn with pleasure from this tractate to another work by the same author, which seems to me to be more worthy of his pen and heart.



DE SANCTIS ECCLESIAE HAUGUSTALDENSIS,

ET EORUM MIRACULIS LIBELLUS,

[AUCTORE AELREDO ABBATE RIE-VALLENSI.]

[PROLOGUS.]

[*Auctor suos ad Sanctorum ecclesiae Haugustaldensis patronorum cultum excitat.*^a]

PRÆSENTIS diei veneranda festivitas,^b fratres karissimi, tanto a nobis est suscipienda devotius, et festivius celebranda, quanto in ea specialius consolatio nostra, spes nostra, nostra insuper gloria commendatur.^c Nostra namque, nostra specialiter est

^a There are no titles to any of the parts or chapters of this treatise. This I take from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and the word *Prologus* is in that work and in that of Mabillon. There is no arrangement in the MS., and Mabillon and the editor of the *Acta* divide it as they please.

^b This Prologue shews that the work is to be regarded in the light of a Legend, to be read at Hexham on the annual festival of the translation of the relics of the Saints. This would be the 11th of March.

^c This imprint is derived from MSS. Bodl., Laud, 668 [1052], a small octavo volume written in the twelfth century in a clear and beautiful hand. The MS. contains several works by Aelred, abbat of Rievaulx. In 1861, at the dispersion of a small but most choice collection of MSS. which was collected by several members of the learned and distinguished family of Saville, another MS. of this tractate was sold (for 56*l.*), but it has not been in my power to obtain access to it. It contains divers charters, etc., connected with St. Mary's abbey, York, and the following piece, which is most probably identical with that which I am going to print. It is thus described in the catalogue (No. 60):—

“Hetheldredi Abbatis Miracula Sanctorum Patrum qui (in) sancta Hagustaldensi ecclesia requiescunt.”

“Manuscript on vellum, *written probably under the author's own inspection, as it is stated to be* ‘dictata a Venerabili Hetheldredo Abbate.’ sæc. xii.”

This work has been printed by Mabillon in his *Acta SS. Ord. S.B.*, sæc. iii., pars i. (ed. 1734), pp. 204-220; “Ex MS. Bibliotheca Bodlejana Oxoniæ in Anglia.” This *must* be the MS. that I have used, as there never has been another in the Bodleian library. Mabillon's version contains some inaccuracies. The editors of the *Acta SS.* have borrowed from Mabillon the portion of the tractate which relates to St. Alchmund. It may be found under Sept. 7.

In the two printed works just alluded to the piece is said to be “Auctore

ista festivitas, qui in his sacratissimis locis sub eorum patrocinio vivimus,^d quorum honori diei hujus gaudia dedicavimus. Dignum quippe est ut eorum laudibus voce, corde, actu, affectu, omni quidem tempore insistamus: sed hac potissimum die uberioris lætitiæ prærogativa reddamus vitulos labiorum nostrorum, pinguisimum scilicet sacrificium laudis Domino immolemur; in qua sacratissimarum reliquiarum præsentiam, quam eatenus fides tenuerat, probavit experientia, exploravit visus, attrectavit manus, interioris quoque haustu dulcedinis gustavit affectus. Vere verax illa Prophetica probatur sententia, "*In memoria æterna erunt justi*,"^e quorum plerumque etiam ossa mortua crebris miraculis pullulant de loco suo; et eorum memoriam quam vetustas absconderat, vel aboleverat negligentia, manifestis non desinunt perpetuare indiciis. Hinc est quod sancti patres nostri, quorum reliquiarum præsentia gloriamur, antiqua miracula novis cumulare non cessant, ut ibi servientium semper

anonymo canonico regulari, medio sæculo xii." I conceive that it is by Aelred, abbat of Rievaulx. Should the two MSS. above-mentioned be identical, this is pretty certain; independently of that, I have tried to shew that Aelred was the author.

The church of Hexham would have the miracles and good deeds of its worthies duly recorded in a Legend. From this, I have little doubt, the author of this tractate derived his information, but he probably painted the scenes over again, and added many touches of his own. From this Legend, perhaps, come the passages about Acca and Alchmund that are inserted in the chronicle ascribed to Simeon of Durham. The few miracles in MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A, xx., 262-6, are abbreviated from Aelred or his predecessor, and so are some of the incidents in the life of Eata which has been printed by the Surtees Society. As these pieces illustrate the history of Hexham, I shall give them under the head of Anecdota at the end of this treatise.

The treatise which now begins falls naturally into three parts.

I. The miracles wrought, generally, by the Saints of Hexham, which are described after the fashion of a Legend, with suitable applications for the benefit of the hearers—chapters i.—v., the last being supplementary.

II. The special miracles wrought by Acca and Alchmund, with some account of those prelates—chapters vi.—ix.

III. The account of the translation of the relics in 1154, with some historical illustrations—chapters xi. to the end.

The tractate was evidently written for the special behoof of the canons of Hexham. When the relics were translated, it was deemed necessary to record, "in perpetuam rei memoriam," what was then seen and done, and, as a preface to it, a selection out of the old Legend of the church was appended in a new dress. The arrangement is not a happy one.

^d From this passage, no doubt, it has been supposed that the author was a canon of Hexham, but the inference is unnecessary, and, as I conceive with much respect to those who have drawn it, an erroneous one. We must look upon the author as considering the reader of this Prologue, and not himself, and we must regard him as choosing words which the canon who recited them to his brethren could use with the most perfect propriety on each recurring anniversary of their festive day. Aelred, in fact, was drawing up a Legend for the canons and for future use.

^e Psalm cxii. 6.

augeatur devotio, spes certificetur, caritas nutriatur, et de perceptione præsentium munerum firma sit exspectatio futurorum. Scimus quorundam oculos quos nox cæcitatibus obcluserat, eorum meritis lucis hujus beneficium meruisse,^f claudos pedum officium resum(p)sisse, in tribulatione positos citum Divinæ consolationis sensisse solatium,^g destinatos ad supplicium in ipso mortis articulo subita ereptione orationum suarum percepisse effectum.^h Ex quibus pauca quædam ad eorum gloriam, quorum sollempnia celebramus, operæ pretium est proferre in medium, ut ex corporalibus beneficiis spiritalia, ex temporalibus æterna, ex terrenis speremus cœlestia.

Audientes, fratres karissimi, Sanctos istos ereptum cæcis lumen suis precibus reddidisse, si forte mentis nostræ oculos insipientiæ caligo fuscaverit, ad eorum secure fugiamus auxilium, ut sanctissimis eorum meritis verum sapientiæ lumen cæcitate deterisa reseratis hauriamus. Sic cum nos hostes nostri spiritales obsederint, et, temptationum tormentis murum virtutum quatientes, perpetuæ mortis metum incusserint, recolentes obsessum quondam in hac ecclesia quam potenter eripuerint inopem populum de manu fortiorum ejus,ⁱ egenum et pauperem a diripientibus eum; spiritalem nichilominus obsidionem, si ad eos in spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito clamaverimus, noverimus dissolvendam. Si aculeis carnis vel iræ stimulis urgemur in vitium, nulla desperatio vocem devotæ orationis obtundat; scientes quod ea pietas, quæ hominem adjudicatum morti de sub manu ferientis eripuit,^j etiam nos jam jamque vitiis absorbendos lacrymis ac precibus provocata eripiet.

Scilicet sacrosancta Hagustaldensis ecclesia, sub antiquissimis fundata regibus, diu episcopalis sedis honore resplenduit, et optimis semper habundans fratribus, ipsis etiam sæculi potestatibus terrori fuit.^k Verum ubi eam beatissimus præsul Wilfridus, adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, miro lapideo tabulatu,^l ut inpræsentiarium cernitis, renovavit, et, ad devotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam,^m picturis et cælaturis multiphariam decoravit; mox eam fama altius extulit, et ad ejus sacratissima limina revisenda, non solum vicinas, sed et

^f See capp. vii. and viii.

^g See capp. iv., ix., xiii.

^h See cap. i.

ⁱ See cap. ii.

^j See cap. i.

^k See p. 8. There seems to be no evidence for the statement that Wilfrid restored an older church. He certainly made a large use of Roman stones and materials. Prior Richard is silent as to the existence of an earlier church.

^l This is probably the tabulatus that is referred to at p. 12. It might perhaps mean ordinary ashlar work.

^m The author speaks somewhat slightly of the advantages of a richly ornamented church. The Cistercians, it must be remembered, neglected such things on principle.

extraneas nationes ascivit. Quia vero antistes ipse sanctissimus, præ cæteris quibus præfuit ecclesiis, hanc crebrius visitavit, devotius coluit; accidit ut post mortem quoque ejus plebs universa ita ad eum in hac ecclesia, quasi ad viventem, confugerent, in omnibus necessitatibus suis quasi præsentem consularent, in tribulationibus et angustiis ejus auxilium non tam peterent quam exigent. Quorum devotioni ac fidei favens præsul sanctissimus, semper invocantibus præsto fuit, petentibus largiens, mœstos consolans, subveniens laborantibus, opem ferens miseris: adeo ut subtracta præsentia corporali, uberius illis gratia profluerat spiritalis. Unde non immerito hujus sacratissimæ festivitatis eum credimus esse participem, quem tot indiciis probamus nos habere præsentem.

[CAP. I.]

Fur invocato Sancto Wilfrido securi subductus."

Adolescens quidam, cum furti ac latrocinii in hac civitate argueretur a præsidibus, vinculis mancipatus, diuque reservatus, cum non esset qui fidejussoriam pro eo porrigeret cautionem, tandem adjudicatus morti ad supplicium ducebatur.^o Ad commune itaque refugium, Sanctum videlicet Wilfridum, cæterosque hujus ecclesiæ patronos, quia corpore non potuit, corde devotissimo convolvit, pedibus quidem quo trahebatur progrediens, sed oculos ad ecclesiam cum summa animi contritione retorquens.^p Ventum est tandem ad locum supplicii. Confluxerat ad spectaculum illud non minima multitudo, quæ in modum coronæ miserum ambiens, carnificem festinare compellunt. Stat ille vultu terribilis, manu fortis, mente crudelis,

ⁿ The title of each chapter has been taken from Mabillon, unless stated otherwise. This miracle is very briefly given in MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A, xx., as will be seen afterwards.

^o A young man is detected in a theft. The bailiff (*præses*) and his officers throw him into prison, and keep him there till he can find some friends to pledge themselves for his good conduct. He cannot do so, and as the franchise possessed the right of *ingfangtheof* he is taken out to be executed. The scene is graphically described. A ring is made, and the executioner has his sword ready, for the gallows were not used. The criminal utters a prayer to Wilfrid, which excites the laughter apparently of every one but himself; at the very nick of time the two sureties gallop up, and the youth is saved.

The practice of accepting pledges for the good conduct of culprits was very much what it was in Northumberland many centuries afterwards.

^p The youth, it appears, had not been able to take sanctuary, but the church is full before his eyes at the place of execution, and it would have given him safety if he could have reached it. It will be remarked that every miracle recorded in this tractate was wrought at Hexham. The selection probably was made for the especial behoof of the canons, otherwise we might fairly infer how shut out from the world Hexham was, and how little known were its Saints, as there is nothing told us to prove the truth of the common saying,—“Major e longinquo reverentia.”

elevatoque utrisque manibus gladio jubet captivum cervicem producere, et unum ferientis expectare conatum. Ille, levatis paullulum oculis, et ecclesiam intuens: "Adjuva," inquit, "nunc, Wilfride, quia si modo nolueris, paullo post non poteris." Quorum verborum simplicitatem cum omnes riderent, irriderent nonnulli, ipse quoque carnifex dissolutus in risum ferire distulit, ne deposita ad tempus feritate ferientis conatum illa dissolutio retardaret. In qua morula duo juvenes equis velocissimis vecti ocus advolant, ac, more patrio cautione pro eo præstita, adolescentem neci eripiunt, absolvunt vinculis, et liberum abire permittunt. Qui licet beatissimum Wilfridum in ipso mortis articulo solum nominaverit, nemo tamen cæteros, qui in præsentī ecclesia requiescunt, Sanctos miraculi hujus cooperatores existimet non fuisse, cum ipse in corde omnes invocaverit, speraverit in omnibus, ad omnes oculos pia fide erexerit.

Consideremus itaque, fratres karissimi, ad hos sanctissimos patres nostros qua spe nobis sit in animæ periculis fugiendum, quam non sit nobis in qualibet temptationis vehementia de eorum auxilio desperandum. Si igitur vinculis pravæ cujuslibet consuetudinis astricti alicui lictorum spiritalium traditi fuerimus ferendi, experiamurque quod ait Paulus, "*Non quod volo ago; et video aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meæ, et captivum me ducentem in legem peccati;*"^q erectisque in cælum oculis, et, fuis ubertim lacrimis, horum Sanctorum auxilium postulemus; scientes quod apprehendent arma et scutum, et exsurgent in adjutorium nobis, fugatisque hostibus dirumpent vincula nostra, ut liberis passibus viam mandatorum Domini dilatato corde curramus, dicentes cum Propheta Domino, *Dirupisti vincula mea; tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.*^s Hoc sane miraculum ad tantorum pervenit notitiam, ut verbum adolescentis in tanta necessitudine probatum, verum sit in commune totius plebis proverbium.

[CAP. II.]

[*Malcolmus, Scottorum rex, Haugustaldensium excidium parans, Sanctis auxilio concurrentibus ab effectu impeditur.*]

Eo tempore quo rex Scottorum Malcolmus Northanhymbriam crudeli cæde vastabat,^t semper ecclesiæ Haugustaldensi,

^q Ep. ad Romanos, vii. 23.

^r The writer, it will be observed here and elsewhere, is steeped in the Scriptures. It is unnecessary, however, to give references when there is any change in the wording of a quotation, or when it is an adaptation.

^s Psalm cxvi. 15, 16.

^t From No. XI. in the Appendix it will be seen that Malcolm made as many as five predatory expeditions into Northumberland, the last of which, in 1093,

ob Sanctorum qui in ea requiescunt reverentiam, pacem servavit. Sed cum aliquando nuntii ejus circa ipsius ecclesiæ fines inciderent in latrones, spoliati et vulnerati reversi ad regem, populo innocenti crimen hujus crudelitatis imponunt." Ad quam delationem rex iratus infremuit, et ob tantam ingratitudinem locum ipsum cum populo se penitus eversurum juravit. Quid plura? ad imperium regis crudelis adest exercitus, paratus ad prædam, promptus ad cædes, ad flagitia pronus, qui nec rogatus par(cer)et, nec quiesceret saturatus.

Nec latuit populum Haugustaldensem regis ira. Sed quid ageret? Nulla resistendi copia,^v nullum fugæ præsidium, nullum in quorumlibet hominum societate solatium. Una et sola spes omnium virtus totiens experta Sanctorum. Conveniunt igitur ad ecclesiam juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, mulieres cum parvulis, aut Divina virtute eripiendi, aut certe ante Sanctorum reliquias ferendi. Jam rex valida cum manu aderat, jam vicina Tyne fluvii loca occupaverat, fecissetque suæ crudelitati satis, nisi nox superveniens transitum impedisset.

At presbiter^{no} qui ecclesiæ præfuit, quosdam ex clericis cum reliquiis ad regem dirigit, ut et crimen objectum purgarent, et populo innocenti pacem rogarent. Indignatus rex vocat Galwenses homines cæteris crudeliores, nuntiisque audientibus, "Mox," inquit, "ut dies illuxerit, transeuntes flumen, irruite in eos; non parcat oculus vester, neque misereatur, non ordini, non sexui, non ætati. Quidquid non poterit gladius, ignis absumat, nec dimittatis ex eis ullas reliquias." Hæc dicens, cum furore nuntiis reditum imperavit.

Quibus regressis ad ecclesiam, et referentibus quæ audierant, tumultus miserabilis oritur, clamor ingens, ploratus, et

proved fatal to him. There is no account in any chronicler of an attack, or attempted attack, upon Hexham, but it would be strange indeed if none were made, or attempted to be made. Mr. Hodgson Hinde thinks that this assault and that by David have been confounded, especially as the description of each is so similar. The fact that each writer read his predecessor's account may perhaps explain the similarity, and there must also have been much sameness in all the Scottish inroads.

This description by Aelred has been abbreviated, as will be seen afterwards, in MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A, xx. A longer and somewhat different one occurs in the chronicle ascribed to Simeon of Durham, col. 103. This also I shall print among the Anecdota.

" In Simeon this is not mentioned.

" Hexham had no walls or fortifications. The only means of defence it possessed was the privilege of sanctuary; if that were despised, the inhabitants were resourceless, and they only could flee or be massacred. They generally chose the former alternative.

^w No doubt this was Eilav, the priest of Hexham, who is mentioned in Prior Richard's chronicle, p. 50.

ululatus multus. Mulieres detecto capite propriis manibus crines lacerant, pectus diverberant, ejulatumque diræ vocis emittentes, horribile spectaculum intuentibus præbuerunt. Viri prostrati solo, moderatius Sanctorum auxilium precabantur. Porro sacerdotes et clerici nunc psalmis, nunc precibus faciem Domini placare studebant. Alii Wilfridum, alii Cuthbertum, Accam alii, nonnulli Alchmundum cum gemitu et vociferatione congeminant.

Presbiter resolutus in sompnum, tali visione meruit consolari. Putabat se templi septa egressum, explorandi gratia huc atque illuc oculos circumferre. Et, ecce! apparuerunt duo viri veste splendida, vultu venerabili, tonsura et habitu pontificalem speciem præferentes, sedentes equis, a parte meridiana ad ecclesiam tendentes: venientesque ubi stabat presbiter, desiliunt equis;^x et, “Heus,” inquit, “vir bone, serva jumenta nostra, donec facta in ecclesia oratione revertamur ad te.” Annuit ipse, nec sine magna admiratione eorum exspectat regressum. Post modicum igitur cum reverterentur, unus illorum altius ingemiscens, “Heu,” inquit, “unde hic dolor in ecclesia, hic gemitus, hic clamor, hic metus? miserabile spectaculum imis suspiriis et amaris lacrimis prosequendum.” Cui presbyter: “Non mireris, optime pater, omnes enim nos ad supplicium dati sumus, destinati ad mortem, æstimati a rege Scotiæ quasi oves occisionis. Nam audientibus clericis nostris, præcepit exercitui suo, cum inhabitantibus locum hunc sacratissimum absque miseratione delere.” Tunc Sanctus sereniore vultu intuens in eum: “Ne timeas,” ait, “neque formides a facie eorum, quum ego vobiscum sum, ut eruam vos. Videns enim vidi afflictionem eorum qui sunt in ecclesia, et gemitum eorum audivi, et veni liberare eos. Ecce, enim, albescente aurora, extendam rete meum ab ortu Tine fluminis usque ad ostium ejus, quod nullus eorum transire poterit, nec mali quicquam vobis inferre.” Tunc presbiter: “Quis enim tu es, vir beatissime, qui in tam necessarium auxilium miseris advenisti?” Respondit: “Wilfridus vocor, et ecce hic mecum est Sanctus Cuthbertus, quem transiens per Dunelmum adduxi, ut simul ad fratres nostros, qui in hac ecclesia requiescunt, venientes, servemus simul locum istum et gentem.”

Dixerat, et mox presbiterum somnus pariter cum visione

^x In Simeon's narrative a single person appears to the priest; he is nameless, and nothing is said about Wilfrid or Cuthbert and their steeds. This mode of travelling is picturesque, but, as Stiltingus, the learned Jesuit, very candidly observes, “Verum apparitionem hanc, quæ nescio quid fabulæ videri posset sapere, simplicius refert supra-laudatus Simeon.” (Acta SS.) Wilfrid rides northwards out of Yorkshire, and halts at Durham, and prevails upon Cuthbert to accompany him.

reliquit. Qui surgens imperavit silentium, habuitque exhortatorium sermonem ad populum, jubetque eos animæquiore esse, scientes quoniam respexit Dominus in orationem humilium, et non sprexit precem eorum. “Non enim,” ait, “confundet nos spes nostra, quam habemus in Sanctos Dei, sub quorum vivimus alis, quum oculi eorum super nos, et aures eorum ad preces nostras.” Hæc dicens, clericos psalmis, cæteros precibus spe alacriori rogat insistere.

Presbiter autem tacitus de visione cogitans, retis parabolam intelligere conabatur. Et inundationem quidem vicini fluminis interpretaretur, nisi aëris parum tunc jocunda serenitas ab hac sententia revocaret.

Quid plura? jam nocturnis tenebris finem dabat aurora, quæ solito candidior emergens spem conceptæ consolationis ademerat; cum, ecce! nebula quædam a parte occidentali consurgens, omnem præmissi fluminis alveum ab ortu ejus usque ad ostium occupavit.⁹ Quæ paulatim sibi sese constringens, adeo in brevi densata caligabat, ut si forte quis dexteram productius extendisset, manus ipsa absorta tenebris, sibi invisibilis redderetur. Igitur Galwenses ingressi caliginem, et per avia quæque currentes, amnem occidentalem per viam quæ ducit ad Cumbriam transierunt, et circa vesperam se in confinio propriæ regionis invenerunt. At rex tam Galwenses, quos miserat, quam abscessum nebulæ, quam horrebat, exspectans, quid ageret dubitabat. Sed cum se nebula attollens altius lucem, quam absconderat, detexisset, subita inundatione flumen intumuit, conatumque regis triduo impedivit. Tunc rex in semetipsum reversus, vocatis proceribus suis, “Quid agimus?” inquit, “recedamus hinc, quum sancti isti domi sunt.” Recedente itaque terribili populo, personuit in ecclesia Haugustaldensi gratiarum actio et vox laudis, lacrimæ lacrimis, clamor clamoribus; sed timori securitas, dolori gaudium succedebat. Celebratis postremo cum magna exultatione Missarum sollempniis, unusquisque cum gaudio ad sua remeavit.

Sed nos, fratres charissimi, quibus magis incumbit animas curare quam corpora, et aërias magis quam terrenas potestates cavere, quotiens ille, qui est rex super omnes filios superbix, impiæ virtutis satellites in periculum nostræ salutis armaverit, et terribilis vitiorum exercitus in nos globatim irruerit, accedamus cum fiducia ad horum Sanctorum patrocini(i)um, cum imis suspiriis supplicantes, ut, instar Helisei prophetæ, omnes hostes nostros percutiant cæcitate, et, reseratis oculis cordis,

⁹ A thick mist, better known as a sea-fret, sweeps down Tynedale, and the marauders lose their way among the hills, which they might very easily do. When it disappears, the Tyne comes rolling down in a flood.

ostendant nobis, quod *plures nobiscum sunt quam cum illis.*^z Nemo sane æstimet, quod pretiosi Sancti Dei, quorum reliquiæ hic continentur, quasi minus sufficientes alios adsciverint: sed ut potius fides confirmaretur credentium, devotio augeretur, commendaretur insuper loci sanctitas, pro quo non solum præsentēs Sancti, sed et hi qui videntur absentes, certis indiciis probarentur esse præsentēs. Sed et devotioni eorum consulendum fuit et fidei, qui in tanta necessitate positi, non modo ad eos quos in suis adesse reliquiis crediderunt, verum etiam ad eos quos abesse corpore, sed spiritu adesse non dubitabant, pias manus erexerant, plenas fidei preces emiseraunt.

[CAP. III.]

[*Impurus homicida punitus.*]

Erat præterea invicina hujus ecclesiæ, vir nobilis et magnarum opum, Aldanus nomine,^a habens utique nomen magnum, juxta nomen magnorum qui tunc fuerunt in hac terra. Hic sanctam Haugustaldensem ecclesiam diebus maxime sollempnibus frequentare solebat. Accidit autem ut die quadam ad domum quamdam divertisset, in qua virgo quædam decora facie et venusto aspectu sub parentum cura degebat. Injecit mox oculos in eam homo, et victus concupiscentia, primo verbis puellæ constantiam explorabat. Cumque votum non consequeretur effectus, exardescente hinc ira, hinc concupiscentia, erigitur in superbiam, vertitur in furorem: et quasi quibusdam furiis agitatus, oblitus Dei, oblitus sui; nec Sanctorum præsentiam reverens, nec suæ animæ parcens; invadit puellam, et vi extractam domo, ut lupo ovem, suæ libidini subdendam abduxit.^b Est in civitate Haugustaldensi ecclesia in honore Sanctæ Dei Genetricis, extructa in orientali parte majoris ecclesiæ,^c tanto intervallo divisa, ut et atrium intersit, et via patens transeuntibus non desit. Cum venisset itaque insanus ille prædam quam impie ceperat crudeliter auferens, inter has duas summæ venerationis basilicas, superveniens frater puellæ, nitebatur eripere locum contemptui, se suosque derisui. Sed ille cujus cor in superbiam, sanguis, nomen, census extulerant; cujus medullam libidinum flamma succenderat; homicidium copulavit incestui, sequentem aversa hasta transfodiens, in defensorem pudicitie pœnam quam ipse meruerat impudicus retorquens. Sed mox læsæ castitatis et homicidii ira ultrix adfuit, et superbum in semet redire coegit. Statim enim manus ejus circa hastam

^z II Reg. vi. 16.

^a This is also recorded in MSS., Cotton, Vitellius, A, xx.

^b The MSS. reads *abducavit*, which I have corrected.

^c For an account of St. Mary's Church at Hexham, see pp. 14, 15.

diriguit, et usque ad finem vitæ suæ omnibus digitis et arida et contracta permansit. Tandem vero auditu visuque privatus, miseram vitam miseriori fine conclusit.

[CAP. IV.]

[*Frater hernia laborans sanatus.*]

Frater quidam laicus abrenuntians sæculo, exemplo patris nostri Abrahæ egressus de terra et cognatione sua et domo patris sui, ut plenius et perfectius divitias paupertate, delicias parsimonia, sanguinis nobilitatem voluntaria subiectione mutaret; australibus Angliæ partibus sedem hujus plagæ aquilonis præposuit: relictisque tam propriis quibus habundavit, quam excellentissimi cujusdam viri opibus, quibus in magna potestate præfuit, hujus se cœnobii obsequiis mancipavit. Hic ergo non parvo tempore ob necessarios labores quibus vehementer insudabat, malens in humiliori loco laboribus fatigari, quam sublimioris ordinis causa minoribus utilitatibus occupari, extra congregationem fratrum sobrie, juste et pie intonsus^c et barbatus degebat. Unde actum est, ut ab omnibus vocaretur Hugo cum Barba.

Accidit autem quadam die, ut idem vir venerabilis, cum fratre quodam, succisam magnæ molis arborem a prærupto vallis ad locum vehiculis expeditiorem conarctur efferre. Cum pondus oneris vires impellentium excessisset, non parcens sibi vir ferventissimus, totas in se vires colligens, et cum vehementia molem impellens, rupturam folliculi quo vitalia teguntur incurrit, adeo ut tribus digitis via in ipso hiatu patesceret. Secutus dolor maximus, perpetuum languorem Dei famulo minabatur. Ille intra se revolvens loci paupertatem sua infirmitate onerandam, se desiderati laboris fructu privandum, ex interiori tristitia cor compungitur, mens conteritur, oculi dissolvuntur in fletum. Recolens tandem quam præsentis haberet, quibus perfacile erat sanctis orationibus suis pristinam in eo reformare virtutem, productus ad ecclesiam, ex corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta, ante Sanctorum reliquias proprium incommodum, onus fratrum, detrimentum ecclesiæ cum maximo dolore exposuit, et ut sui misererentur cum magna devotione rogavit. Surrexit homo ab oratione sanus: et ad necessarios monasterii labores reversus, ne minimum quidem illius infirmitatis indicium in suo

^c Mabillon appends to this the following note: "Hinc patet fratres laicos tunc temporis intonsis fuisse capillis, eosque in monachorum ordinem accepta corona etiam tum transiisse, ubi suæ probitatis specimen dedissent." No inference of this kind can be drawn from this passage unless the date of the occurrence can be ascertained. It seems to have happened after Hexham came into the hands of the Austin canons, judging from several allusions at the end of the chapter.

corpore ulterius invenit. Vixit nam postea multis annis. Erat autem parcus in verbo, in cibo sobrius, mediocris in habitu; pauperum, peregrinorum, pupillorum diligenter curam agens; res ecclesiæ, quarum cura ei delegata est, fideliter et utiliter disponens. Cum enim domus a paupertate, quam in initiis suis pertulerat, emersisset, claustralibus se subdidit disciplinis, et multo tempore cell(er)arii functus officio, in senectute bona et plenus dierum obdormivit in Domino.

Hæc sunt miracula pauca de multis quæ omnibus hujus ecclesiæ probantur esse communia,^d quibus loci hujus sanctitas commendatur, quibus inhabitantium augeatur fides, et devotio excitetur.^e Unde ad ea quibus singulorum virtus appareat evolvenda, permittentes animum nostrum modico tempore respirare, sicut vera relatione didicimus, transeamus.

[CAP. V.]

[*Beatæ Mariæ templi violator diabolo traditur*].

Operæ pretii est non præterire silentio, quemadmodum beata Dei Genetrix in eodem vico Hagustaldensi de quodam impiissimo his nostris temporibus triumphaverit.^f

Defuncto rege Henrico, qui fratri suo successit Willelmo, cum Stephanus Anglorum usurpasset imperium, rex Scottorum David zelo zelatus pro regis filia,^g cui cum tota Anglia sacramenta fuerat obligatus, contra Stephanum arma tulit, coacto exercitu Northanhumbriam cæde incendioque depopulans. Verum ecclesiæ Hagustaldensi tantum detulit, ut non solum nichil quod ejus juris fuerat a quoquam pateretur attingi; sed et quotquot illuc confugere et suorum aliquid transferre potuissent, sua decerneret pace gaudere. Hinc est quod cum impiissima gens Galwensium inaudita crudelitate sævirent, nec sexui parcerent, nec ætati; nostrates, qui erant cum rege, pietate commoti, plures de eorum ereptos manibus ad Hagustaldunum, quasi^h ad certum suæ salutis auxilium transposuerunt.

Construxerat quondam beatus Wilfridus in eodem vico ecclesiam in honore beatissimæ virginis Mariæⁱ opere rotundo, quam quatuor porticus, quatuor respicientes mundi climata, ambiebant. Hæc sub persecutione Dacorum destructa, a presbitero quodam fuerat reparata. Veniens igitur ea tem-

^d Aelred states that he gives merely a selection out of the miracles generally assigned to the Saints of Hexham. He now comes to the second stage of his work, and speaks particularly of Acca and Alchmund, and what they did.

^e A favourite expression with Aelred as well as with Prior Richard.

^f This story is briefly given in the Cottonian MS. The chapter may be regarded as supplementary to those that precede it.

^g The Empress Maud. ^h See pp. 80, 81.

ⁱ See pp. 14, 15.

pestate nequissimus quidam adolescens illius impurissimæ gentis, temptat aliquid, quia vi non poterat, vel furto auferre. Sed cunctis sua servantibus, pessima ejus voluntas fructu caruit. Tandem ad ecclesiam beatissimæ Virginis crudelis ef(f)ractor accedens, inani circuitu explorat ingressum. Inventam vero seram qua ostium claudebatur, ar(r)epto lapide manu sacrilega, quasi eam fracturus invasit. Hactenus injuriam suam Virgo sustinuit. In ipsa quippe hora, populo inspiciente, pessimo dæmoni traditus,^j præsumptionis suæ pœnas justissimas solvit. Discurrebat infelix huc atque illuc clamans et ejulans: spumant labia, reccant oculi, lingua nunc emittitur, nunc di(s)cerpitur dentibus, nunc barbarum aliquid frendit: jactantur horrendis motibus brachia, sacrilegis manibus vestes carnesque dilaniat. Cum vero aliquot diebus populo horrendum suæ infelicitatis spectaculum præbuisset, tantum ulterius non sustinentes horrorem, tractum a vico, et amne transmisso relictum, tandiu nequam spiritus vexavit, donec excussam animam traderet inferis, corpus bestiis et avibus destinaret.

[CAP. VI.]

[*Sancti Accæ encomium. Vestes illius incorruptæ.*]

Miracula Sanctorum qui in sancta Haugustaldensi ecclesia requiescunt, ea quæ singillatim ab eis gesta cognovimus litteris tradituri, a sanctissimo pontifice Acca^k sumamus exordium; qui in regimine sanctæ Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ beato successit Wilfrido, comes peregrinationis ejus, tribulationum particeps, exsilii socius, conscius secretorum. Primo enim in clero sanctissimi Bosam,^l Eboracensis episcopi religiosissime institutus, tandem sub doctrina Sancti Wilfridi omnem, usque ad ipsius patris obitum, explevit ætatem. Cum quo Romam profectus, ecclesiastica instituta et patrum canones plenius didicit, atque in sacro pectoris sui armariolo devote recondens, loco congruo et tempore op(p)ortuno sibi subditis servanda contradidit. In quo etiam itinere præfatus vir Domini Wilfridus magnæ illius revelationis, qua ei citum reditum, iter prosperum, vitæ tranquillitatem, honoris et possessionis restitutionem, certum sui exitus diem, per sanctum Archangelum Michaellem gratia Divina promisit; præ cæteris mortalibus beato Accæ reseravit archanum.^m

^j A very similar story is told by Prior Richard of two Picts who break into the oratory of St. Michael (St. John Lee) in 1138, (see p. 80.) Aelred was thinking perhaps of this story, for he uses many of Prior Richard's words.

^k For an account of Acca see the Preface, and Prior Richard's chronicle, pp. 31-36. See also the Anecdota.

^l So in the MS. Mabillon alters the word to *Bosani* without authority.

^m See Eddi, cap. liv.

Int(h)ronizatus vero quantæ fuerit devotionis in Deum, quantæ in proximos benivolentiæ, cujus circa subditos disciplinæ, quantum circa officia Divina sollicitus, in sacris Scripturis quam studiosus, Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri testimonio didicisti. Testes sunt etiam adhuc libri, quos idem doctor tanti pontificis desideriis favens, præmissis ad eum præfationibus scripsit, in quibus devotionem ejus et in Divinis eloquiis sollertiam satis gratanter expressit.ⁿ Sed ut quid sanctitatis ejus testes alios quærimus, cujus præ manibus habemus (ut ita dicam) signa loquentia, quæ et manibus tangere, et oculis cernere perfacile est, in quibus Divina radiare miracula, et immaculatæ vitæ illius certa manere vestigia, ne infidelis quidem negavit? Quis, rogo, sanctissimas ejus vestes, quibus sacræ ejus reliquiæ in terra trecentis annis fuerunt obvolutæ, ab omni corruptione servavit illæsas, nisi *mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis*,^o Qui ad commendandam vitæ illius incorruptionem, gratiam integritatis, quam caro meruerat viventis, ad indumenta transtulit in sepulchro jacentis? Habetis certe casulam ejus sericam, similiter et dalmaticam, sudarium quoque lincum, in quibus venustas antiqua servatur, pristina fortitudo perdurat: quibus natura cessit, terra non nocuit, vetustas non obfuit.

Sed cur, ait aliquis, ob carnis meritum vestibis adseris præstitum, quod ipsi carni novimus esse negatum? Non enim caro, sed in pulvere ossa in ipsis indumentis sub terra inventa sunt involuta. Sed absit ut hoc carni dicamus esse negatum. Non est certe negatum, sed dilatum. Carnis enim incorruptio non est hujus mortalitatis, sed futuræ æternitatis.^p Glorificatus proinde est Sanctus Dei: in temporalibus suis temporaliter glorificabitur, in æternis suis æternaliter, quando mortale ejus induet immortalitatem, et corruptibile ejus induet incorruptelam. Habemus interim in vestimentis ejus indicium sanctitatis illius, signum incorruptionis, pudicitiae innocentiam. Quis enim non animetur ad carnis munditiam obtinendam, quam gratam Domino, amicam Angelis, hominibus reverendam intelligit? quam cunctarum virtutum communem quandam pulc(h)ritudinem, omnium vitiorum potentem quandam debellatricem agnoscit? cui natura cedit, quam obstupescit ætas, quæ imitatur æternitatem, resur-

ⁿ Up to this place, the author has been merely abridging Prior Richard and other writers. He now breaks away from them, lets his imagination loose, and seems happy to be free. The last part of this chapter is thoroughly in Aelred's style. It strikes me as being the composition of an old man who had been regarded as an oracle.

^o Psalm lxviii. 35.

^p A curious expression for the author to use with St. Cuthbert of Durham so close to him. With Durham and the shrine Aelred was well acquainted.

rectionis insignia præfert? Nec defuit tamen circa sacratissimas reliquias ejus gratia sanitatum, ubi et cæcos illuminatos, præsumptores territos, claudos novimus esse curatos.

[CAP. VII.]

[*Cæco lumen redditum.*]

Fuit in regione vicina huic, vir quidam Raven nomine,^p qui mediocrem sub nobili quodam ac prædivite agebat vitam; homo pro modulo capacitatis suæ simplex et rectus, et præ cæteris Sanctis beatissimo Accæ multum devotus. Hujus oculos subito caligo cæcitatis oppressit, totumque adimens officium intuendi, triennio ei diem vertit in noctem. Frustra remedium sperabatur a medicis, cui medicina servabatur cœlestis. Reversus tandem in semet-ipsum æger, et fidei ac devotionis in semet revocans gratiam, "Quid," inquit, "facio? quo aufugit animus meus? quamdiu dormiet fides mea? quamdiu tepescet devotio mea? quid trepido? quid dissimulo? surgam; surgam, ibo ad Accam meum, si forte audiat et misereatur servuli sui, noctemque vertat in diem, et post diuturnas has tenebras, desideratæ lucis gaudia repræsentet."

Et jam instabat beatissimi Accæ natalitius dies,^q quo ab his corporeis tenebris ad veri luminis splendorem lætabundus evasit, qui a regionis hujus incolis singulis annis cum magno celebratur honore. Tunc op(p)ortunum ratus quo suffragium peteret quod sperabat, duci se jubet ad ecclesiam. Instat precibus homo, sacrum crebro deosculatur altare, rigat lacrimis pavementum, et sic maximam noctis partem ducit insomnem. Tandem fatigato sopor irruit, videtque per visum adsistentem sibi Sanctum Domini, facie splendida, veste decora, pontificalia præferentem insignia, vultu hilari blandientem, atque dicentem: "Magnam, o homo, in Sanctis hujus ecclesiæ habes fiduciam." Et ille: "Vere, Domine, nam unicum ac speciale refugium meum Sanctus Acca episcopus est." Cui Sanctus: "Non frustra," inquit, "neque ad insipientiam tibi. Ego enim sum Acca episcopus, cujus precibus te noveris esse sanatum."

Surgit homo jam videns, et stupefactus respicit intuentes. Æstimabat enim se visum videre. Denique alloquens illum qui propius adsidebat: "Tunc es?" inquit. Et ille: "Ego utique. Videsne me? Plane," inquit, "video, si tamen non sompno." Exsiliit ille, miraculumque effert in publicum. Sonat in ore omnium: "Raven, Raven videt." Surgunt omnes, immolant

^p This is mentioned in the Cottonian MS.

^q Acca died on the 20th of October.

in tabernaculo Domini hostiam vociferationis,^r cantant, et hymnum dicunt. Præfertur ad dominum viri fama miraculi: qui volens se gratum Sancto præbere, virum ipsum emancipatum cum omni pecunia sua Sancto tradidit, ipsiusque ecclesiæ obsequiis quoad viveret deputavit.

Utinam, fratres karissimi, eadem fide, pari devotione, nec impari spe, in animæ periculis ejus imploremus auxilium, considerantes in quibus lacrymis, qua precum instantia homo carnalis carnalem obtinuit sospitatem. Vos qui spiritales estis, contra spiritales animæ infirmitates, lacrimarum tanto patri offeratis libamina, orationum sacrificia immoletis, vigiliarum et psalmorum holocaustomata caritatis igne in aram cordis succendatis.

[CAP. VIII.]

[*Cæca visum recipit*].

Sed silentio non arbitror prætereundum, quemadmodum cæca mulier reliquiarum sanctissimarum ejus sit sanata virtute.^s Nostis, fratres, quemadmodum a venerabili viro Ædrico, qui primus canonicorum regularium in hac ecclesia, secundum Apostolicæ traditionis formam, vitam suam moresque instituit,^t sub sancto altari duæ thecæ referantur inventæ, quarum altera Sancti Accæ, altera beati Alchmundi reliquiarum ossa quædam mixta pulveri, secundum fidem inscripti tituli, continebat. Verum ne pretium thesauri quem pius explorator invenerat, inventorem lateret, virtus miraculis comprobatur. Mulier quædam capta oculis, sed mente devota, ecclesiæ limina diebus noctibusque terebat. Sed quia paupercula ductoris quandoque frustrabatur solatio, frater prædictus compatiens miseræ, sæpe gressus ejus data manu regebat. Quadam vero die, dum solitum pietatis beneficium præstaret egenti, subiit animo sanctarum reliquiarum quas invenerat explorare virtutem. Igitur sacrum ingressus repostorium, facta oratione, unum producit ex ossibus, aquaque perfudit. Accedens deinde ad cæcam, jubet ut in sanctissimi præsulis Accæ meritis ac virtute confideret. Annuit illa, ac sacri peculii bajulum genu flexo ac demissa cervice adorat. Tunc ille lavacro salutari linit oculos, ac signo crucis impresso rogat beatissimi patris adesse potentiam.

^r A very hyperbolic expression reminding the reader of the words in the Prologue: "Reddamus vitulos laborum nostrorum; pinguissimum scilicet sacrificium laudis Domino immolemur." The exhortation at the end of this chapter contains other instances.

^s This miracle is alluded to in the Cottonian MS.

^t This discovery made by Edric is described at greater length by Simeon. See the *Anecdota*. Edric was sent to Hexham by Thomas II., archbishop of York.

Mira res! ad tactum undæ cœlestis consertas mox palpebras vis quædam Divina disjunxit, sensimque cedente caligine, lux diu desiderata successit. Exultat uterque: illa quia commodi corporalis, ille quia fructus spiritalis experiebatur effectum.

[CAP. IX.]

[*Gutturis tumor sanatur*].

Itaque frater ille venerabilis, ipsa experientia factus audacior, et quasi de fide in fidem proficiens, de sanctissimi præsulis virtute securior, quotiens offerebatur occasio, totiens cœlestis potentiæ gratiam (requireret).^a Accidit namque ut faber qui solus civitatis hujus incolis eo tempore artis suæ beneficio serviebat,^b circa guttur morbo intercutaneo laboraret, adeo ut et loquendi officium vis tumoris adimeret, et meatus per quos cybus ad interiora descendit obcluderet. Periclitabatur civitas, dum ille salutis, isti artis necessariæ dispendium formidarent. Sed cæteris desperantibus sæpe-prædictus frater de cœlestis gratiæ remedio præsumebat. "Numquid non," inquit, "vis illa quæ tenebras vertit in lucem, hunc perfacile non deponet tumorem?" Allatam igitur aquam qua reliquias sacras perfuderat, in os patientis effudit. Mira res! invasit morbum unda cœlestis, et mox quasi aquam non excepisset, sed ferrum, ab inferiori parte tumoris cutis rumpitur, sanies perniciose expellitur, paullatimque detumescente gutture, via voci, cibi semita aperitur. Sicque factum est, ut eodem miraculo sanitas homini, ars necessaria restitueretur civitati.

[CAP. X.]

[*Sancti Accæ derisor punitur*].

Nostris etiam temporibus viri duo qui in fratrum obsequiis a puero vixerant, debitis donati stipendiis, cum jam domo, familia, pecunia quoque haberentur clariores, fide et bonis moribus facti sunt suis civibus cariores. Convenit utrisque sanctæ resurrectionis et Dominicæ passionis invisere loca, ut ibi peccatorum veniam mererentur, ubi sanguine Christi totius mundi sunt peccata deleta. Accendunt se mutuo, propositoque crebra confabulatione tempore congruo, signo crucis muniti, patrocinioque Sanctorum, et fratrum orationibus se devotissime commendantes, desideratum iter arripiunt. Qui cum corpore transfretassent,

^a A word is wanting in the MS.; I supply *requireret* at the suggestion of Mabillon.

^b We may infer from this how scanty was the population of Hexham. There was only one smith in the place, who was seized with a disease which seems to have resembled the diphtheria of the present day.

ex aliis partibus adventantes peregrini in unam cum eis societatis gratiam colerent (*coaluerunt*). Cumque suæ civitatis patronum diebus singulis (ut fieri solet) familiarius invocarent, prædicti viri Sanctum Accam cotidianis precibus frequentabant, et inter amica colloquia cujus esset meriti sociis insinuabant. Spernunt et subsannant verba eorum. Clericus quidam quem cum sorore sua eorum comitatu casus adjunxerat, et quisnam esset ille Acca nec scire se dicens, simplicitatis et rusticitatis juvenes arguebat, quod eum Sanctum dicerent, cujus ipse nec virtutes audierat, nec in cathaloco (*catalogo*) Patrum nomen invenerat.^w Infelicissimus qui secundum suam socordiam de Sancti meritis disputabat, putans scriptum non esse quod ipse non legerat, nec virtutibus floruisse beatum quem ipse non audierat. Ridebat et illorum inscientiam, qui simplicibus eorum simpliciter fidem verbis adhibentes, cum eis beatissimum Accam sibi adesse precabantur. Blasfemiis ergo blasfemias addens, in Sanctum Domini ridens invehitur. Illi ulterius maledici^x non ferentes, indignationem suam justis inprecationibus prodiderunt. Detestatur tota illa multitudo blasfemum, et suam eum societate judicantes indignum, ab illis divertere compulerunt. Illis procedentibus maledictus substitit, et statim pessima pallione percussus, *cadens in terram volutabatur spumans*.^y Misera facies hominis sororem solvit in lacrymas. Sed quid faceret? timebat socios, quos exacerbaverat frater: subsistens nullum ei solatium adferebat. Dolor exigit ab illis flagitare remedium, quibus se præbuerat nimia perversitate infestum. Currens consequitur præcedentes lacrymis, et gemitu infortunium protestatur: rogat eos aliquid periclitanti præstare consilium. Negant omnes, et blasfemum juste percussum gratulantur. Unus tamen juvenum misericordia motus: “Adhuc credis Sanctum Accam in hoc posse tibi periculo subvenire?” Ad nomen Sancti aperit oculos, visoque juvene, voce qua potuit, “Credo,” ait, “credo, et vere et ex corde credo, et te illi fidei meæ obsidem trado: tantum ora pro me.” Oravit juvenis, et eadem fere hora iste ab oratione, ille de terra surrexit. Postremo inpositus jumento venit ad socios, non jam blasfemus, sed ex parte sanctitatis devotus assertor. Nullus deinceps in beati Accæ laude ferventior, nullus in fide virtutis ejus certior, nullus in periculis fluminum, in periculis latronum, in periculis montium de ejus auxilio vel consolatione securior. Experti vero in itinere plurima beati Confessoris beneficia, visitatis locis sanctissimis, juvenes prospere remearunt ad propria, munera satis honesta Sancto, populo miraculum reportantes.

^w The adventure of a clerk who denies the sanctity of Acca.

^x Mabillon supplies here the word *verba*.

^y St. Mark ix. 20.

[CAP. XI.]

[*Destructio et renovatio ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis. Reconduntur reliquiæ. Inventio et translatio reliquiarum SS. Accæ et Alchmundi*].^y

Post desolationem Nordahymbrorum, quam irruentibus in Angliam Dacis miserabiliter incurrit,^z sicut cæteræ hujusmodi ecclesiæ, hæc Haugustaldensis: ut verbis Propheticiis utar,^a multo tempore sine sacerdote, sine ephod, sine theraphim gemebunda resedit. Tunc *plorans ploravit in nocte et lacrimæ ejus in maxillis ejus*.^b Quidquid de lignis fuerat, ignis absumpsit. Bibliotheca illa nobilissima, quam præsul sanctus condiderat, tota deperiit. In qua denique devastatione monimenta, quæ de vita et miraculis Sanctorum sancti patres ad posteritatis notitiam stilo transmiserant, constat esse consumpta. Deinde cum, defervente rabie persecutionis, pacis serenitas arrideret, floruit in ecclesia Dunelmensi presbiter quidam multis adornatus virtutibus, qui ab omnibus aquilonalibus Anglis patris loco colebatur, qui ita sermonibus ejus inhiabant, ut quicquid audirent ab eo quasi Divinum oraculum suscepissent. Vocabatur autem Aluredus filius Westou, quem etiam ob doctrinæ et sapientiæ gratiam, Alured Larwa,^c id est doctorem, nominabant. Hic Divina revelatione commonitus, per sacra loca quæ sævitia barbarorum vastaverat discurrens, multorum Sanctorum reliquias de tumulis eruens ad Dunelmensem transtulit ecclesiam.^d Veniens vero ad sanctam Haugustaldensem ecclesiam, cum sanctissimi Accæ reliquias sustulisset, prævidens forte in spiritu (nam et spiritum prophetiæ dicitur habuisse) quid religionis, quid honoris ea ipsa ecclesia erat habitura; sacras illas reliquias absportare noluit, vel non potuit; sed eas intra ecclesiam honeste recondens, venerationi locorum, devotioni præsentium, profectui futurorum, Divina gratia disponente, consulit.^e Porro cum sub rege Ædwardo Nordanhymbria paul(1)ulum respirasset, et reliquiæ dispersionis in suis receptæ sedibus ad ruinas ædificandas

^y This title is partly derived from Mabillon. A portion of the ensuing chapter is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* under the 7th of September.

^z This occurred in 875. See p. 42.

^a Taken partly from Hosea iii. 4.

^b Lament. i. 2.

^c Lareor, a Saxon word, signifies master or teacher. The name was afterwards applied to Eilaf, Alured's son (Appendix, p. viii.).

^d Alured lived until the time of bishop Egelric, who was raised to the see of Durham in 1012. There is a long account of him and his adventures in quest of relics in Simeon's *History of the Church of Durham*, lib. iii., cap. 8. The twenty-sixth chapter in Reginald is also devoted to him. A full account of what Alured did at Hexham is given in chapter xii.

Alured, nevertheless, seems to have carried off some of the relics to Durham. See p. 36.

sese accinxissent; iterum regnante Guillelmo, cum Walcherus episcopus interfectus esset ab Anglis,^f calamitatis fuga, desolatio subsecuta est. Successit Walchero Guilelmus habitu monachus, qui clericos ab ecclesia Dunelmensi eliminans, monachos subrogavit: et aliis quidem possessiones extra ecclesiam ordinavit, alios id suscipere contempnentes expellere non cunctavit.^g Inter quos prædicti Aluredi filius qui cæteris præerat, cum nihil ab episcopo suscipere dignaretur,^h adiit venerabilem archiepiscopum Thomam, qui primus Normannorum Eboracensem rexit ecclesiam, rogans ut ei Haugustaldensem ecclesiam concederet re-ædificandam. Annuit votis ejus pontifex venerabilis, et ei ecclesiam prædictam regendam commisit. Veniens ad locum homo invenit omnia desolata, muros ecclesiæ sine tegmine, sordere feno, silvis supercrescentibus horrere; litura, imbribus, et tempestate dejecta, nihil pristini retinuisse decoris. Erat autem talis terræ illius desolatio, ut fere bienno ex solo venatu et aucupio se suamque familiam sustineret. Intendit itaque animo ecclesiam renovare, et primum a parte orientali incipiens erexit altare, et cœlestibus sacrificiis convenienter aptavit. Sed ipso post modicum infecto negotio vita excedens, fructum laboris sui filio dereliquit. Qui licet peccator secus quam oportuit vixerit, circa ecclesias tamen Christi renovandas, ornandas, serviendas, devotum se et sollicitum exhibebat.

Hicⁱ itaque ecclesiæ Haugustaldensi renovandæ totum animum curamque impendens, succisa quæ supercreverat silva, purgatis ab omni sorde parietibus, totam ecclesiam tegulis textit, et, litis intus et extra parietibus, antiqua eam pictura et venustate decoravit. Strato autem in parte orientali ex quadris lapidibus pavimento, altare subnexus columnis loco congruo collocavit. Indigne autem ferens sacras reliquias loco inferiori obrutas, placuit ei eas evulsas tumulo digno honore retro altare majus in theca operta pallio honestius reponere. Extracta igitur e tumulo ossa, donec circa locum in quo reponenda erant necessaria pararentur, in porticu australi super altare Sancti Michaelis lintheaminibus substratis composuit, et ad eorum custodiam fratrem suum adolescentem, postmodum in

^f The murder of Walcher occurred at Gateshead in 1180 (Simeon, col. 210).

^g The account of the reformation of the church of Durham by William de St. Carileph is to be found in the first chapter of the fourth book of Simeon. The change caused much angry feeling and contention.

^h Eilav or Eilaf, the son of Alured, was made the head of the church of Hexham by bishop Egelric. At Egelwine's death Thomas archbishop of York took possession of Hexhamshire, and afterwards, when Eilaf was turned out of Durham, he went to the archbishop, and strengthened his title to the church of Hexham by asking for it *de novo* from the new lord of the soil.

ⁱ *i. e.*, Eilav, son of Eilav and grandson of Alured.

hac ecclesia optimæ vitæ et bonorum morum canonicum, nomine Aldredum,^j de ejus simplicitate securus dimisit. Intuens adolescens in præsentia sua sacras reliquias, interiori quadam suavitate compunctus, aliquam reliquiarum illarum particulam concupivit. "Non enim," inquit, "hæc sola ecclesia tanto debet munere gloriari, cum tanta ossuum multitudo multis possit ecclesiis satis esse." Horrens tamen tale sanctuarium manu tangere, septem pœnitentiales psalmos cum lacrimis et compunctione præmisit: et sic facta oratione accedens ad porticum, obvium habuit in ipso ingressu tanti caloris incendium, ut ad ostium fornacis ardentis nichil tale se perpeti posse putaret. Territus ille regreditur, credens se tanto indignum beneficio. Prosternitur iterum, lacrimatur, pectus tundit, et psalmos sacros repetens, accessum temptavit. Sed vehementior mox calor egressus e porticu, introeuntem repulit, et spem quoque introducendi ademit: nam tertio id attemptare non præsumpsit. His auditis, frater ejus qui ecclesiæ præerat, resolutus in lacrimis, cum magna devotione et compunctione sacratissimas reliquias pallio pretiosissimo involutas, et in scrinio convenientissimo collocatas super tabulam lapideam, quam in hoc decenter præparaverat, cum debito honore reposuit.

Crescente postea circa Sanctos ipsius devotione presbiteri, cœpit intra se de sui indignitate, de ecclesiæ sanctitate, de Sanctorum reverentia districtius cogitare: et indignum se judicans tantorum patrum accessui, timens insuper ne post ejus excessum, etsi non minus dignis, certe minus sollicitis, ecclesia traderetur; zelo domus Dei succensus, ad virum venerabilem juniorem Thomam Eboracensem archiepiscopum adiit, et ut canonicis regularibus ecclesiam committeret, illisque se et sua contraderet, suppliciter postulavit.^k Cum vero votis ejus præsul venerabilis annuisset, officina religioni convenientia, lignea tamen, propriis construxit manibus, et ad nutum prædicti pontificis, primo fratres duos honestæ vitæ, quorum alter in Eboracensi alter in Beverlacensi ecclesia laudabiliter conversatus est, in Haugustaldensem introduxit ecclesiam. Post mortem vero Thomæ succedens ei Turstinus, Asketillo cuidam canonico

^j Aldred, brother of Eilav II., is made shrinekeeper at Hexham, and a curious adventure of his is described. It is told at greater length in Simeon, coll. 101-2. See the Anecdota.

^k Eilav, at this time, was only the deputy of Richard de Maton, who was a canon of York, and Hexham was a part of the corpus of his stall. A change now takes place, in bringing about which Eilav had a great share. See pp. 50, 53-4. I have spoken at length elsewhere about these alterations, and the early reformers and rulers of the house. Aelred, it will be seen, gives the chief credit to his father Eilav, but Prior Richard (pp. 50, 53-4) assigns it to the archbishop. The two seem to have worked together.

de Huntenduncensi cœnobio ipsius ecclesiæ curam commisit, et ut regularis ibi vita servetur, in perpetuum sanxit. Erat autem vir ille ellegans et affabilis, doctus omnium se conformare moribus, et divitum, pauperum, clericorum, militum, rusticorum sibi gratiam conciliare. Hujus temporibus in tantum, tam in spiritalibus quam in temporalibus, Dei domus profecit, ut in brevi bonis et honestis viris regularem professis vitam habundaret, et officina regularia decenter constructa lapidibus, et tegulis ligneis tecta, gratum incolis præbebant receptaculum. Ipsa insuper ecclesia pretiosis decorata ornamentis, et Sancti Andreæ aliorumque Sanctorum ditata reliquiis, tam advenientium quam inhabitantium devotionem adauxit. Cui successit vir quidam religiosus et optime litteratus Robertus, cognomento Biset, in eadem ecclesia professus: qui magis religioni, quam exteriorum administrationi aptus, post aliquos annos abrenuntiavit curæ pastorali, successorem habens Richardum, virum sane ab ipsa adolescentia honestæ vitæ et gravitatis: qui etiam cum esset in sæculo,¹ ob insigne castitatis et sobrietatis fere monachus^m putaretur.

Interea fratribus quibus totiens Sanctorum enituerat virtus, interior crevit devotio, ac magis amor excitabatur. Sentiebant eos non solum in reliquiis suis, sed etiam in miraculis esse præsentis, a quibus in tristibus consolabantur, in lætis regebantur, cum temptarentur sublevabantur, persecutione emergente defendebantur, in qualibet necessitate fugientes ad eos exaudiebantur. Et quia eorum meritis divitiis indies temporalibus augebantur, etiam eorum temporalem gloriam æmulabantur. Indignabantur vili tectos ligno, nichil gloriæ et honoris plebis præferre conspectibus, quæ ejus beneficiis sæpius jocundabatur. Et primum singulis concaluit cor intra eos, et in meditatione eorum exarsit ignis. Demum conferentes invicem, et crebrius de his conferentes sermonem, accendebant se mutuo, et quomodo res manciparetur effectui diligentius inquirebant. Tandem con-

¹ We may gather from this that Richard was Prior of Hexham in 1154 (otherwise his successor would have been mentioned by Aelred or Prior John), and that he was dead when this tractate was written. Aelred himself died in 1167 (*Chron. de Mailros*, 81), his obit being observed in the church of Durham on the 8th of January (*Liber Vitæ*, 141). We learn from Reginald that Aelred was at Kircudbright in Dumfriesshire in 1164 (178), and there seems to be no reason to question the date assigned for his death by the Melrose chronicler. We may assume, therefore, that between 1154 and 1167 Prior Richard died and this tractate was written.

^m This is very high praise from Aelred, whose predilections for monastic severity were so strong. The thought was a familiar one. In his account of the battle of the Standard he says that prince Henry of Scotland was such an exemplar of goodness, "ut et in rege monachum, et in monacho regem prætereundum videretur." (col. 342.)

venientes super hoc sermone Priorem, suo desiderio sancti viri devotionem in id ipsum excitabantur. Omnium igitur voluntatibus in unum convenientibus aggrediuntur opus desideratum, his quorum hoc intererat libenti animo et prompto corde necessaria præbentibus. Paratur theca congruæ magnitudinis, argentoque et auro vestitur. Inscruntur locis convenientibus gemmæ, et pro artificis industria opus summo decore variatur. Compinguntur etiam duæ minores non parvi decoris, quamvis non ejusdem pretii. Anno autem ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto, paratis omnibus, Prior diem sollempnem quo sacræ reliquiæ transferrentur constituit quinto nonas Martii. Interea fratres psalmis et orationibus exercitiisque spiritalibus tanto se operi præparabant.

Et jam præfixus aderat dies," cum circa horam tertiam convenientibus in ecclesia Priore cum fratribus, ante sanctum altare nudis pedibus prosternuntur: psalmisque pœnitentialibus preces congruas adjungentes, responsorium, quod in honorem sanctorum confessorum in ecclesia frequentatur, altissona voce decantant. Finita vero post cantum oratione sollempni, procedunt fratres albis induti et discalciati, reverendasque reliquias cum loculo in quo hætenus servabantur ante gradum altaris exponentes, extractis inde sacrosanctis pignoribus, substratis honeste palliis in pavimento cum summa reverentia collocarunt. Erant autem quatuor Sanctorum ossa singillatim a se divisa, et venustissimis palliis involuta. Quæ cum cœpissent evolvere, occurrit miri odoris fragrantia, quæ omnium perstringeret nares, omnium corda mulceret. Qua visitatione Divina fratres attoniti, primum sepultos eos cum aromatibus arbitrabantur. Sed cum hujus rei nullum appareret indicium, intellexerunt Sanctos Dei ex odoribus paradisi, quibus fruuntur in æternum, suis sanctis reliquiis hanc gratiam indidisse. His itaque plurimum consolati, primi eorum sacras explorant exuvias. Inventa sunt ossa cœlesti decore corusca, colore simul et odore manifestam aspirantia sanctitatem: quæ sic omnium in se convertebant adspectum, et excitabant affectum, ut cum spiritaliter non dubitarent esse præsentem, ejus reliquias tanta perfusas gratia, tanta majestate venerandas sentirent. Et ne esset posteris de nomine sancti confessoris cunctatio, is qui condiderat scripti at(t)estatione scrupulum omne purgaverat. Inveniunt namque in ipso involuero cedula continentem.

ANNO DOMINICÆ INCARNATIONIS DCC^o XL^o, REVERENDÆ MEMORIÆ ACCA EPISCOPUS XIII^o KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS DE MUNDO

" A full account of the translation is given, and the day and year on which it took place. It will be curious to compare it with what was done on similar occasions in other places.

AD CÆLUM TRANSIIT, ANNO EPISCOPATUS SUI XX^o IIII^o, ET HIC EJUS RELIQUIÆ IN PACE PAUSANT.

Hac igitur sacratissima visione, etsi non satiati, plurimum tamen refocillati, cœlestia pignora pannis mundissimis iterum involventes, digno cum honore recondunt. Et ne temporum futurorum deficiente scedula, Sancti nomen et meritum subduceretur memoriæ; in membrana simul et plumbi lamina eadem scribentes et sculpenes, reliquiis apposuerunt.

Deinde ad Sancti Alchmundi reliquias inspiciendas sese contulerunt. Quibus cum pari gloria et honore repertis, scedulam quæ nomen ejus et officium continebat legerunt. Et scripturæ ipsius textus erat.

ANNO DOMINI DCC^o LXXX^o, ACHMUNDUS, HAGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIAE PRÆSUL, CUI ANNIS XIII^{cim} PRÆFUIT, SEPTIMO IDUS SEPTEMBRIS DEFUNCTUS EST: QUI PRO MERITIS SUIS ÆTERNÆ BEATITUDINIS PARTICEPS FACTUS EST, ET HIC IN PACE PAUSAT.

Stabant autem fratres circa thesaurum^o illud cœleste, intentequē scrutantes omnia, omnia quibus corpus humanum compingitur indumenta reppererunt. Et quia hi qui quondam Sanctos condiderant, aliquas minutias ex ossibus beati Accæ pro devotione sustulerunt, nichil tale circa beati Alchmundi reliquias factum mirabantur. Cur enim hoc acciderit, aliis exciderat, alii nec audierant. Unde nos veterem translationem ejus adjungentes novæ, causam hujus integritatis evolvere non pigebit.

[CAP. XII.]

[*Alia Alchmundi translatio.*]

Tempore illo quo presbiter Aluredus, de quo superius fecimus mentionem,^p ab omnibus Northanhumborum ecclesiis, principibus etiam et plebe, patris loco coleretur, vir quidam de minoris ordinis proceribus in possessione ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis manens,^q erga ipsius loci patronos magna devotione

^o Mabillon observes here: "Sic thesaurum neutro genere usurpatum ab auctoribus mediæ ætatis alias adnotatum."

^p In cap. xi., p. 192. Compare this account with that given by Simeon, coll. 108-109, and with that in the Cottonian MS., which is printed among the Anecdota. This chapter, and the two miracles which I have appended to it, must be regarded merely as supplementary to what has gone before. The insertion makes a disagreeable break in the account of the translation of the relics in 1154, and it is a question whether it would not have been better to print the whole chapter in small type as a note, in which light Mabillon regards it. The narrative of the translation of St. Alchmund is in the Acta Sanctorum under the 7th of September.

^q One of the provosts, or thanes, as they are called (Appendix, p. vii), who had the charge of the land under the bishops of Durham. He was probably a person of the name of Collan, whose sister Alured married.

tenebatur. Erat autem homo simplex, fide magis quam scientia præditus. Hic cum nocte quadam membra sopori dedisset, adstitit ei in visu reverendi vultus senior, pontificalibus decoratus insigniis, cœlesti luce præfulgidus: qui cum baculi pastoralis quem manu gerebat levi pulsu virum quasi a sompno excitans tetigisset, “Vade,” inquit, “cito, et dic Aluredo presbytero Dunelmensi, ut populo Hagustaldensi in unum collecto, eruat e tumulto corpus meum, sublatumque altius in ecclesia loco honestiori recondat. Juste enim ab hominibus illis honor ex(h)iberetur in terris, quos Christus inter Angelos glorificandos judicavit in cœlis.” Obstupefactus ille, et cum lucis splendore, tum vocis illius auctoritate attonitus, cum spiritum pau(l)lulum resum(p)sisset, quisnam ille esset humiliter et reverenter inquit. Tunc Sanctus: “Ego,” ait, “sum Alchmundus, qui quartus a beato Wilfrido Haugustaldensi ecclesiæ præfui, qui post certamen quod certavi, post cursum quod consummavi, post fidem quam servavi, per Christi gratiam justitiæ coronam adeptus, juxta venerabilem et sanctum prædecessorem meum Accam sepultus sum: ubi presbiter antedictus, te adstante, corpus meum diligentius quærat, absque dubio reperturus.” Hæc dicens, in sua invisibili et incomprehensibili felicitate sese recepit.

Expergefactus vir, nichil hæsitans de oraculo, presbyterum adiit, et eo ordine quo obvenerat referens visionem, quid Sanctus præceperat intimavit. Ille, *haud incredulus visioni*, jussis obtemperat, dieque constituto, cum populus quem vocaverat sollempniter advenisset, oratione præmissa, cum clericis ad locum quem destinaverat Sanctus accessit, ubi cum altius jam fodissent, nullum tumuli vestigium invenerunt. Et jam venerat hora tertia, et illi nichil profecerant. Astabat ille cui hæc cœlitus fuerant revelata immobilis: fide cæteros ne desperarent hortabatur. Usque ad horam igitur sextam instantes operi, nullum tanti laboris fructum perceperunt. Tunc e populo qui jam longa e(x)pectatione fatigatus astabat, ridere nonnulli, quidam velut spe tanta frustrati dolore alium delusum fantasmatibus hominem jocabantur; alii presbiterum quod fidem sompniis præbuisset tacite arguebant. At ille vir nichil his motus, in sua perstabat sententia, et in eodem loco. Sancti corpus inveniendum fide plenus adstruebat: ar(r)ectoque instrumento, et alios, quos jam dissolverat tædium, ad fodiendum excitans: “Hic,” inquit, “hic absque dubio, hic jacet Alchmundus, hinc sacras ejus reliquias hodie eruemus.” Non fefellit hominem spes tanta: sed cujus fides non defecerat, amor non tepuerat, circa horam nonam desiderato potitus thesauro, suis fidem fecit promissis.

Collectis itaque sacratissimis ossibus venerandus presbiter ea pannis mundissimis involuta, in convenienti scrinio collocavit.

Et quia sacra Missarum sollempnia celebrare hora tardior non sinebat; in orientali ecclesiæ porticu, ubi beati Petri Apostoli memoria frequentabatur, ea nocte cœleste munus quod acceperant ponendum et conservandum decernunt. Intempestæ autem noctis silentio presbiter ipse cum clericis suis circa reliquias Sancti sacras excubias celebrans, accensus devotione, decrevit aliquam sanctorum ossium portciunculam secum deferre Dunelmum, ut sic consuleretur affectui, et Sancti ipsius honori cumulus adderetur. Sed et hoc sibi deberi arbitrabatur, ut quem is Sanctus tanti operis designaverat executorem, dignam non negaret mercedem. Cæteris itaque alto sopore depressis, accessit ad loculum, et unum ex ossibus, quibus intervenientibus per certos articulos nervis digitus fuerat arte creatrice compactus, auferens, sibi reponere et reservare curavit.

Interea nocturnis tenebris finem dedit aurora, et sacræ celebritatis exspectatio citius solito populum excitavit. Accurrit utriusque sexus non parva multitudo cupiens tanti patroni precibus commendari, et sacris reliquiis aliquid sui præbere volens obsequii. Hora vero tertia paratis omnibus quæ tantæ sollempnitati congruere videbantur, venerabilis presbiter eos qui ad tantum opus putabantur idonei, ut loculum suis deferrent humeris, designavit: qui pro tempore accedentes, cum apposis manibus sanctissimum levare temptarent quasi fixum solo immobile permanebat. Vulgus more suo eorum id peccatis imputans, amovendos eos arbitrabantur. “Eligantur alii;” et eorum conatus carens effectum, plebem admiratione percellit. Et ne forte hi quoque putarentur indigni succedunt alii, qui et ipsi frustra laborantes, absque desiderii sui fructu recedunt. Obstupefacti igitur omnes, et animo consternati, quid decerneret presbiter exspectabant. Ille admirans, et semet-ipsam in causam esse non attendens, pernoctandum in orationibus, supplicandum cum summa devotione Sancto, et ut hujus immobilitatis suæ ratio non lateret, exigendum ipsius sanctitatis oraculum æstimavit. Dixit, et factum est ita. Clero ergo et populo circa reliquias excubante et orante, eidem viro cui prius (nam ei in ipsa ecclesia vigilanti jam sompnus obrepserat) Sanctus apparuit, et severiori intuens oculo: “Quid est,” inquit, “quod facere voluistis? itane me desectum membris ecclesiæ invehendum duxistis, ut beato Apostolo Andreæ sacroque ejus altari mutilatus as(s)istam, cui tot annis integro corpore et mente servivi?” Et ostendens ei manum, cui unius digiti quasi pars media videbatur abscissa; “Surge,” inquit, “et contestare in populo, ut digitum meum restituat ille qui abstulit, quatenus membra mea in quietis suæ loco cum sua integritate repaudent, et hi qui in honore meo tam devote convenerant, desideratum sui laboris

fructum optineant. Mane autem facto surgens in medio plebis homo, cum in eum omnes curiosius intendissent, clara voce cœleste propalavit^r oraculum, magna ultione plectendum adjiciens, qui Sancto tamen irrogasset injuriam. Tunc presbiter venerandus, licet cara illa pignora Sancto restituenda sentiret, se tamen cum tanto miraculo ob honorem Sancti deprehensum exsultans, facto in plebe silentio, omnia quæ fecerat, et qua intentione fecerat, nichil cunctatus exposuit. Cumque in præsencia populi quod sibi servaverat protulisset, cunctis congratulantibus, et *mirabilem Deum in Sanctis suis*^s prædicantibus, loco suo restituit. Oratione tunc demum et digna satisfactione præmissa, ad jussum sacerdotis feretrum clerici levi motu levantes, cum(h)ymnis et canticis spiritalibus, ut tantum decebat pontificem, in ecclesiam detulerunt quarto nonas Augusti: celebratoque pro more cum devotione sollempni sacrificii salutaris officio, ad sua singuli cum gaudio remearunt. Ex illa die et deinceps ex sacris ejus reliquiis nichil quisquam ausus auferre, intactas et integras, sicut eas fratres invenerunt, posteritatis notitiæ servarunt. Dies iste omnibus annis celebris habebatur a populo: sed quia nova hac translatione peracta, decretum est utriusque gloriam sub una celebritate colendi (*colendam*); nos utramque historiam credidimus conjungendam, adjicientes quid miraculi olim per beati viri merita in hac sollempnitate acciderit.

[*Frater naufragio ereptus.*] Quidam e fratribus, Hugo scilicet Venerabilis, de quo superius mentionem fecimus, ad loca vicina pro monasterii utilitate profectus, inpendente jam ipso die sollempni regredi festinabat. Habuit in comitatu suo quendam ecclesiæ famulum fidelem et devotum, et fratribus in omnibus quæ ad ipsum spectabant perutilem. Venientes autem ad flumen, quod civitati subterfluit, locatis in navicula quibus insederant equis, Uthredus, (hoc enim nomen viro,) arripiens gubernaculum, et stans in parte posteriori navem regebat, et, ecce! equus unus ab anteriori parte prosiliens, navem undis fere subduxit. Nam jumentum posterioribus pedibus fortius in saltum innitens, proram in ima depressit: sed mox suæ levitatis repulso resiliens, cum se altius extulisset, eam partem cui rector navis insedit, undis immersit. Ille lapsus e pup(p)i absorbetur a flumine. Clamant qui aderant, accurrunt, lugent, discurrunt huc atque illuc, infortunium suum suspiriis et lacrimis protestantes. Sed quid facerent? non funiculum, non virgam, non rimum, nec quicquam omnino quo miscro subvenirent, habebant. Dolebant tantum, et ille latebat sub undis. Quod

^r The MS. has *propalatvm*, but I have ventured to amend it.

^s Psalm lxviii. 35.

solum spei supererat, levant ad ecclesiam oculos, et sibi Sanctorum merita precabantur adesse, præcipue tamen beatum Alchmundum, ad cujus sollempnia festinaverant, ut his cum periculis eximeret orabant. Interea juvenis quem jam suffocatum putabant, ad profunda demersus, integer memoria, imperturbatus sensibus, quicquid in ripa loquebantur claro percipiebat auditu, confessionem suam, ac si cum sacerdote loqueretur, Ei Qui ubique præsens est faciebat. Demum in beatum Alchmundum totum intendens animum, prout talis necessitas permittebat, ut sui misereretur supplicabat. Porro illi qui discurrebant in ripa, quasi de morte ejus jam de extrahendo et sepeliendo cadavere cogitabant: et, ecce! vident hominem eminus stantem, lanceam tenentem manu, et quasi eorum cursum et discursum admirantem. Clamant omnes ut accederet, et ipse haud segnis accurrit. Arreptam unam lanceam ubi ultimo visus fuerat inpulit fluctibus: quam ille mox oculis intuens, et nichil oblitus sui utraque manu apprehendens, inventi cadaveris suo pondere fecit indicium. Accurrunt ad adjuvandum cæteri; et, ecce! emergens ab imis homo descendit in ripam. Ubi modicum pausans, et undas quas hauserat ex(s)puens, ad monasterium cum sociis properavit. Ibi applicatus ad ignem, cum naturalis calor quem membris frigus ademerat, ad ea materialis ignis redisset accessu, receptis viribus Deo et Sancto Alchmundo in ecclesiam gratias acturus intravit. Ubi beati Alchmundi meritis ita convaluit, ut eadem die amne transmissio, ad sua incolumis remearet. Ab illo tempore singulis annis, quoad vixit, cum oblatione die eadem ad ecclesiam veniens, ereptori suo muneribus quibus potuit congruam acceptis beneficiis vicem rependere non omisit. His forte non inutiliter insertis, ad translationis ordinem redeamus.

[CAP. XIII.]

[*Fridenberti corporis inventio et Tilberti. Scrinia ubi reposita.*]

Accedentesque ad tertium,^s cum et ipsum non impari gloria reperissent, scedulam quæ ejus nomen et meritum proderet requirunt: et, ecce! inveniunt unam continentem hæc:

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI DCC^o LXVI^o, FRIDENBERTUS, HAUGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIE ANTISTES, DE HAC MORTALI CARNE MIGRAVIT AD VERÆ LUCIS PERHENNITATEM, X^o KALENDAS JANUARIJ, EPISCOPATUS SUI ANNO XXX^o IIII^o, ET HIC EST IN PACE.

^s The author, after the long and awkward break which the supplementary chapter necessitates, goes on with his account of the translation of the relics in 1154. The remains of Acca and Alchmund have been discovered; the canons now come to a third coffer containing those of Frethbert. Instead of *tertium* the MS. has *territorium*.

Renovata igitur ut in prioribus ipsa attestazione, et ipsum honestissime involutum illis quos inspexerant apposuerunt. Qui cum similiter quarti fasciculi divitias explorarent, inveniunt ossa non minori a cæteris decore fulgentia, eadem diligentia condita et involuta: sed cur nomen non apposuerit ille qui condidit, incertum habemus. Forte autem quia vulgus omne sciebat quattuor ibi fuisse episcopos quorum eos nomina minime latuerunt. Nam ante hanc translationem multis annis cum adhuc puerulus essem,^t Accam, Alchmundum, Fredenbertum, Tilbertum,ⁿ ibi simul requiescere nichil (h)æsitans populus totus clamabat. Forte ergo cum trium nomina apposuisset, sufficere credidit, cum cæteris nominatis alius non putari posset quam Tilbertus. Hos quattuor cum summa devotione palliis pretiosissimis involutos, sicut simul inventi sunt, simul in majori loculo collocarunt.

Postremo scrinium quo venerabilis Ættæ episcopi reliquiæ tegebantur aperientes, inveniunt ossa ejus cœlestem odorem spirantia. Quem cum omnes qui aderant territi et stupefacti hausissent, resoluti in lacrimas, tanti se patroni precibus devotissime commendarunt. Invenerunt in eadem theca vas plumb(e)um minutias quasdam ex beati Fredebertiⁿ continens, et ejusdem odoris fragrantiam redolens. Tunc sonuit in ore omnium gratiarum actio et vox laudis: applicantesque minorem quam ornaverant thecam, beati pontificis reliquias cum vase plumbeo quod invenerant intulerunt. At interna similiter ornata, cum Sancti Babillæⁿ episcopi et martyris sacris reliquiis quandam partem pulveris de corpore Sancti Accæ episcopi posuerunt. Erectaque secus altare tabula, tribus innexa columpnis, sculpturis et picturis decentissime variata, statuerunt in medio scrinium majus, quod quatuor episcoporum sacra pignora continebat; a parte ejus australi illud quod Sancti Ættæ^x venerabilia ossa tegebant; ad aquilonem tertium, cum his quæ imposuerant, statuerunt. Quibus rite peractis, et Missarum sollempniis cum debito gaudio celebratis, populus dimittitur, plebs fratrum solitæ paci redditur ac quieti.

^t "Hinc patet scriptorem translationis fuisse contemporaneum," says Stillingus in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Sep. 7); but it proves more than this, it shews that the writer lived at Hexham in his childhood, and this Ælred must have done, for he was a son of Eilav II., the priest of that place.

ⁿ The transcript of the MS. sent to Mabillon had the incorrect reading of Albertum. The great scholar, however, soon saw the error.

ⁿ Stillingus supplies the word *corpore*.

^x St. Babylas was a bishop of Antioch who was martyred in the third century. There is much about him in the works of Chrysostom, and Theodoret. He was a popular saint in Italy, France, and Spain.

^{*} The MS. reads Accæ.

[CAP. XIV.]

[*Sanctus Eata quis.*]

Quæritur quis fuerit iste Ætta, et quibus temporibus Hagustaldensem rexit ecclesiam.* Nos quid de his vel antiquitas senserit, vel ex Chronicis et Historiis probari aut conjici poterit, stilo tradere non tædebit. Dicit Sanctus Beda hunc esse Ættam qui quondam Mailrosensis et Lindisfarnensis abbas reverendissimus, beatissimum Cuthbertum, Sanctumque Boisilum, pluresque magnæ perfectionis viros meruit habere discipulos. Eo autem tempore quo beatus exsulabat Wilfridus, rex Egfridus qui eum expulerat, ejus invidens gloriæ, Eboracensis ecclesiæ diocesim, cui solus præfuerat Wilfridus, favente sibi Theodoro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, cui tota insula manus dederat, primo duobus, postea tribus divisit episcopis. Nam huic sanctissimo Ættæ Berniciorum commisit provinciam, sedem ei constituens in ecclesia Haugustaldensi, adjiciens ei etiam Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ principatum. Bosam vero Eboracensi præfecit ecclesiæ, Deirorum ei regendam concedens provinciam. Ordinati sunt autem a beato Theodoro Eboraci cum episcopo Lindissæ Ædedo. Tribus autem annis emensis, idem Theodorus Tunbertum ad ecclesiam ordinavit Haugustaldensem. Æta autem in Lindisfarnensi resedit ecclesia. Hæc de Historia Venerabilis Bedæ nostris verbis transtulimus. Dicit postea, Joannem successisse in cathedra Hagustaldensi Æata. Patet proinde post Tunbertum, beatissimum Ætam ad priorem redi(i)sse sedem, constituto in Lindisfarnensi cathedra sancto patre Cuthberto. Dicitur autem quod ipse pater ad Hagustaldensem fuerit electus ecclesiam, optinuerit tamen, ut Æta ad sedem, cui prius fuerat ordinatus, redeunte, ipse potius in ea in qua monachus Christo servierat, quieti suæ consulens, officium pontificatus exerceret. Defuncto autem Æata, ut Beda testatur, Joannes Sanctus successit. Hæc omnia exulante beato Wilfrido facta, satis manifestum est. Quo redeunte, Joannes ad Heboracensem transfertur ecclesiam, ipse vero Hagustaldensem recepit. Ipso vero post quatuor annos recepti episcopatus, sicut ei Michael Archangelus revelaverat, ad cœlestia translato, reverentissimum Æccam habuit successorem. Ita sanctissimus Æc(c)a post Wilfridum, licet episcopo vivente, episcopo in Hagustaldensi cathedra

* This account of Eata is merely a digest of the incidents in his life, which have been already mentioned in the earlier parts of this book. It is quite unnecessary, therefore, to point out the sources from which Aelred's information has been derived, more especially as I propose to do so in the Life of Eata, that will occur afterwards.

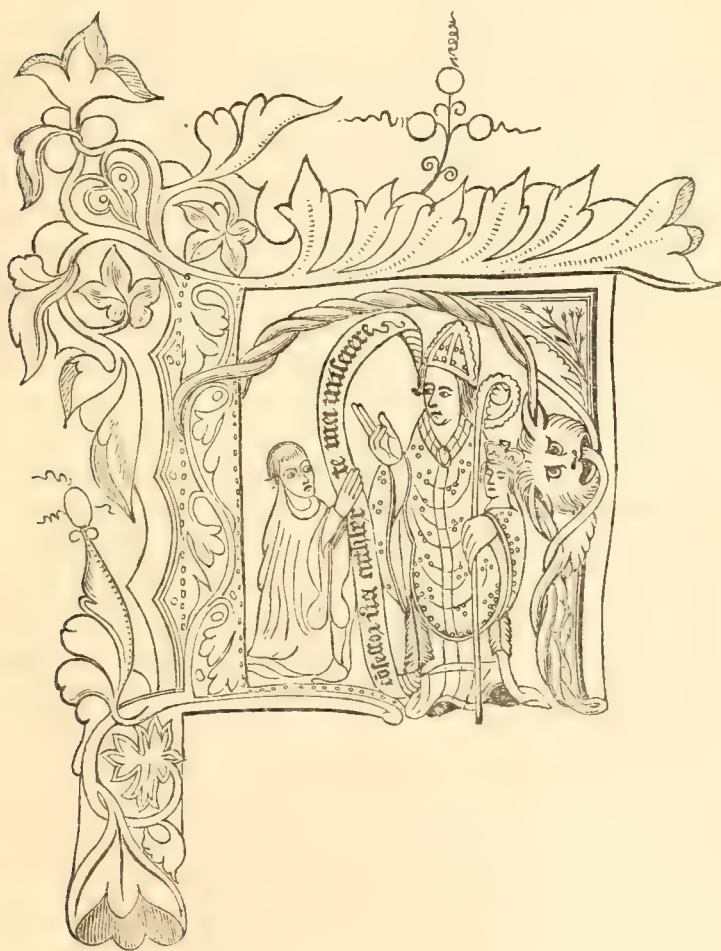
ordinatus, quem virum mansuetissimum ac simplissimum Beda commemorat, ibi vivendi finem fecit, de quo quid modernis acciderit temporibus, huic operi inserendum putavimus.

[CAP. XV.]

[*Sancti Eatae translatio Eboracum impedita.*]

Tempore Thomæ junioris, viri utique suavis animi et jocundi sermonis, jam introductis in ecclesiam Hagustaldensem canonicis, clerici Eboracenses multum jam exaltati et dilatati, ægre ferentes nullius se episcoporum suorum habere memoriam, cum Paulinum Rof(f)ensis, Wilfridum Ripensis, Joannem Beverlacensis ecclesia possideret, et aliquem illorum transferre populis obsistentibus esset impossibile; conveniunt archiepiscopum (ut) saltem beati Ætæ reliquias sibi permitteret, inglorium astruentes ecclesiam Hagustaldensem quinque, Eboracensem ne unum quidem habere episcopum. Considerantes enim vulgi Hagustaldensis imbecillitatem, fratrum qui nuper advenerant paupertatem, illis vim inferre tutius arbitrabantur. Ille ut erat miræ benignitatis, facile in eorum consensit sententiam. Comitantibus ergo se clericis qui Sanctum adveherent, venit Hagustaldunum. Non erat qui contradiceret, non erat qui aperiret os et mutiret. Fecerunt tamen fratres quod potuerunt. Instant precibus, et non gladiis, licet adversus raptores orationibus pugnant. Prosternunt se ante loculum, quod (*qui*) thesaurum illum cœlestem servabat: plorant, rogant ne se desereret, ne divitias Eboracenses suæ paupertati præferret, ne locum, quem vivus excoluerat, et sua ditaverat sepultura, sua præsentia destitueret. Desiderium pauperum exaudivit Dominus, præparationem cordis eorum audit auris ejus. Præparant evectioni necessaria, sed præparationem eorum irrisit Dominus, dissolvit consilium, conatum elusit. Et jam dies quo propositum effectui manciparent instabat: sed nocte præcedenti cum præsul quietis ac soporis gratia sese lectulo recepisset, videt in sompnis adsistentem sibi virum pontificali majestate insignem, vultu severum, immensa luce coruscum. Expavit antistes, et terrorem quem oculis ac facie prætendebat vix sustinens, quid esset acturus trepidans expectabat. Ille terribiliter intuens intuentem, sic ei est locutus: “Cur convenit vobis meam infestare quietem, et a loco ubi cum fratribus meis dormio et requiesco, ad alias transferre nationes? non hoc Domini voluntatis, sed tuæ est presumptionis, cujus jam nunc pœnas ex(s)olves.” Et elevans virgam pastorem quam manu tenebat, percussit bis humerum ejus, et multum comminatus ei disparuit. Territus ille verbere, clamore sompnum excussit.

Ad quem et clerici qui aderant excitati, accedunt ad eum : in-
venientesque eum trementem et pavidum, causam sibi propalari
deposcunt. Refert ille visionem, et mane vocatis ad se fratribus
confitetur reatum, veniam postulat, et se nichil hujusmodi
deinceps tentaturum promittens, orationum hostias pro se im-
molari precatur. Hinc fratres plurimum exhilarati sunt, et
clerici sua spe frustrata non parum confusi. Tribus itaque
diebus Sancti manum perpressus, quarto demum sanante eo qui
percusserat, infirmitas ab eo, et ipse a vico discessit.



ANECDOTA QUÆDAM HAUGUSTALDENSIA.

I. EXCERPTA QUÆDAM EX HISTORIA DE GESTIS REGUM ANGLORUM.^y

[*De Sancto Acca et Miraculis suis.*]

ANNO DCCXL, Ethelwald, Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ antistes, migravit ad Dominum, et Kynewlf in episcopatum subrogatus est.

Eodem vero anno reverendæ memoriæ Acca episcopus sublevatus est in regionem viventium. Erat ipse beatus strenuissimus actu, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus. In ecclesiasticæ quoque institutionis regulis sollertissimus extiterat, et usque dum præmia piæ devotionis capiat existere non desistit. Utpote qui a pueritia in clero sanctissimi atque Deo dilecti Bosa Eboracensis episcopi nutritus atque eruditus est. Deinde ad Wilfridum episcopum spe melioris propositi adveniens, omnem in ejus obsequio usque ad obitum ejus explevit ætatem. Cum quo etiam Romam veniens, multa illic, quæ in patria nequiverat, ecclesiæ sanctæ instituta utilia didicit, et suis subjectis tradidit.^z

Substollitur Sanctus de præsentī sæculo tertio decimo kalendas Novembris, cujus perducitur spiritus ab Angelis ad bravium supernæ felicitatis. Corpus vero ejus ad orientalem plagam extra parietem ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis, quam quatuor et viginti annis pontificali rexit dignitate, sepultum est. Duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili cælatura decoratæ positæ sunt, una ad caput, alia ad pedes ejus. In quarum una, quæ scilicet ad caput est, literis insculptum est, quod in eodem loco sepultus sit.

^y These passages about Acca and Alchmund are taken from the chronicle ascribed to Simeon of Durham, and occur in Twysden, coll. 101-4, 108-10. They are evidently interpolations, and were probably inserted by some canon of Hexham, who found the information within the walls of his own monastery. Richard of Hexham seems to have been acquainted with these passages, and Aelred also.

^z See Prior Richard's chronicle, pp. 35-6, and Bede, v., 20, from whom this paragraph is awkwardly adapted.

De quo loco post annos plusquam trecentos depositionis suæ a quodam presbytero Divina revelatione translatus est, ac in ecclesia intra feretrum condigno honore positus est: ubi, usque hodie, in magna veneratione habetur. Ob cujus sanctitatis meritum omnibus demonstrandum casula, et tunica, et sudarium, quæ cum sanctissimo ejus corpore in terra posita erant, non solum speciem, sed etiam fortitudinem pristinam usque in hodiernum diem servant. Inventa est etiam super pectus ejus tabula lignea in modum altaris facta, ex duobus lignis clavis argenteis conjuncta, sculptaque est in illa scriptura hæc

ALMÆ TRINITATI: AGIÆ SOPHIÆ: SANCTÆ MARIÆ.

Utrum vero reliquiæ in ea positæ fuerint, vel qua de causa cum eo in terra posita sit ignoratur. Attamen absque rationabili devotionis causa, summæ venerationis cultu cum sancto ejus corpore nequaquam esse condita creditur. Vestimenta vero ejus prædicta fratres ejusdem Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ aliquotiens populo monstrare solent, a quo cum omni devotione deosculantur.

Plurima vero miracula de Sancto Acca etiam vulgo narrantur, quæ omnia scripto explicare perlongum est. Aliqua tamen de illis memoriæ breviter commendare libet, videlicet quam mirabiliter ac terribiliter adversarios suos pacem ecclesiæ in qua requiescit infringere temptantes, vel ipsam ecclesiam funditus evertere molientes, crebro cohercuerit, et qualiter reliquias de corpore suo furtim auferre volentibus sæpius obstiterit.

Fuit frater quidam in præfata Hagustaldensi ecclesia, Aldredus nomine, qui nunc in Christo requiescit, vir veracissimus, et morum probitate conspicuus, sed et in Scripturis Sanctis bene eruditus, qui tale miraculum de Sancto Acca in semet-ipso patratum fratribus ejusdem ecclesiæ narrare solebat.^a Cum ipse adhuc esset adolescens, nutrireque in domo fratris sui, cujusdam presbyteri, qui sæpe-fatam Hagustaldensem regebat ecclesiam, antequam donatione venerabilis memoriæ Thomæ Secundi, Eboracensis archiepiscopi, canonicis regularibus, qui ibidem usque hodie Deo serviunt, tradita esset, placuit eidem fratri suo ossa reverenda Sancti Accæ adhuc cum pulvere corporis mixta separare, separatimque in theca quam in hoc paraverat recondere. Prolatas ergo venerabiles reliquias super altare Sancti Michaelis in australi porticu ecclesiæ situm deposuit, ibique ossa de pulvere collegit, et in syndone munda involuta in theca recondidit, et dum eam in chorum ubi stare debebat deferret, porticum illam cum reliquiis quæ remanserant,

^a See Aelred's description of this, p. 192.

prædicto fratri suo tuendam delegavit. Qui solus ibi remanens cœpit inter se cogitare, quia magno munere etiam præcelsa quælibet ecclesia se ditatam crederet, si vel unum de ossibus tam gloriosi confessoris haberet. Proposuit ergo ad altare accedere, et perquirere si forte aliquid de minutis ossibus in pulvere relictum invenire posset, quod, penes se reponens, alicui ecclesiæ ad honorem Dei et Sancti Accæ donaret. Sed id irreverenter perpetrare non ausus, prius humi procumbens septem pœnitentiales psalmos devote cantavit, Deum exorans quatinus tale furtum ei non displiceret, quod non sacrilega mente sed piæ devotionis et venerationis gratia facere cogitabat. Post hanc orationem se erigens, quod proposuerat explere temptabat. Cumque ostio interioris porticus, in qua erant venerandæ reliquiæ, appropinquasset, ecce! subito calor quidam, quasi ignis vaporantis de ore clibani ardentis, ei obvius fuit, eumque magno timore perculsum retroire coegit. Ille vero, credens hoc ei ideo contigisse, quod cum minori devotione quam deberet tantam rem assequi vellet, solo tenus iterum prostratus, multo uberioribus et devotioribus precibus quam antea fecerat Domino fudit, quatinus quod devote desiderabat digne adipisci valeret. Post aliquantum itaque intervallum surgens, cum timore et reverentia magna ad ostium porticus accessit, sed multo ardentiore calore quam antea de illa egrediente, percussus est. Quo facto intelligens non esse voluntatem Dei ut aliquid de reliquiis Sancti Accæ furtim asportaret, tertio id temptare non ausus est.

Sed et aliud miraculum de eodem Deo dilecto confessore non est silentio prætereundum, quod multi qui usque hodie supersunt per reliquias ejus patratum esse testantur. Cum venisset ad præfatam Hagustaldensem ecclesiam quidam canonicus regularis et sacerdos, scilicet Edricus, qui illuc primus canonicorum^b a viro venerabili Thoma archiepiscopo missus est, invenit acervum de terra congestum juxta majus altare quod infra cancellos ecclesiæ erat, quem inde auferre volens, effodere eum cœpit. De quo cum aliquam partem fodisset, reperit thecam ligneam non admodum magnam. Quam aperiens, invenit duo sigilla plumbea, insculptis literis quod intus continerent intimantia. In quorum altero scriptum erat, quod de Sancto Acca reliquiæ intro haberentur. Mox ergo illud confringens, invenit pulverem cineri simillimum, nonnullaque ossa de sancto ejus corpore pulveri immixta, quæ inde tollens in honestiori theca reposuit. Erat tunc temporis paupercula quædam sanctimonialis femina in ipsa villa, quam prædictus frater pro simplici-

^b This information occurs also in Simeon, p. 206.

tate ejus et innocentia vitæ oppido diligebat.^c Ista multo tempore extiterat cæca, ita ut ad ecclesiam et ubicumque necesse ire habebat, semper ab alio duceretur. Quadam die repente venit in cor fratris præfati talis cogitatio, ut unum de ossibus illis quæ nuper invenerat, in aqua benedicta abluere deberet, mulierique de ipso lavacro dare, ut inde oculos suos lavaret, si forte Deus, meritis sancti confessoris sui Accæ intercedentibus, lumen oculorum hoc venerando lavacro ei restituere dignaretur. Fecitque ille quod Divino instinctu ammonitus, sicut postea claruit, faciendum cogitaverat. Abluensque unum de ossibus in aqua benedicta, mulieri dedit, præcipiens ei quatinus de illa oculos suos lavaret. Quæ cum ita fecisset, quasi post duarum horarum spatium, per merita et intercessionem Sancti Accæ visum recepit.

Fuit alter quidam homo pauper in eadem villa cujus guttur intercutaneo morbo in tantum intumuerat, ut nec loqui nec manducare posset. In cujus ore cum idem frater de ipsa aqua parum infudisset, repente post unius horæ spatium disrupta est cutis ex inferiori parte tumoris, sicque exeunte tumore sanatus est.

Qualiter vero Malcolmus rex Scottorum ab invasione pacisque violatione ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis, Sancto Acca cæterisque Sanctis qui in ea requiescunt, meritorum suorum præsidii illam conservantibus coercitus sit, silentio tegere nimis impium est. Licet enim vulgo etiam notissimum sit, tamen ne penitus cum tempore a memoria hominum transeat, notitiæ posterorum scripto tradendum est. Malcolmus igitur, rex Scottorum, homo scilicet ferocissimus, mentemque bestialem gerens, Northumbrensem provinciam crebra irruptione misere devastare solebat, plurimosque de illa viros et mulieres captivos in Scotiam deducere. Qui cum quadam vice cum numerosiore solito exercitu fines provinciæ illius, eam devastaturus, ingressus fuisset, provinciales ejus adventum audientes, fere omnes ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem, cum rebus suis quas secum portare poterant, sub protectione Sanctorum in illa quiescentium confugerunt. Quod ut Malcolmus comperit, proposuit illo pergere, omnesque qui eo confugerant ex(s)poliare: ipsamque ecclesiam funditus evertere. Quod audiens presbyter ejusdem ecclesiæ, perrexit obviam ei, ammonuitque illum ne tantum nefas in Sanctos Dei, ecclesiæ illius patronos, committere præsumcret. At ille ejus spernens monita, eum a se cum injuriis projecit. Qui ad ecclesiam festinato rediens, omnes qui ibidem confugerant in com-

^c Compare the account of these miracles with that given by Aelred, pp. 187-8. They are apparently abridged from the narrative in the Legend of the church of Hexham.

mune exhortatus est, gloriosos Sanctos Dei, sub quorum præsidium confugerant, instantèr deprecari, quatinus illos solita pietate sua a tam inmani hoste, Scottisque bestiis crudelioribus protegere dignarentur. Et fecerunt ita. Nocte vero sequenti cum idem presbyter præ tristitia in soporem decidisset, apparuit ei vir quidam vultu et habitu venerandus, qui ab eo sciscitabatur, quasi ignorans causam tantæ tristitiæ. Cumque pro hostium imminentium sævitia se pavere respondisset; ait illi, "Ne timeas, quoniam antequam illucescat, rete meum in fluvium mittam, per quod omnino Scottorum transitus impiedietur." Hæc cum dixisset evanuit. Mane autem facto, inventus est amnis qui Tyna dicitur, absque pluviarum inundatione et ventorum violentia, in tantum excrevisse, ut absque navis amminiculo minime transiri posset. Præterea, eadem nocte et die sequente tanta repente nebula accidit, ut maxima pars exercitus supradicti regis per tenebras dispersa a se invicem dilaberetur, ita ut plures ad aquilonem, multi ad orientem, nonnulli quoque ad meridiem, aperte miraculo Divino confusi per intercessionem Sanctorum Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, cum magna festinatione tenderent. Rex vero Malcolmus, cum illa particula exercitus sui quæ cum eo remanserat, veniens, omnem transmeandi copiam sibi negatam vidit. Resedit ergo supra ripam fluminis, ex(s)pectare volens donec aqua diminueretur ut transire posset. Sed cum tribus diebus ex(s)pectasset, aquamque absque omni pluviae amministratione cotidie magis ac magis crescere videret, tam evidenti miraculo perterritus, cum magna festinatione recessit: sicque ab ejus crudelitate omnes qui ad præfatam Hagustaldensem ecclesiam confugerant, meritis Sanctorum in illa requiescentium erepti sunt.

[*De Sancto Alchmundo Haugustaldensi episcopo.*]

Anno DCCLXXXI Hi(g)balduſ consecratus est episcopus. Alchmundus Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ præsul, eximiæ religionis et magnarum vir virtutum, postquam tredecim annis sullimiter præfatam rexisset ecclesiam, regnante gloriosissimo Northanhymbrorum rege Elfwaldo, anno tertio regni ejus, octavo idus Septembris, huic vitæ modum fecit, qui pro meritis æternæ beatitudinis est particeps factus.^d Sepultus vero est juxta prædecessorem suum reverendæ memoriæ Sanctum Accam episcopum.

De quo loco post annos plusquam ducentos quinquaginta Divina revelatione translatus est hoc modo. Tempore illo fuit

^d See Prior Richard's chronicle, pp. 37-8.

quidam dregmo^e in territorio Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, Deum valde timens, et elemosinarum operibus, prout facultas sibi suppeditabat, haud segniter deditus; ac per omnia a provincialium moribus vita discordans. Erat enim miræ simplicitatis et innocentiae homo, ac erga Sanctos Dei devotionis et venerationis immensæ. Quapropter eum omnes vicini sui in magno honore habebant, illumque verum Dei cultorem appellabant. Huic itaque quadam nocte in stratu suo quiescenti apparuit quidam vir, pontificali infula decoratus, virgamque pastorem in manu tenens. Cum qua eum pulsans, sic ait illi, "Surge, vade, et dic Elfredo filio Westueor, presbytero Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, quatinus plebe coadunata territorii Haugustaldensis, transferat corpus meum de loco illo ubi sepultus sum, ac intra ecclesiam in honestiori loco reponat. Dignum est enim illos venerationem ab omnibus in terris accipere, quos Rex Regum dignatus est in cœlis stola gloriæ et immortalitatis induere." Quem cum ille interrogasset, "Domine, tu quis es?" ille respondit, "Ego sum Alchmundus, ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis episcopus, qui eidem loco quartus post beatum Wilfredum gratia Dei præfui. Corpus vero meum juxta prædecessorem meum venerandæ memoriæ Sanctum Accam episcopum positum est. Ad quod transferendum tu quoque cum presbytero simul adesto." Hæc cum dixisset, disparuit. Mane autem facto, homo ille cum magna festinatione ad præfatum presbyterum perrexit, quicquid vidisset, quodve mandatum ei deferre jussus esset, per ordinem ei indicavit. Qui lætus admodum effectus, convocavit plurimam populi multitudinem, rem notam eis faciens, diemque statuit quo venerabiles reliquias transferrent.

Die ergo statuta presbyter præfatus ad sepulchrum accedens, illud a terra denudari præcepit. Quod cum factum esset, adjuvante se viro illo cui revelatio facta fuerat, populorum turbis hinc inde stantibus, veneranda ossa de tumulo collegit, lintheoque involuta ac in scrinio recondita super feretrum collocavit. Et quia pro tantæ veneratione diei sacrosanctas hostias Domino offerendi hora transierat, posuerunt eum nocte illa in porticu Sancti Petri ad orientalem plagam ipsius ecclesiæ Hagustaldensis, sequenti die cum canticis, et hymnis, et Missarum solemniis in ecclesiam illum transferre statuentes.

Nocte vero illa prædictus sacerdos excubias circa venerabiles reliquias cum clericis suis celebrans, cæteris alto sompno depressis, accedens ipse scrinium aperuit, unumque de minutis ossibus, partem videlicet digiti unius, clanculo auferens, penes

^e Aelred renders this *quidam de ordine minorum procerum*, and he was perhaps the provost of Hexham. See Aelred's description of this scene, pp. 195-8.

se reposuit, cupiens illud ecclesiæ Sancti Cuthberti Dunelmensi ad honorem Dei et Sancti Alchmundi conferre. Luce itaque terris reddita, ad transferendum corpus almificum plurima populi multitudo convenit. Cumque jam hora tertia appropinquaret, jubente presbytero, manus apponentes feretrum levare conati sunt, sed illud movere minime valebant. Repulsis igitur his qui primi accesserant, judicatisque quasi indignis tanti patris reliquias suis humeris deferre, accesserunt alii, qui, sicut et priores, casso labore defecerunt. Deinde aliis et aliis se ingrentibus, a nullo penitus moveri valebat. Animo vero consternati, seseque mutuo intuentes omnes qui aderant, mirabantur rei novitatem stupentes. Tunc sacerdos illius reatus se-ipsam causam esse nesciens, exhortatus est omnes Deum deprecari, quatinus illis revelare dignaretur pro qua culpa hoc eis contigisset. Et factum est. Illis autem in ecclesia pernoctantibus, Deumque pro jam dicto negotio exorantibus, apparuit iterum Sanctus Alchmundus eidem homini, cui prius apparuerat, forte tunc infra ecclesiam irruente subito sopore prægravato; et cum aliquantum (inspexisset?) severo vultu ait ad eum, "Quid est quod facere voluistis? Putastis membris desectum me in ecclesiam referre, in qua Deo et Sancto Andrea, Apostolo Ejus, integro corpore et spiritu servivi? Surge, ergo, et contestare coram omni populo ut corpori meo citius restituatur quod inconsulte inde ablatum est, alioquin me de loco in quo nunc sum nullatenus movere poteritis." Et cum hæc dixisset, ostendit ei manum suam medietate unius digiti carentem. Facta autem die, vir ille in medio populi astans, quid sibi nocte illa revelatum fuisset universis propalavit, vehementi verborum invectione mul(c)tari dignum esse indicans quicumque hoc facere præsumpisset. Tunc sacerdos, se deprehensum cernens, in medium prosiluit, et qua de causa quave intentione hoc perpetrasset, omnibus patefecit; restituensque Sancto Alchmundo quod piæ devotionis gratia ei abstulerat, congrua satisfactione veniam illico impetravit. Et accedentes clerici qui aderant, absque ulla vi levaverunt eum, ac in ecclesia transtulerunt quarto nonas Augusti; ubi usque hodie a fidelibus condigno honore veneratur, ad laudem et honorem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Tilberhtus namque Sanctus pro eo in episcopatum subrogatur, consecratur, elevaturque in solio episcopalis cathedræ in loco qui appellatur Wulfeswelle, hoc est Fons Lupi. Actum est hoc sexto nonas Octobris.

II. INCIPIT VITA SANCTI EATÆ HAUGUSTALDENSIS EPISCOPI.^f

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, DCXXXIII, interfecto in pugna Eadwyno, rege Northanymbrorum nobilissimo, suscepit pro illo regnum Berniciorum filius Ethelfridi, qui de illa provincia generis et regni originem duxerat, nomine Eanfridus. Siquidem, tempore toto quo regnavit Edwynus, filii præfati regis Ethelfridi, qui ante illum regnaverant, cum magna nobilium juventute apud Scottos sive Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum catezizati et baptismatis gratia sunt renati. Qui ut, mortuo rege inimico, patriam sunt redire permissi; ac cepit primus eorum, quem diximus Eanfridus, regnum Berniciorum. Qui, ut terreni regni infulas sortitus est, sacramenta cœlestis regni, quibus initiatus erat, anathematizando perdidit; ac se priscis ydolatriæ sordibus pollendum perdendumque restituit. Nec mora: rex Brittonum, Ceadwalla, illum impia manu sed justa ultione peremit.^g

Quo occiso, frater ejus, vir Deo dilectus, Oswaldus, adveniens, cum parvo quidem exercitu, sed fide Christi munito, infandum Brittonum regem, fratris sui interfectorem, cum immensis illis copiis, quibus nil resistere posse jactabat, delevit; regnumque Berniciorum simulque Deirorum, Deo au(c)tore, adeptus est.

Qui, ubi regnum suscepit, desiderans totam, cui præesse cœpit, gentem fidei Christianæ gratia imbui, misit ad majores natu Scottorum, a quibus ipse exulans baptizatus erat, petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes, cujus doctrina ac ministerio gens Anglorum, quam regebat, Dominicæ fidei sacramenta susciperet. Neque aliquanto tardius, quod petiit, impetravit. Accepit namque pontificem Aydanum, summæ mansuetudinis et pietatis et moderaminis virum: cui ad se venienti rex Oswaldus locum sedis episcopalis in insula Lindisfarnensi, ubi ipse petebat, tribuit; atque ejus ammonitionibus humiliter ac libenter auscultans, ecclesiam Christi in regno suo multum diligenter ædi-

^f This Life is taken out of a MS. in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of York, the class mark of which is xvi., I, 12 —, fol. 10 a, *et seqq.* It there appears to be an additional chapter to Prior Richard's History of the Church of Hexham. We know that Prior Richard intended to be the biographer of the Saints of his church, and it is possible that we have in this Life a part of what he intended to do. This Life, however, is merely a compilation from Bede, and there is scarcely a word of original information in the whole tractate. I have pointed out the sources from which it is derived. This tractate has already been printed by the Surtees Society in *Biogr. Misc.*, 121-5. As, however, it is very peculiarly connected with the subject matter of the present volume, I have no scruple in reproducing it. For a farther account of Eata, see Prior Richard's chronicle, pp. 26-8, and Aelred, pp. 201-3.

^g Partly paraphrased and partly copied from Bede, *Hist.*, iii., 1.

ficare ac dilatare curavit. Construebantur ergo ecclesiæ per loca; confluebant ad audiendum verbum populi gaudentes; donabantur regio munere possessiones et territoria ad instituenda monasteria.^h

At vero episcopus Aidanus, inter alia vivendi documenta, saluberrimum abstinentiæ vel continentiæ clericis exemplum reliquit; cujus doctrinam id maxime commendabat, quod non aliter quam vivebat ita cum suis ipse docebat. Nichil enim hujus mundi quærere, nichil amare solebat. In tantum autem vita illius a nostri temporis segnitie distabat, ut omnes, qui cum eo incedebant, sive attonsi sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis Scripturis aut Psalmis dicendis operam dare.ⁱ Iste igitur reverentissimus episcopus, inter cætera doctrinæ sanctæ et operum illustrium insignia præconia, etiam duodecim pueros de natione Anglorum, in Christo erudiendos, primo sui episcopatus tempore suscepit.

Ex quibus unus extitit Eata, puer bonæ indolis, natura docilis, et mansueti animi valde.^j Qui eruditoris sui sanctis monitis et exemplis sedulus auditor, menteque totus inhærens, brevi omni morum honestate conspicuus enituit. Itaque, ubi perfectioris ætatis metas attingit, acceptus Deo et hominibus, monachus factus, monachi nocte et die vigilavit in actus. Erat namque vir patientiæ virtute præcipuus, castitate nitidus, affabilis et jocundus omnibus, et, ut reverentissimus Beda presbiter de eo testatur, præ omnibus hominibus mansuetudinis et simplicitatis gratia decoratus.^k Crescente itaque eo magis ac magis in sacris virtutibus, crevit et in eo gratia cœlestis, suis illum sullimando karismatibus. Post non multum enim temporis, abbas dignissimus effectus ecclesiæ Mailrocensis, multo majoris humilitatis ac caritatis exempla, quam antea, fratribus præstitit.^l Unde cum omnes monachi fragrantissimo amore diligentes, non quasi minacem magistrum metuebant, sed ut pium patrem affectuose complectebantur. Non solum autem monachis et clericis merito sanctitatis et exemplo totius religionis venerabilis, sed et potentibus et divitibus hujus sæculi in tantum honorabilis extitit, ut ipsi etiam reges illum, ut patrem, colerent, et ad construenda monasteria terras et possessiones ei liberali animo largirentur. At ille gaudens, pro devotione principum erga Dei cultum, ecclesias et monasteria diligenti studio locis opportunitis instituebat. Discipulos quoque bonos sanctæque conversationis studiis operam dantes in ipsis aggregare studuit;

^h This paragraph is taken altogether from Bede, iii., 3.

ⁱ Taken entirely from Bede, iii., 5. ^j Bede, iii., 26. ^k Bede, iv., 27.

^l In the margin of the MS. are these words, "Nota, quomodo Eata, cum abbas erat, se gerebat."

inter quos, et præ quibus speciales et insignissimi, erant Boisilus et Cuthbertus;^k ambo viri miræ sanctitatis nitore lucentes, ambo spiritu prophetico magnifice pollentes. E quibus prior Mailrocensi ecclesiæ, præpositi jure, sub eodem patre præfuit, sequens vero postmodum Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ magnificus præsul enituit.

His temporibus finito conflictu ac soluta contentione, quam Colmannus episcopus cum suis exercuit contra Wilfridum, cæterosque catholicos viros, de observatione Paschali, revertens patriam idem Colmannus adiit regem Oswium, impetravitque ab eo ut præfatus vir venerandus, abbas Eata, fratribus Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ abbatis jure præesset.^l Multum namque eundem abbatem Eatan etiam Scotti venerabantur, eo quod esset, ut supradictum est, unus de xij pueris Aidani episcopi. Suscipiens itaque sub cura sui regiminis Sanctus Eata ecclesiam Lyndisfarnensem, omnem diligentiam spiritualium excubiarum eidem ecclesiæ, sicut et Mailrocensi, præbuit. Beatum quoque Cuthbertum, quem præpositum ecclesiæ Mailrocensis post obitum Deo dilecti sacerdotis Boisili fecerat, ad hanc ecclesiam transtulit; ejusque præposituram sub se disponendam illi commisit.^m Et inde, revoluta plurimorum annorum circulo, orta inter regem Egfridum et reverentissimum antistitem Wilfridum dissentione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus; et duo in locum ejus substituti episcopi, qui Northanymbrorum genti præessent, Bosa, videlicet, qui Deirorum, et Eata præfatus abbas, qui Berniciorum provinciam gubernarent; hic in civitate Eboraci, ille in Haugustaldensi, sive in Lindisfarnensi ecclesiæ cathedram habens episcopalem. Ordinati sunt autem sancti ac Deo amabiles viri Bosa et Eata Eboraci ab archiepiscopo Theodoro; qui etiam, post tres annos abscissionis Wilfridi, addidit horum numero duos antistites, Trumwyn ad provinciam Pictorum, tunc temporis Anglorum imperio subjectam, et Tunbertum ad ecclesiam Haugustaldensem; remanente Eata ad Lyndisfarnensem.ⁿ Sed post triennium, pro culpa cujusdam inobedientiæ, depositus est Tunbertus; et loco ejus vir sanctissimus electus est Cuthbertus. Sed quoniam ipse plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiæ, in qua conversatus fuerat, quam Haugustaldensi, dilexit præfici, placuit, ut, Eata reverso ad sedem ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis, cui regendæ primo fuerat ordinatus, Cuthbertus ecclesiæ Lyndisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet.^o

^k Vita S. Cuth., auct. Beda, cap. vi. The author omits all mention of the visit of Eata and Cuthbert to Ripon, which is described in Bede, *ut supra*, capp. vii.-viii.

^l Bede, iii., 26.

^m Bede, iv., 27. Vita S. Cuthberti, auct. Beda, cap. xvi.

ⁿ From the words *et inde*, this is taken from Bede, iv., 12.

^o Bede, iv., 28.

Redditus ergo cathedræ episcopali ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis venerabilis pater Eata, cum magno universorum gaudio suscipitur: exultantibus omnibus, ac Deo gratias agentibus, quod pastorem suum dilectissimum, quem tristes perdiderant, Dei providente gratia, iterum recipere meruissent. Jam vero, qualem se in episcopatu exhibuerit, nullis meæ parvitatæ eloquiis explicari valet. Creber enim erat in orationibus; op(p)ortunus et importunus in exhortationibus; elemosinarum operibus intentus; disciplinis ecclesiasticis ex propositi voto redditus; et quæcumque per Spiritum Sanctum agenda cognovit, sedulus ac devotus amministrare curavit. Cumque pius Dominus pios ejus labores æterna mercede remunerare decrevisset, tactus est morbo acerrimo interaneorum, quem medici discenteriam vocant.^o Quo per dies ingravescente, velut aurum per ignem examinatus, decocta omnium peccatorum rubigine,^p diem clausit extremum; ac regni cœlestis januas perpetuo victurus intravit, regnante Domino nostro Jhesu Christo, Cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Sepultus vero est juxta sacrarium ecclesiæ præfatæ Haugustaldensis ad plagam meridianam, et parva capella lapidea supra tumulum ejus constructa est. De quo loco incertum habetur a quo translatus sit, ac intra ecclesiam in scrinio condigno honore collocatus. Attamen verisimile videtur illum translatum fuisse ab Alfredo filio Westueor, presbitero Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, qui venerabiles ejus successores Accam et Alcmundum de terra levavit, ac intra ecclesiam in feretris honorifice collocavit.

Qualiter prohibitus est Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus corpus Sancti Eatæ ad Eboracum transferre.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXIII, pontificatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ nobiliter amministrante viro jocundæ memoriæ, Thoma Secundo, adierunt ipsum archiepiscopum quidam ex archidiaconibus et clericis ejusdem ecclesiæ; et quasi consulendo suggerebant providæ ejus sol(l)icitudini, conquerentes inter se, et dicentes nimis injustum et indiscretum actum esse ecclesiæ Eboracensi, quod nullo sanctorum episcoporum suorum corporali præsentia honorata esset, sed omnes in aliis ecclesiis merito sanctitatis suæ ab omni populo sullimiter venerarentur.^q Adjecerunt autem justum esse, ut ipse archiepiscopus omni

^o Boisil had predicted this (Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. viii.).

^p A favourite expression with monkish writers. So in the hymn to St. William of York:—

“In fornace ponitur, purum exit aurum.”

^q See Aelred's account of this adventure, and the Preface.

annisu se intromitteret, vel unum aliquem pastorum suorum antiquorum ad matrem ecclesiam revocare; ne omnimodo veneranda reliquiarum eorum præsentia orbata esse videretur. Et quoniam primus archipontifex ejusdem ecclesiæ Paulinus, sed et successores ejus æque viri sancti, Wilfridus, scilicet, Ceadda, Johannes et Oswaldus in tanta veneratione in ecclesiis illis, in quibus almifica eorum corpora reposita sunt, habebantur, ut de illis transferendis frustra inirent consilium, cœperunt rogare eum quatinus Sanctum Eatan, ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis pontificem, eo transferret; attestantes sufficere posse eidem ecclesiæ pignora reliquiarum sanctorum quatuor pontificum, quibus præter ipsum ipsa Haugustaldensis ecclesia magnifice polleret; nescio qua opinione ducti ut dicerent illum ecclesiæ Eboracensis extitisse antistitem, cum nec in Historiâ Bedæ presbiteri, nec in ullis gentis Anglorum Cronicis hoc inveniatur. Annuuit ergo eorum precibus importunis archiepiscopus; et ordinavit ex eis, qui secum pergerent ad Hestoldesham, ad illud negotium, quod ei suggerebant, peragendum. Audientes autem hoc fratres ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis, valde tristes effecti sunt; et, de Domini misericordia tandem fiducia accepta, Sanctum Eatan intentis precibus exorabant, ne locum quem vivens excoluerat, dilexerat, suaque sepultura locupletaverat, despiceret, desereret, suaque præsentia viduaret. Adveniens itaque archiepiscopus, comitantibus secum supradicti negotii instigatoribus, ad Hestoldesham, aliquantis diebus illic demoratus est. Ipsa autem nocte, qua transacta, venerabiles reliquias asportare disposuerant, in ipsa tempestæ noctis quiete, archiepiscopo sompno depresso, apparuit ei quidam vir veneranda specie, habituque pontificali circumamictus, et virgam pastorem in manu gerens; et terribiliter respiciens archiepiscopum, sic allocutus est eum. “Quid est quod facere disponis? Venisti huc, ut me de loco quietis meæ ad alienam ecclesiam transferas; quod tibi a Domino jussum non est. Dico tibi quia pœnas tuæ præsumptionis lues.” Et elevans baculum, quem manu gestabat, percussit eum bis super humerum, et, com(m)inans ei vehementer, disparuit. Expergefactus vero archiepiscopus præ nimio timore exclamare cœpit; omnesque clericos coram illo dormientes turbatis vocibus excitavit, pavensque et tremens, quid vidisset vel perpessus fuisset, eis retulit. Statimque, mane facto, misit propter fratres ecclesiæ; rogavitque eos pro se orare; voto se obligans quod nunquam amplius vellet ecclesiam Haugustaldensem ullo suorum patronorum spoliare. Idem tres autem continuos dies in infirmitate detentus, quarta demum die convaluit; sicque, infecto negotio pro quo venerat, cum clericis suis Eboracum reversus est.

III. MIRACULA SANCTORUM PATRUM QUI IN ECCLESIA HAGUSTALDENSI REQUIESCUNT.*

Latro quidam morti adjudicatus cum decollari deberet, invocato Sancti Wilfridi nomine, ecce ! juvenes duo equis velocissimis approximantes, more patrio cautione pro eo præstita, adolescentem neci eripiunt, vinculis absolvunt, et liberum abire permittunt.

Rex Scottorum Malcolmus, Northumbriam crudeli cæde vastans, ecclesiæ Hagustaldensi, ob Sanctorum reverentiam, semper pacem servavit. Cumque nuntii ejus circa fines ecclesiæ a latronibus spoliati et vulnerati ad regem reverterentur, iratus valde misit illuc exercitum qui nec sexui parceret nec ætati. Quo audito incolæ omnes, ad ecclesiam confugientes, Sanctis loci illius preces cum lacrimis fuderunt. Presbiter, vero, qui ecclesiæ præfuit, quosdam ex clericis cum reliquiis ad regem dirigit, ut crimen objectum purgarent, et pro populo innocente intercederent. Sed rex, furore repletus, nuntiis reditum maturare . . . avit. Interim vero presbiter resolutus in sompnum viros duos veste splendida, pontificalem vestem proferentes, et equis sedentes vidit. Qui dissilientes dixerunt ei "Heus," inquit, "vir bone, conserva jumenta nostra, donec facta oratione in ecclesia revertamur ad te." Post modicum cum reverterentur, petita et intellecta tanti gemitus et mœstitiæ causa, sereno vultu Sanctus intuens in eum, "Ne timeatis," ait, "neque formidētis, quia ego vobiscum sum. Videns vidi afflictionem vestram et veni liberare vos. Extendam enim manum a rete meum ab ortu Tyne fluminis usque ad ostium ejusdem, quod nullus inimicorum transire poterit, nec malum vobis inferre. Wilfridus," inquit, "voco, et ecce ! mecum est Sanctus Cuthbertus, quem transiens per Dunelmum mecum adduxi, ut simul ad fratres nostros, qui hic requiescunt, venientes servemus simul locum istum et gentem." Adveniente tandem aurora, nebula quædam, ab occidente consurgens, omnem Tynæ fluminis alveum ab ortu usque ad ostium occupavit, et adeo in brevi densata tenebras induxit ut socius vix socium videre posset. Ingressi Galwenses caliginem per viam quæ ducit ad Cumbriam, circa vesperam, in confinio suæ regionis se-ipsos invenerunt. Inundatione quoque triduana rex impeditus suis dixit, "Recedamus hinc quum sancti isti domi sunt."

Nobilis quidam et dives, Aldanus nomine, non multum ab ecclesia præfata in virginem valde decoram oculos injecit, et,

* An abridgment of the treatise by Aelred, which has been already printed. It is taken from MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A, xx., 262 b.

victus libidine, illam rapuit, et secum violenter abduxit. Cumque frater puellæ niteretur eam de manibus ejus eripere, percussit hasta miser juvenem et occidit. Nec mora : manus ejus arida et contracta effecta, usque ad mortem sic permansit. Et tandem auditu et visu privatus vitam miserabiliter finivit.

Quidam de gente Galwensium seram qua ostium ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ a Sancto Wilfrido constructæ claudebatur, arrepto lapide, frangere nitebatur. Nec mora : arreptus a dæmone tamdiu vexatur, donec anima inferis, corpus bestiis et avibus traderetur.

Suscepit pro Wilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensem Acca presbiter ejus, vir et ipse strenuus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus ; qui ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ multifario decore et mirificis ampliavit operibus ; reliquias Apostolorum et Martyrum adquisivit ; libros multos collegit ; cantorem nomine Mafan a successoribus Sancti Gregorii edoctum ad suos instituendos diu secum tenuit. Nam et ipse Acca cantor erat peritissimus et litteris sacris doctissimus, in catholica fidei confessione castissimus, in ecclesiasticis institutionibus solertissimus exitit. Qui etiam a pueritia in clero sanctissimi ac Deo dilecti Bosan, Ebor. episcopi, eruditus est. Deinde ad Wilfridum veniens omnem in ejus obsequio, usque ad obitum illius, explevit ætatem. Cum quo etiam Romam veniens multa ecclesiasticæ institutionis utilia didicit ; et demum, xiiij^o kalendas Novembris, ad Dominum migravit, anno Domini septingentesimo xl^o. Hic Acca comes peregrinationis Wilfridi, tribulationum particeps, exilii socius, conscius secretorum. Cum quo Romam profectus est ; in quo itinere Sanctus Wilfridus magnæ . . . revelationis qua ei citum redditum . . . tranquillitatem, iter prosperum, honoris restitutionem, certum sui exitus diem per sanctum Archangelum Michaellem, gratia Divina promisit, præ cæteris . . . beato Accæ reseravit archanum . . . Tantæ vero fuerit devotionis in Deum quantæ in proximos benevolentiae, cujus circa subditos disciplina quantum, circa officia Divina sollicitus, in Sacris Scripturis quam studiosus, Venerabilis Bedæ presbiteri testimonio didiscimus. Testes sunt etiam adhuc libri quos idem doctor, tanti pontificis desideriis favens, præmissis ad eum præfationibus scripsit. In quibus devotionem ejus, et in Divinis eloquiis solertiam satis gratanter expressit. Quis, rogo, sanctissimas ejus vestes, quibus reliquiae ejus in terra trecentis annis fuerunt obvolutæ, ab omni corruptione servavit illæsas, *nisi mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis* ? Ejus namque casula serica et dalmatica, sudarium quoque lineum, in quibus venustas antiqua servatur, pristina fortitudine perdurant. Non enim caro sed in pulvere ossa in ipsis indumentis sub terra inventa sunt involuta. Nec defuit circa reliquias ejus

gratia sanitarum, ubi et cæcos illuminatos, præsumptores ter-
ritos, claudos novimus esse curatos.

Quidam, nomine Raven, triennio cæcitate percussus, intra semet-ipsam dixit, "Quid trepido? Quid dissimulo? Ibo ad Accam meum, si forte misereatur servi sui." Cumque, ad altare Sancti veniens, sopori deditus esset, apparuit ei Sanctus decora, pontificalibus indutus, ita dicens, "Ego sum Acca episcopus, cujus precibus noveris te esse sanatum." Expergefactus homo ille clare vidit, et Deum in Sancto laudare cœpit.

Mulier cæcitate percussa, et quodam osse Sancti Accæ tacta, visum recepit.

Tempore Thurstini, archiepiscopi Ebor., canonicus quidam Huntingdon, Asketillus nomine, Prior primus Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ factus est, vir circumspectus et devotus, qui et canonicos regulares in loco illo congregavit. Anno autem Domini m^o c^o LIII^o translata sunt ossa sanctorum episcoporum.

Sanctus Alekmundus, anno Domini septingentesimo octogesimo, post decimum tertium episcopatus sui annum, septimo idus Septembris migravit ad Dominum. Elapsis postea annis multis, senior pontificalibus insignitus; qui cum baculi pastoralis levi pulsu virum, quasi a sompno excitans, tetigisset, "Vade," inquit, "cito, et dic Alucredo, presbitero Dunelmensi, ut eruat corpus meum de tumulo, et altius in ecclesia loco honestiori recondat. Juste enim ab hominibus honor exhibetur in terris quos Christus inter Angelos glorificandos judicavit in cœlis." Et requisitus quis esset, dixit, "Ego sum Alkmundus, qui quartus a beato Wilfrido huic ecclesiæ præfui. Qui post certamen quod certavi, post cursum quem consummavi, post fidem quam servavi, per Christi gratiam, justitiæ coronam adeptus, juxta venerabilem et sanctum prædecessorem meum Accam sepultus sum." Quo audito presbiter præfatus, collectis sacris reliquiis, cum aliquam partem earum secum deferre Dunelmum cogitaret, unum ex ossibus digitorum, cæteris sopore depressis, auferens sibi reservare curavit. Et cum in crastino corpus cum loculo levare temptarent, quasi fixum immobile permansit. Electis igitur viris aliis, et tertio idem opus temptantibus, absque desiderii sui fructu recedunt. Tunc fusa ab omnibus (*ad Deum*) et ad Sanctum Ejus prece, apparuit sanctus episcopus eidem presbitero in visu, et severiori eum oculo intuens, "Quid est," inquit, "quod facere voluistis? Ita me desectum membris ecclesiæ invehendum duxistis, ut beato Apostolo Andrea sacroque ejus altari mutilatus assistam, cui tot annis integro corpore ac mente servivi?" Et ostendens ei manum, cui unius digiti quasi pars media videbatur abscis(s)a, "Restituatur," ait, "digitus, quatinus membra meæ in quietis suæ loco cum sua integritate pausent."

Quo facto, clerici, feretrum levi motu levantes, cum gaudio in ecclesiam detulerunt vij^o nonas Augusti.*

Vir quidam, de navicula in aquam subito cadens, absorbetur a flumine. Cæteris Sancti Alkmundi suffragium implorantibus, ecce ! emergens ab imis, homo ascendit in ripam.

Tempore Thomæ Junioris, Ebor. episcopi, clerici Ebor. episcopum convenerunt ut beati Eatae reliquias ad ecclesiam suam transferre permetteret. Et cum episcopo ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem pervenientes propositum effectui mancipare deliberarent, vidit episcopus in sompnis virum pontificalibus indutum, vultu severum, immensa luce choruscum, qui ait, “ Cur convenit vobis meam infestare quietem, et a loco ubi cum fratribus meis dormio et requiesco ad alias me transferre nationes. Non hoc Domini voluntatis, sed tuæ est præsumptionis cujus jam nunc pœnas exsolves.” Et elevata virga pastoralis percussit bis humerum ejus. Territus episcopus fratribus visionem beatum fatetur ; veniam postulat ; et nichil se tale amodo temptaturum promisit. Tribus itaque diebus Sancti manum perpressus, quarto demum, sanante eo qui percusserat, infirmitas ab eo, ipse a vico discessit.

Puella a tumore et inflatione, tactis vestimentis beati Eatae episcopi, sanatur, et superficies cutis pristino decori redditur. *Expliciunt.*

IV. BREVIARIUM CHRONICÆ HEXHAM.†

Ut in Cronica Haugustaldensi, quæ vulgariter Hexham, sive, ut antiquitus, Hextildesham, a quodam flumine, Hextild nomine, ibi decurrente, vocatur, scriptum est (quod) anno Incarnationis Dominicæ sexcentesimo septuagesimo quarto, et a fundatione ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensis quadraginta annorum curriculo transcurso, beatus Wilfridus fundavit in honore Sancti Andreæ Apostoli dictam ecclesiam Haugustaldensem cum sede episcopali ; in qua plures floruerunt episcopi, viri sanctissimæ vitæ, quorum ordo est iste.

Primus, Wilfridus, quadraginta quinque annis.

Secundus, Eata, septem annis.

Tertius, Tymbertus, tribus annis.

Quartus, Johannes, uno anno.

* At p. 210 a different day is mentioned.

† This is taken from the Cottonian MS., Titus, A, ii., 160-1, and is a compilation made in the fifteenth century. The first part is taken from the chronicle of Prior Richard. The only fact of importance in the whole is the mention of the way in which the see of Durham is said to have lost Hexham. I have alluded to that in the Preface.

Quintus, Sanctus Acca, viginti quatuor annis.

Sextus, Fredbertus, triginta quatuor annis.

Septimus, Sanctus Alcmundus, tredecim.

Octavus, Tilbertus, octo.

Nonus, Etinebertus, septem.

Decimus, Eadredus, tribus.

Undecimus, Ganbertus, vel Osbertus, tredecim.

Duodecimus, Tydferdus. Sed tempus episcopatus hujus ignoratur.

Itaque episcopatus Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ, incipiens circa sexcentessimum septuagesimum quartum Dominicæ Incarnationis annum, duravit centum quadraginta et quatuor annis, excepto ultimo episcopo cujus tempus ignoratur, scilicet usque ad octingentesimum quartum-decimum annum Dominicæ Incarnationis. Et extunc deficientibus episcopis cessavit dicta sedes ante devastationem provinciæ Northamhymbrorum, quæ octingentesimo septuagesimo quinto anno Incarnationis Dominicæ ab Haleden Dano facta est; et ex fundatione Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ ducentesimo quadragesimo primo; ab obitu Sancti Cuthberti centesimo octogesimo nono; et ex qua Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ episcopi defecerunt quinquagesimo quarto. Et tunc Eardulphus, episcopus Lindisfarnensis, et abbas ejusdem Eadredus, de insula Lindisfarnensi incorruptum corpus Sancti Cuthberti cum maxima parte thesauri illius ecclesiæ exportaverunt; et ante faciem barbarorum per septem annos de loco ad locum cum illo discurrerunt. Tandem vero redeuntes, ad villam olim Kunchacestram vocatam devenerunt, ibique cum reliquiis quieverunt.

Et multo tempore deficientibus episcopis Haugustaldensis ecclesiæ, dictus Eardulphus episcopalia officia ibidem exercere cœpit; et successores ejusdem, primo apud Konchestre, post apud Dunelmum, usque ad tempus Henrici regis Primi, circiter annos (*blank*) episcopalia officia agebant. Sed orta dissensione inter Henricum regem Angliæ Primum et Ranulphum Dunelmensem episcopum, dictus rex dictum episcopum ecclesia Haugustaldensi cum regione pertinenti privavit, et contulit archiepiscopatui Eboracensi; licet virtute donationis factæ per reges Cuthredum et Aluredum Deo et Sancto Cuthberto, et sibi ministrantibus, de tota terra inter Tesam et Tynam, ecclesia de Hexham, cum regione adjacente, ex parte australi Tyne sita, inter metas terræ Sancti Cuthberti protunc fuerat comprehensa.

APPENDIX.

I.—ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE NEAR HEXHAM IN WHICH KING CADWALLA WAS SLAIN.^a [Bedæ Hist. Eccl., lib. iii., capp. i., ii. Ed. Smith.]

Infaustus ille annus et omnibus bonis exosus usque hodie permanet, tam propter apostasiam regum Anglorum qua se fidei sacramentis exuerant, quam propter vesanam Brittonici regis (Ceaduallæ) tyrannidem. Unde cunctis placuit regum tempora computantibus, ut ablata de medio regum perfidorum memoria, idem annus sequentis regis, id est, Osualdi, viri Deo dilecti, regno adsignaretur : quo, post occisionem fratris Eanfridi, super-

^a This was the great victory over the Cumbrian Cadwalla which saved the Christians in Bernicia from destruction. It was won in 634 A.D. I have spoken elsewhere of the battle itself, and of the positions occupied by the contending parties, but a little may here be said of the places in which it began and ended. For several centuries there has been a controversy on these points.

The scene of the fight is called Catscaul by Nennius (*Hist. Brit.*, ed. Stevenson, 54), and Cantscaul in the *Annales Cambriæ* (*Monum. Hist. Brit.*, 832), an old word which is thus explained, "pugna infra murum."

Bede tells us that the fight began at a place called Hefenfelth, and that Cadwalla was killed at Denisesburn. Now where is Hefenfelth, or Campus Cælestis, as the historian calls it ?

Bede says that it was a little to the north of the Roman wall, and that the name Heavenfield was a presage of the victory which was to immortalize the ground. If the name existed before the fight, it points rather to a bleak elevated position, a "heaven-kissing hill." If it were subsequent to it, the origin of the word is an obvious one.

Leland tells us (*Itin.*, ed. 1769, vol. vii., p. 61), "there is a fame that Oswald won the batelle at Halydene a two myles est from S. Oswalde's asche. And that Haliden is it that Bede caullith Havenfeld. And men there aboute yet finde smaule wod crossis in the grounde." The name of Haliden, of which I have early documentary evidence, is now lost, but it may be identified with Hallington, which lies two or three miles to the north-east of St. Oswald's. Among the charters at York, now lost, was one, (In pixide magna cum tribus stagiis in vestiario, tangente archiepiscopum Ebor. In primo stagio), a deed from Richard de Umfravill "super divisio moræ inter Haliden et Babington." Hallington and Bavington are contiguous. Mr. Errington, also, told Smith, the learned editor of Bede,

veniente cum parvo exercitu, sed fide Christi munito, infandus Brittonum dux cum immensis illis copiis quibus nihil resistere

that Haliden and Hallington were identical, acquiring the information from his own muniment-room.

The place where Oswald set up his standard may be satisfactorily made out. In a metrical life of the sainted king, which is quoted by Gibson in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, p. 1082, there occurs the following passage:—

“Tunc primum scivit causam cur nomen haberet
Heavenfeld, hoc est, cælestis campus, et illi
Nomen ab antiquo dedit appellatio gentis
Præteritæ, tanquam belli præsaga futuri:
Nominis et causam mox assignavit ibidem
Cælitus expugnans cælestis turba scelestam.
Neve senectentis ignavia posset honorem
Tam celebris delere loci, tantique triumphî,
Ecclesiæ Fratres Haugustaldensis adesse
Devoti, Christumque solent celebrare quotannis.
Quoque loci persistat honos, in honore beati
Oswaldi regis ibi construxere capellam.”

In the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, ed. 1516, fol. 254, the account of the battle and the standard is given in the words of Bede, but there is this variation, “ibi postmodum ecclesia constructa est, et ab ecclesia Hagustaldensi non multum distare noscitur.”

Now there is only one chapel or church dedicated to St. Oswald in the neighbourhood of Hexham, and that is at a place about six miles from the town called St. Oswald's, a little to the north of the wall, exactly in the position that Bede describes, and it is just the place in which the king would choose to set up his standard. It seems plain then that St. Oswald's is the place to which Bede refers, and I endorse the view set forth in the *Archæologia Æliana*, part xvii., 104.

Cadwalla, however, was killed at Denisesburn, and the position of this stream has been entirely unknown. People have endeavoured, without just cause, to place it in the immediate vicinity of St. Oswald's, and, for the most part, behind the chapel. I have already shewn how unlikely that was from the character of the country. The following piece of direct evidence settles for ever this disputed point. This is in a charter made between Thomas de Whittington and archbishop Gray in the early part of the thirteenth century:—

“Omnibus—Thomas de Whitinton, salutem. Noveritis me concessisse—Waltero, Ebor. archiepiscopo, tertiam partem de Hoggesty, quam tenui de dono Ranulphi de Porchet, de qua cartham suam habui. Pro hac concessione dedit mihi dictus archiepiscopus, in escambium, xx acras terræ de vasto suo in *Ruley-stal*, inter istas divisas, videlicet, inter *Deniseburn*, et *Divelis*, incipiendo ex parte orientali super *Divelis*, et ascendendo ad magnam viam quæ ducit usque ad forestam de *Lilleswude*. Reddendo inde annuatim eidem domino archiepiscopo et successoribus suis xl denarios. Hiis testibus B. Priore de Extold', Petro de Vallibus, Willelmo de Widindon, Adam Bertram, Roberto de Erington, Radulpho Erinton, Ricardo de Ulreme tunc ballivo, Johanne Haring, Willelmo de Haulton, et Reginaldo de Stowa, clerico, et aliis” (MSS. Lansdowne, cccii, 19 a b.).

The original of this deed was at York in the repository which has just been mentioned. There is a copy of it on the roll of archbishop Gray, giving the date, “Data apud Torp, per manum magistri Simonis (de Evesham) ix kalendas Decembris, anno xviii.”

Now the places mentioned in this charter can easily be recognized. They lie across the Tyne eight or nine miles to the south-east of St. Oswald's, not far from Dilston and the Devilswater, and below the town of Hexham. Lilleswood still bears its name, and so does Devilswater, and in the fork between Rowleywater and Devilswater there is a place called the Steel. The name of Denisesburn is lost, but it is almost certain, from measurement, if from nothing else, that it is identical with Rowleywater.

posse jactabat, interemptus est; in loco qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna, id est rivus Denisi vocatur.

Ostenditur autem usque hodie et in magna veneratione habetur locus ille, ubi venturus ad hanc pugnam Osuald signum sanctæ crucis erexit, ac flexis genibus Dominum deprecatus est, ut in tanta rerum necessitate suis cultoribus cælesti succurreret auxilio. Denique fertur quia facta citato opere cruce, ac fovea præparata in qua statui deberet, ipse fide fervens hanc arripuerit, ac foveæ imposuerit, atque utraque manu erectam tenuerit, donec adgesto a militibus pulvere, terræ figeretur; et hoc facto, elata in altum voce, cuncto exercitui proclamaverit: "Flectamus omnes genua, et Dominum Omnipotentem vivum ac verum in commune deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste superbo ac feroce sua miseratione defendat: scit enim Ipse quia justa pro salute gentis nostræ bella suscepimus." Fecerunt omnes ut jusserrat: sic incipiente diluculo in hostem progressi, juxta meritum suæ fidei, victoria potiti sunt. In cujus loco orationis innumeræ virtutes sanitatum noscuntur esse patratae, ad indicium videlicet ac memoriam fidei regis. Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacrosanctæ crucis astulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas miserint eisque languentes homines aut pecudes potaverint sive asperserint, mox sanitati restituuntur.

Vocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum Hefenfelth, quod dici potest Latine Cælestis Campus; quod certo utique præsagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit: significans nimirum quod ibidem cæleste erigendum trophæum, cælestis inchoanda victoria, cælestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda. Est autem locus juxta murum illum, ad Aquilonem, quo Romani quondam ob arcendos barbarorum impetus, totam a mari ad mare præcinxere Britanniam, ut supra docuimus. In quo videlicet loco consuetudinem multo jam tempore fecerant Fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, quæ non longe abest, advenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald occisus est,^b vigilias pro salute animæ ejus facere, plurimæque psalmorum laude celebrata, victimam pro eo mane sacræ oblationis offerre. Qui etiam crescente bona consuetudine, nuper ibidem ecclesia constructa, sacratiorem et cunctis honorabiliorem locum omnibus fecere. Nec immerito, quia nullum, ut comperimus, fidei Chris-

^b St. Oswald's day was the 5th of August. There was a special service in his honour in the Breviary of the church of York, and there is a life of him in the great work of the Bollandists.

Some have thought that it is the cross of Oswald which appears on one side of the great seal of St. Cuthbert's monastery at Durham. It seems rather to be a copy of the jewel which was taken from the body of the saint, and close to it, over the place where their pious patron's heart was once beating, the monks of Durham committed to his charge as a precious treasure king Oswald's skull.

tianæ signum, nulla ecclesia, nullum altare in tota Berniciorum gente erectum est, priusquam hoc sacræ crucis vexillum novus militiæ ductor, dictante fidei devotione, contra hostem immanissimum pugnaturus statueret.

Nec ab re est unum e pluribus quæ ad hanc crucem patrata sunt, virtutis miraculum enarrare. Quidam de Fratribus Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, nomine Bothelm, qui nunc usque superest, ante paucos annos dum incautius forte noctu in glacie incederet, repente corruens brachium contrivit, ac gravissima fracturæ ipsius cœpit molestia fatigari; ita ut ne ad os quidem adducere ipsum brachium ullatenus dolore arcente valeret. Qui cum die quadam mane audiret unum de Fratribus ad locum ejusdem sanctæ crucis ascendere disposuisse, rogavit ut aliquam sibi partem de ille ligno venerabili rediens adferret, credere se dicens quia per hoc, donante Domino, salutem posset consequi. Fecit ille ut rogatus est, et reversus ad vesperam, sedentibus jam ad mensam Fratribus, obtulit ei aliquid de veteri musco quo superficies ligni erat obsita. Qui cum sedens ad mensam non haberet ad manum ubi oblatum sibi munus reponeret, misit hoc in sinum sibi. Et dum iret cubitum, oblitus hoc alicubi deponere, permisit suo in sinu permanere. At medio noctis tempore, cum evigilaret, sensit nescio quid frigidi suo latere adjacere, admotaque manu requirere quid esset, ita sanum brachium manumque reperit, ac si nihil unquam tanti languoris habuisset.

II.—THE ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH OF HEXHAM BY WILFRID. [Ex. Vita S. Wilfridi, auctore Eddio, inter MSS. Cotton., Vesp. D., vi., 90 a.]

De Œdificatione domus Dei in Hagustaldensæ. Ca. xix.

Adhærebat igitur, secundum Psalmistam, indesinenter Domino, ponens in Eum spem suam,^d reddensque Domino suo dulcissima, Qui ei omnia concedit. Nam in Hagustaldaesæ, adepta regione a regina Sancta Æthildrythe Deo dedicata, domum Domino in honorem Beati Andreæ Apostoli fabre-factam fundavit, cujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice

^c The earliest record of the church which Wilfrid built at Hexham, written down by that prelate's own chaplain, and addressed to Acca, who succeeded him in his Northern sec, and the abbat Tatlbirt. It is much to be regretted that Eddius was constrained to silence by the fancied magnificence of his theme.

The work of Eddius should be carefully studied in connection with Hexham and Wilfrid. It has been printed twice, although with many inaccuracies; *i. e.*, in Gale's *Scriptores*, i., pp. 40—90, and in Mabillon's *Acta SS. ord. S. B.*, sæc. iv., i., 670—722.

^d Psalm. xxviii. 7; xxxviii. 15.

politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum columpnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam, et variis liniarum (*linearium*) anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum aliquando deorsum, per cocleas circumductam, non est meæ parvitatîs hoc sermone explicare, quod sanctus ipse præsul animarum, a Spiritu Dei doctus, opere facere excogitavit, neque ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus. Porro beatæ memoriæ, adhuc vivens gratia Dei, Acca episcopus, qui magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus de auro et argento, lapidibusque pretiosis, et quomodo altaria purpura et serico induta decoravit, quis ad explanandum sufficere potest. Redeamus ad proposita.

De sanato puero semivivo. Ca. xx.

Cum ædificantes namque cæmentarii murorum hujus domus altitudines, quidam juvenis ex servis Dei de pinna inhormæ proceritatis elapsus ad terram, deorsum cadens in pavimentum lapideum elisus cecidit, confracta sunt crura et brachia, omnibusque membris desolutis ultima spiramina trahens jacebat. Quem cito cæmentarii secundum præceptum sancti pontificis lacrimantis in oratione, in feretro foras portabant, mortuum putantes. Statimque facto signo, tota familia simul in unum conveniens, et stans homo Dei in medio Fratrum dixit “Petamus omnis unanimiter Deum plena fide ut animam hujus pueri in corpus emittat, et vivat, sicut Paulo Apostolo concedit.” Orantes ergo Deum ut ne inlusor omnibus bonis in hoc ædificio gaudium victoriæ haberet, et flectentes genua, secundum Heliam et Heliseum, oratione facta a sancto episcopo nostro, et benedictione, spiritum vitæ recepit, et alligantes medici pannibus ossa confracta, de die in diem melioratus est, et multo tempore vixit, nomenque est Bodhelm,^e gratias agens Deo.

III.—A LETTER FROM ALCUIN TO ETHELBERT BISHOP OF HEXHAM.
[Apud Alcuini Opp., Ed. Froben., 1777, tom. i., p. 196.]

Præcipuæ dignitatis pastori Ædilberto episcopo, et omni congregationi in ecclesia S. Andreæ Deo servientium, Alcuinus vestræ clientellus caritatis in Christo, salutem.^f

Specialis amicitiae cupidus, vestræ sanctitati parvitatîs meæ literulas dirigere curavi, ut, et pactum antiquæ familiaritatis

^e This name, singularly enough, has already occurred in No. I., in connection with another miracle.

^f A letter from the celebrated Alcuin to bishop Ædilbert, who presided over the see of Hexham from 789 to 797. Like most of the epistles of this writer, it

innovarem, et me vestris sacratissimis commendarem orationibus. Etsi, *unius*, juxta Apostolum, *multum valet deprecatio justi*,^g quanto magis et totius sanctissimæ congregationis in Christo, quorum quotidie canonicis horis pacificæ unitatis postulationes cælum penetrare credendum est. Etiam et singularis uniuscujusque in secreto oratio ad aures Omnipotentis Dei pervenire non dubitandum est. Quapropter cum omni petitionis humilitate, meipsum etiam unicuique, et communibus omnium et specialibus singulorum, quantum mea valet apud vestram pietatem deprecatio, commendo orationibus; ut per vestræ sanctitatis preces meorum catenis peccatorum absolutus, vobiscum, Fratres carissimi, vitæ januas ingredi merear.

O nobilissima sanctorum progenies patrum! illorum honoris venerabilisque vitæ successores, et pulcherrimorum habitatores locorum vestrorum, sequimini vestigia patrum: ut de his pulcherrimis habitationibus ad eorum, qui vos genuerunt, æternæ beatitudinis consortium, in cælestis regni pulchritudinem, Deo donante, pervenire mereamini.

Dei discite scire et implere præcepta: Illo dicente, *si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*.^h Ideo necessaria est sanctorum lectio librorum, quatenus in eis quisque intelligat, quid sequi, vel quid cavere debeat. Maneat vero in vobis lumen scientiæ, et per vos aliis luceat ecclesiis, ut vestra laus in ore resonet omnium, et vobis in cælis merces maneat æterna. Unusquisque proprii laboris mercedem accipiet. Pueros adolescentesque diligenter librorum scientiam ad vitam Dei docete, ut digni vestri honoris fiant successores, etiam et intercessores pro nobis. Suffragia vero viventium prosunt morientibus, vel ad veniam peccatorum, vel ad majoris gloriæ augmentum.

Qui non seminat, non metet: et qui non discit, non docet. Et talis locus sine doctoribus aut non, aut vix salvus fieri poterit. Magna est eleemosyna, pauperem cibo pascere corporali; sed major est, animum doctrina spiritali satiare esurientem. Sicut pastor providus gregi suo optima providere pascua curat, ita doctor bonus suis subjectis perennia pascua vitæ omni studio

contains little or no historical information, but merely kind words of assurance and advice. The *pulcherrimæ habitationes* are no doubt the buildings which Wilfrid and Acca had erected, upon which the hand of the destroyer had not yet been laid.

This letter is also printed by Canisius in his *Thesaurus Monum. Ecclesiast. et Hist.*, tom. ii., 405, with one or two variations. It is likewise mentioned, and an extract given from it, in the life of Ethelbert, given by Wm. of Malmesbury in his work, *De Gestis Pont. Angl.*, lib. iii. (ed. Savile, 1596, p. 155).

The unpublished letters of Alcuin have been examined in the hope of finding some other mention of Hexham, but without success.

^g S. Jac. v. 16.

^h S. Matt. xix. 17.

procurare debet. Nam multiplicatio gregis, gloria est pastoris : et *multitudo sapientium, sanitas est orbis.*ⁱ

Scio vos, sanctissimi patres, hæc optime scire, et voluntarie implere. Sed caritas dictantis ab ore rapuit verba, credens vos pia velle humilitate legere, quæ sobria, in Dei dilectione, dictavi devotione. Iterum iterumque obsecro, ut mei nominis inter familiares vestros memoriam habere dignemini. Almitatem vestram pro tota Dei intercedentem ecclesia ipse Deus Christus exaudiat, vosque ad æternæ beatitudinis gloriam pervenire concedat, carissimi fratres !

IV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY PROVOSTS OF HEXHAM. [From a MS. Life of St. Cuthbert in the possession of Sir William Lawson, Bart., of Brough Hall.]

Edwardus, qui regnavit ante Willelmum, fuit filius Ethelredi regis. Æthelredus fuit filius Eadgari regis. Eadgarus fuit filius Eadmundi regis. Edmundus fuit filius Edwardi regis Senioris. Edwardus Senior fuit filius Ealuredi regis. Iste Eluredus rex Australium Anglorum, et Guthred, rex Norhanhynbrorum, primi statuere Sancto Cuthberto omnes leges suas et consuetudines ; eique ad incrementum sui episcopatus adauxit episcopatum Hagustaldensem qui antiquitus erat Wilfridi : et hoc statuerunt et firmaverunt cum consensu totius Angliæ, sicut inveniri potest in antiquissima scriptura chronica. Et in fine decretorum suorum excommunicationis sententiam protulerunt in eum qui sua stabilita præsumeret convellere. Legat antiquam scripturam qui voluerit.

Post illud tempus episcopi apud Sanctum Cuthbertum illum locum tenuerunt, et ibidem, scilicet, in Hagustald', suos presbiteros statuerunt, et præpositos.^j Edmundus episcopus ibi con-

ⁱ Sap. vi. 26.

^j The volume from which this passage has been extracted was lent to my father by the late Sir Henry Lawson, and he made great use of it in his *History of St. Cuthbert*. Mr. Longstaffe, however, was the first to print and illustrate this chapter about Hexham, and he has done so in the *Arch. Æliana*, n. s., part v., 1—9, and xiii., 11—28. I shall reserve my observations upon it for the Preface.

It may be well, however, to print in this place a similar list which Leland gives (*Collect.*, ed. 1774, i., 378) from an anonymous collection of Northern annals. He calls the provosts thanes.

“Alduinus, episcopus Dunelmen., constituit præpositum suum Tein Colamum, filium Edredi, in eccl. Hagustalden.

“Edmundus, episcopus Dunelmen., constituit ibidem præpositum Tein Ulfkillum, filium Archalli, nepotem Alduini episcopi prædecessoris sui.

“Egelricus episcopus, mortuo Edmundo, constituit ibidem præpositum Ulfkillum, filium Ylvingi.

“Egelwinus episcopus, qui secutus est, eundem Ulfkillum præpositum ibidem instituit.”

stituit præpositum Ulkillum Arkilles sune, Wincunes sune. Et post eum Egelricus episcopus posuit ibi præpositum Collanum; et post Collanum Ulkillum Iluinges sune; et post Egelricum Ealgelwinus episcopus constituit ibi præpositum Uthredum Ulkilles sune. Iste Uthredus est pater Cospatrici qui nunc est vice-comes in Tevietedale. Eluredus, Westou sune, secretarius Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, dono domini sui Edmundi episcopi, tenuit ecclesiam de Hagustaldaham; et postea posuit in ea presbiterum Gamel elde, qui dictus est Gamel Hamel; et postea posuit in ea presbiterum Gamel iunge. Iste Eluredus partem de reliquiis episcoporum, qui apud Hagustal'h' antiquitus fuerant ibidemque sepulti, transtulit Dunelmo, et cum Sancto Cuthberto incorrupto collocavit. Post Eluredum, filius ejus, Eylef Lawreu, thesaurarius Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, ab Egelrico et Egelwino episcopis Dunelmensibus, tenuit ecclesiam de Hagustal'h', ponens ibi presbiterum Sproh. Habuit illam quamdiu terra erat inhabitata. Postquam enim Franci venerunt in Angliam, et Robertus comes cum septingentis militibus occisus esset in Dunelmo, quinque diebus ante Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, atque post, eodem anno, castella Eboraci a Danis atque Anglis destructa, magnaue multitudo Francorum fuerat occisa. Ad vindictam horum omnium, Willelmo rege cum magno superveniente exercitu, et per menses Decembrem, Januarium, Februarium, omnia vastante, fugientibus omnibus ubi latere poterant, et etiam extra patriam peregrinantibus, tota terra ab Umbra usque Tuedam per multum tempus in solitudinem redacta est, præter Eboracum et Dunelmum et Benbanburc. Tunc Egelwino episcopo, propter timorem regis Willelmi, episcopatum fugiente, per duos pæne annos pastore vacabat ecclesia. Interim Uctred Ulkilles sune, quem, ut supradictum est, episcopus Egelwinus constituerat in Hagustal'h' præpositum, ad Thomam archiepiscopum, Seniore, profectus, indicavit locum talem facile illum posse sub dominium suum redigere, cum tota ubique terra vacaret cultore. Cujus hortatu archiepiscopus intravit Hagustalham, nullo tunc existente episcopo in Dunelmo, terra ubique vastata, nec aliquo prohibente ubi quisque vellet habitari. Post hæc, Eylaf Lawreu, cum, offerente Willelmo episcopo, monachatum recusaret, ad Thomam archiepiscopum abiit, et tunc ab eo Hagustaldensem ecclesiam recepit, quam quondam ab Egelwino episcopo acceperat. Quo mortuo, filius ejus Eylaf per prædictum archiepiscopum Hagustaldensem ecclesiam ingreditur.

V.—A GRANT OF THE CHURCHES OF WARKWORTH, CORBRIDGE, WHITTINGHAM, AND ROTHBURY, FROM HENRY I. TO RICHARD DE AUREA VALLE, HIS CHAPLAIN. [MSS. Dodsworth, lxxiv., 44.]

Henricus, rex Angliæ, Ranulpho Dunolm. episcopo, et Rogero Picoto, et omnibus fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis, et ministris de Northumbr', salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Ricardo de Aurea Valle, capellano meo, quatuor ecclesias de quatuor maneriis meis, scilicet Wercheorda, et Colebruge et in Wyttingham, et in Routhebiria,^k tam in terris, et in decimis, et in hominibus qui ad terras harum ecclesiarum pertinent, cum soka, et saka, et toll, et theam, et infangan de theef, cum omnibus suis consuetudinibus. Volo ut ipsa habeat et teneat. Tu vero, Rogere Pigot, seisi eum inde, aut Aluricus de Colebruggs, aut Hamo balistarius, præpositus, aut Amewynus præpositus. Testibus Roberto episcopo Lincoln; et Willelmo de Werlewast, et Evrardo filis comitis, et Thoma capellano. Apud Cyrcester, in Nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

VI.—A GRANT FROM HENRY I. TO ROGER DE MERLAY, THE FOUNDER OF NEWMINSTER ABBEY, OF THE DAUGHTER OF EARL COSPATRIC. [From the original, in the possession of Captain Richardson, of Scarborough.]

H. rex Angliæ et dux Normanniæ, justitiariis et wicecomitibus, et ministris, et omnibus barononibus (*sic*) Anglis et Francis, Normannis, etc., salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse Rad' de Mⁱ,^l Julianam filiam comitis Gospatric (cum) Marsale,

^k A grant for life of four churches in Northumberland. Colebruge, as Leland tells us, is the old name for Corbridge, a village close to Hexham. This deed is prior to 1128, the year in which bishop Flambard died.

The volume in the Bodleian Library, from which this charter is taken, contains the great antiquary's extracts from the charter-book of the family of Percy, which had passed from the hands of Henry earl of Cumberland into those of Charles Fairfax, Esq., of Menston, the great patron of literary men. These deeds have not been used by Northern historians, and it is impossible to exaggerate their importance. I am not aware that the original chartulary is now in existence, and consequently the copies made by Dodsworth possess an unusual value. He has given a great number of them *in extenso*, and they are well worthy of being printed.

Aluric or Alfrie of Corbridge is mentioned in two charters printed in Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., 16-17.

They are grants to William, son of Aluric de Corbridge, of the lands which Richard his brother held in Dilston, made by Henry earl of Northumberland and Henry I. They point, seemingly, to the origin of the family of Devilston or Dilston.

^l A very early deed, which I give by the kindness of Captain Richardson. It

præditum in meis aliis hervis cum sac, et sock, et tol, et te, et infangenthef, tam bene et tam quiete, et tam honorifice, quam unquam. . . Gospatrice melius tenuit, nocte et die; in bosco, in plano, in semitis, in aquis, et in omnibus locis. Et, insuper, sciatis quod eadem terra est in meo nemore, et ideo dedi ei atque concessi omnia ad opus suum intra rectis divisis, (*sic*) in annum et villam et portam; et hi sint custodiat super witam et menbra.—Will. d'Albeni, le buteler, Will. Malduit. Ap^t. W^f, [*Sigillum deest.*]

VII.—BULL OF POPE CALIXTUS II. CONFIRMING THE POSSESSIONS OF THE CHURCH OF YORK, INCLUDING HEXHAM, AND DOING AWAY WITH THE PROFESSION TO CANTERBURY. [MSS. Lansdowne, cccci., 112 b.]^m

Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Turstino Ebor. archiepiscopo, ejusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum. Caritatis bonum est proprium gaudere propectibus aliorum, unde et Apostolus tunc ait, *Vivi-*

is of considerable interest, and is new to the Northern historian. I print it with several obvious blunders.

The place, Marsale, I cannot identify with any modern name, but the persons interested were persons of renown.

Ralph de Merlay is mentioned by John of Hexham as the founder of Newminster abbey, and he married the daughter of Cospatric, the official earl of Northumberland. This is the grant of her in marriage.

In Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* there are two deeds relating to this marriage and the dower of the lady (vol. ii., part ii., 471). It appears from one of them that Edgar, son of Cospatric, the benefactor to Tynemouth (Gibson's *Tynemouth*, i., 50), was her brother.

The word *hervis* is of very rare occurrence, and is not easily explained. It is mentioned in Ducange with the following context, "*Omnia alia, beces, feoda de cerces, pascua, hervis aquarum, deveria, etc.*"

Juliana de Merlay transmitted her name to another lady, unnoticed in the annals of the house, who in the thirteenth century gave the house, lands, and chapel of Warendford, which Thomas de Warendham had given her, to the prior and brethren of the Holy Cross in the diocese of Liege, apparently to found a cell or a hospital on the spot.

This very curious deed is in my possession, and among Mr. Hodgson's MSS. there are some papers which throw light upon this foundation.

^m The first of the papal privileges which the archbishops of York took so much trouble to secure to maintain the position of their see against that of Canterbury.

This is the first in which any mention is made of Hexham. The next bull in which that place is mentioned is that of Honorius II. in 1124.

Thomas, the earliest Norman archbishop of York, singularly enough, confirmed the possession of the church to Durham. I have stated elsewhere the changes which had taken place in the interval.

This is the famous document for which the famous Thurstan worked and suffered so much.

*mus, si vos statis in Domino,*ⁿ et iterum, *Quæ est enim nostra spes aut gaudium, aut corona gloriæ? Nonne vos ante Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum?*^o Hoc igitur caritatis debito provocamur, et apostolicæ sedis auctoritate compellimur, honorem debitum fratribus exhibere, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ dignitatem pro suo cuique modo cæteris ecclesiis impertiri. Proinde, karissime frater, co-episcope Turstine, tibi tuisque successoribus, et per vos Ebor. ecclesiæ, cui, cooperante Deo, per manus nostræ impositionem præesse cognosceris,^p imperpetuum confirmamus, universos Eboracensis metropol' suffraganeos, et quicquid parochiarum vel episcopali vel metropolitano jure ad eandem cognoscitur ecclesiam pertinere; pallei quoque usus pontificalis, videlicet plenitudinem officii fraternitati tuæ ex liberalitate sedis Apostolicæ confirmamus diebus illis qui in ecclesiæ vestræ privilegiis distinguntur. Antiquam præterea Eborancensis ecclesiæ dignitatem integram conservari, auctore Domino, cupientes, et prædecessorum nostrorum sanctæ recordationis Urbani, Paschalis, et Gregorii, Romanorum pontificum, sententiis adhærentes, auctoritate Apostolica prohibemus ne ulterius aut Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ab Ebor' professionem quamlibet exigat, aut Eboracensis Cantuariensi exhibeat; neque, quod quondam penitus a Beato Gregorio prohibitum est, ullo modo Ebor. Cantuariensis ditioni subiaceat; sed juxta ejusdem patris constitutionem ista inter eos honoris distinctio in perpetuum conservetur, ut prior habeatur qui prior fuerat ordinatus. Sane si Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ab Eboracensi electo consecrationis manum subtraxerit, quam videlicet juxta ecclesiarum suarum morem ab Honorio, Apostolicæ sedis pontifice, institutum invicem sibi debent, liceat eidem Eboracensi secundum communem ecclesiæ consuetudinem, et prædicti patris nostri Gregorii sanctionem, et domini nostri sanctæ memoriæ Paschalis papæ mandatum, a suis suffraganeis consecrari. Ad hæc antiquas libertatis consuetudines et possessiones, quas vel in præsentī legitime obtinetis, vel in futuro, largiente Deo, juste poteritis adipisci, Eboracensiæ ecclesiæ, præsentis privilegii auctoritate, firmamus. Statuentes ut nullus eas auferre, vel minuere, vel temerariis audeat vexationibus infestare, sed omnia integra conserventur, eorum, pro quorum sustentatione et gubernatione concessa sunt, usibus omnimodis profutura. Illud quoque capitulo præsentī subjungimus, ut ecclesiæ Sancti Andreae Haugustaldensis, Sancti Johannis Beverlacensis, Sancti Wilfridi de Rypun, Sanctæ Mariæ de Suthwille, Sancti Oswaldi de Gloucestra, cum omnibus eorum possessionibus et libertatis

ⁿ 1 Thess. iii. 8.^o 1 Thess. ii. 19.^p The well-known scene at Rheims in October, 1119.

consuetudinibus, vobis, vestrisque successoribus, necnon et Eboracensi ecclesiæ, integre semper et quiete permaneant. Si qua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica sæcularive persona, hanc nostræ constitutionis paginam sciens, contra eam temere venire temptaverit, secundo, tertiove commonita, si non satisfactione congrua emendaverit, potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat; reamque se Divino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat; et a sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Dei et Domini Redemptoris nostri Jhesu Christi aliena fiat; atque in extremo examine districtæ ultioni subjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem ecclesiæ justa servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, quatenus et hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, et apud districtum Judicem præmia æternæ pacis inveniant. Amen.

Ego Calixtus, chatholicæ Ecclesiæ episcopus.

Ego Cono Prænestinus episcopus. Ego Lambertus Ostiensis episcopus. Ego Boso presbyter-cardinalis Sanctæ Anastasiæ. Ego Gregorius presbyter tituli Sanctæ Lucinæ. Ego Petrus presbyter-cardinalis tituli Sanctæ Susannæ. Ego Petrus diaconus-cardinalis Sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani. Ego Petrus diaconus cardinalis Sancti Adriani.

Data Vapinci, per manum Grisigorii Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconi-cardinalis ac bibliothecarii. Vero Id' Martii, indictione xiii., incarnationis Dominicæ anno m^o c^o xx^o, pontificatus autem domini Calixti Secundi papæ anno secundo.

VIII.—A LETTER FROM INNOCENT II. TO KING STEPHEN ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF CARLISLE. [From the Great White Register at York. Part i., 53 a.]

*Litera ad dominum S. regem Angliæ super ecclesia Carleon. de tanto pro cathedrali habenda.*¹

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, karissimo in Christo filio Stephano, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Serenitatem tuam nolumus ignorare nos jamdudum ex dispensatione apostolica statuisse, ut, videlicet, locus Karliolii de cætero episcopalis dignitatis culmine

¹ An unpublished letter relating to the establishment of the see of Carlisle. Henry I. has been generally regarded as the founder, but this shews that something remained for his successor to do.

Adelulf, prior of Nostell, was made bishop in 1133. When he was elected there were great disputes with the Scottish bishops about jurisdiction, etc., especially with John, bishop of Glasgow, who withdrew to Tiron in disgust, and remained there till the pope obliged him to return.

decoretur, et perpetuis futuris temporibus ejusdem honoris prærogativa illustratus existat. Ad quod nimirum efficiendum prædecessor tuus, gloriosæ memoriæ Henricus, multo desiderio æstuavit, si quam morte intercedente quod exinde proposuerat nequivit efficere. Nobilitatem tuam apostolicis literis commoneamus, ut quod ab ipso super eadem re minus factum est, suplere non desinas, quatinus et in eodem loco Omnipotenti Domino honorifice serviatur, et tua devotio, cum peccatorum remissione, a remuneratione ovium digna præmia consequi mereatur. Data Pisis, x kalendas Maii.

IX.—A GRANT FROM KING STEPHEN TO COSPATRIC, BROTHER OF DOLPHIN, OF CERTAIN MANORS AND POSSESSIONS. [MSS. Dodsworth, lxxiv., 28 b.]

S. rex Angliæ, justitiariis et baronibus et vice-comitibus et ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis, de Northumberland, salutem. Sciatis me reddidisse et concessisse Gospatricio, fratri Dolfini, terram Edmundi avunculi sui,^r quam de rege Henrico tenebat; et terram Winnochi, videlicet, sex maneria, Bremdonia, et Benelegam, et Hiddesleie, et Bretonam, et Thitelittonam, et Harop, cum omnibus hominibus et rebus quæ fuerunt in terra illa, die qua rex Henricus dedit illa maneria Hamoni; et terram Liolfi filii Uctredi, videlicet tres Mideltonas, et Roden, et Horsleiam, et servitium Gospatrick, et Stantonam, et Wyndegatam, et Wottonam, et Wittonam, et Rittonam, sicut rex Henricus ei illas dedit et concessit per cartas suas. Et habeat suas rectas divisas quas monstrare poterit se juste habere debere. Et ideo volo et præcipio quod bene, et in pace, et honorifice, et libere, et quiete teneat prædictas terras suas, et omnia sua in bosco, et plano, et pratis, et pasturis, et aquis, et molendinis, et stagnis, et esclusis, in via, et semitis, in divisis, et exitibus, et in omnibus locis, cum socha, et sacha, et tholl, et theam, et infangthefe, et cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus suis, sicut melius unquam tenuit et liberius tempore regis Henrici; et super hoc, omnes fugationes quæ feodo suo pertinent. Teste regis concellario, et W. Marc' et R. de Veer, apud Ebor.

^r Another deed out of the Percy chartulary, which shews how many additions may be made to the pedigree of the old earls of Northumberland. I print this and a few other charters relating to the North as illustrative of the works of the Hexham priors, before we come to the general history of the monastery over which they presided.

Stephen was at York in 1135 or 1136.

X.—A GRANT OF A MARKET AT NEWBIGGING BY THE SEA FROM WILLIAM EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO WILLIAM DE VESCY. [MSS. Dodsworth, lxxiv., 29 a.]

Willelmus, comes Northumbriæ illustris, constabulariis suis, vice-comitibus suis omnibus, necnon omnibus hominibus suis, Francis et Anglicis, Northumb', qui sunt, et qui venturi sunt, salutem. Notum vobis facio quatinus do et concedo Willelmo de Vescy ut habeat forum suum apud Sanctum Walericium, qui vocatur Neubiginge,^s cum omnibus rebus et rectitudinibus omnibus quæ melius et liberius pertineant ulli foro totius Northumbriæ. Ita libere quiete et honorifice, sicut aliquis in tota Northumbria habet et tenet territorium suum liberius et honorabilius. Volo et jubeo quod idem Willelmus de Vescy teneat prædictum forum et habeat: testantibus hiis, Osberto priore de Jeddeworth, A. comitissa matre ejus, Gilberto constabulario, Odenel Denframvilla, Edmundo camerario, Hugone Giffard, Willelmo Masculo, Rodberto de Baillioll, magistro Ricardo de Devel', Waltero de Pelet . . nigro, Godfrido. Apud Edinburgh.

XI.—A LETTER FROM ROBERT DE DURHAM, MONK OF KELSO, TO THE PRIOR OF TYNEMOUTH, DESCRIBING THE DEATH OF MALCOLM, KING OF SCOTLAND, AND HIS QUEEN.^t [MSS. Cotton, Vitellius, A. xx., 75 b.]

Reverendo patri in Christo, domino Rad' de Dunham, Dei gratia priori de Tynem', et ejusdem loci sacro conventui, frater

^s An early deed out of the Percy chartulary. It gives us the old name of the little village in the parish of Woodhorn, before some one rebuilt it, and called it Newbigging.

William, earl of Northumberland, was the son of Henry the earl, and sat upon the throne of Scotland, which his father, if he had lived, would have occupied so well. We know him best as William the Lion.

Hexham had property in Newbigging of the gift of Bernard de Balliol. William the Lion and his mother, the countess Ada, whose surname of Warren he at one time adopted, gave to that monastery the manor of Whitfield.

Dodsworth (xlv., 6 a) records another benefaction of his:—

"Willelmus de Gwarene, comes Northumbriæ, justitiæ suæ et baronibus, vice-comitibus et ministris, et omnibus probis tam clericis quam laicis totius Northumberland, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse, etc., priori et canonicis de Brenkburn, pro anima Henrici dilectissimi patris mei, salinam, quam pater meus Henricus apud Werkeworth in tempore vitæ suæ eis in puram elemosinam dedit. Concedo et confirmo etiam prædictis fratribus totam donationem Rogeri Bertram, scilicet locum qui dicitur Brenkeburne cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Testibus Gilberto de Umfranvilla, Willelmo de Vescy, Rogero de Merley" (Reg. Brinkburne, fo. 65).

^t A very remarkable letter, which has been twice printed before, but inaccurately. It relates to Malcolm, the Scottish king, the bane of Northumberland,

R. dictus de Dunelmo, humilis monachus de Kilchou, æternam in Domino salutem. Multum regratiamur vobis de hospitalitate nobis in domo vestra curialiter exhibita, mihi scilicet et socio meo. Placuit curialitati vestræ in ipso convivio et confabulatione narrare talia; scilicet invenisse vos ossamenta cujusdam viri magnæ staturæ et alterius minoris, quæ putabatis esse ossamenta venerabilis regis quondam Scotiæ Malcolomi, et ejus filii. Unde petiebatis a me, ut si in aliquo codice autentico certum aliquid de hoc invenire potuissem, qualiter obierit, vel ubi sepultus fuerit, vobis litteratorie certificarem. In Danorum Historia sic reperi. Rex Scotiæ Melcolmus, et primogenitus filius ejus Eaduardus, cum suis exercitibus, in Northumbriam, die festivitatis Sancti Bricii, a militibus Roberti Northumbrorum comitis occisi sunt. In cujus morte justitia judicantis Dei aperte consideratur, ut, videlicet, in illa provincia cum suis interiret, quam sæpe ipse vastare avaritia stimulante consuevit. Quinquies enim namque illam constanti populatione atrivit, et, miseros indigenas in servitutem redigens, abduxit captivos; semel, Eaduardo regnante, Egeluulmo episcopante Dunelm., quando Tosti comes Northumbrorum profectus Romæ fuerat: iterum, regnante Willelmo, sub eodem episcopo Egelwyno, quando et Clivelande depopulatus est: tertio, regnante eodem rege Willelmo, sub Walchero episcopo, usque Tinam progressus, post cædes hominum et concremationes locorum, multa cum præda revertitur: quarto, regnante Willelmo juniore, Willelmo regente episcopatum Dunelmensem, cum suis copiis infinitis usque Cestr' pervenit, omnino intendens ulterius progredi, sed

and the terror of the people of Hexham. For historical illustrations my reader must be referred to Mr. Sidney Gibson's stately tomes, which contain the history of Tynemouth.

Malcolm died in 1093, and among the events of the year 1257, Matthew Paris, with a natural partiality for Tynemouth as a daughter of St. Alban's, says, "Eodem anno, inventa sunt ossamenta regis Scotorum Malcolmi, et Edwardi filii sui, cum fundamenta cujusdam structuræ pararentur apud Thynemuam," (ed. Wats., 1684, 815.)

The prior of Tynemouth, soon after this discovery, speaks of it to a guest of his, a Durham man, who was a monk at Kelso, and with a true antiquarian spirit wishes to know something about Malcolm. This letter is the answer to his question. A portion of it, disfigured with blunders, is given among the additions to the history of Matthew Paris, p. 1118.

The MS. in the Cottonian library from which this letter has been transcribed was the property of the priory of Tynemouth, and it contains a number of scraps of chronicles, especially those relating to Durham and Hexham.

The following inscription shews how the book came into the priory, "Hunc librum dedit frater Radulfus de Dunham, prior, Deo et Ecclesiæ S. M. and S. Oswini de Tinem'. Quem qui abstulerit, aut hunc titulum deleverit, aut aliqua fraude alienaverit, anetema sit. Amen."

The name of "John Richardson," in a Jacobean hand, shews that the volume at one time belonged to a well-known Durham lawyer and antiquary.

ordinata contra eum militari manu non multa, metu ipsius citius revertitur: quinta, cum omni quo potuit exercitu, in ultimam deducturus desolationem, Northumbriam invasit; sed juxta flumen Alne perimitur a Morello, milite strenuissimo, cum primogenito suo Eaduardo, quem hæredem regni post se disposuerat. Exercitus illius vel gladiis confoditur, vel qui gladios fugerunt inundatione fluminum, quæ tunc pluviis hyemalibus plus solito excreverant, absorti sunt. Corpus vero regis et cruentissimi carnificis, cum suorum nullus remaneret qui terra illud cooperiret, duo ex indigenis carro impositum in Tine-muthe sepelierunt. Sicque factum est ut ubi multos vita et rebus et libertate privavit, ibidem ipse judicio Divino vitam simul cum rebus amitteret. Cujus morte cognita, regina Scottorum Margareta, tanta affecta est tristitia, ut subito in magnam incideret infirmitatem. Nec mora, presbiteris ad se vocatis, ecclesiam intravit, eisque sua peccata confessa, oleo se perungi, cælestique muniri viatico fecit, Deum assiduis precibus exorans, ut in hac ærumpnosa vita diutius illam vivere non permetteret. Nec multo tardius exaudita est. Nam die tertio post regis occisionem, soluta carnis vincula, ut creditur, ad gaudia transivit æternæ salutis.

Ista igitur vobis significare curavi, quod corpus ejus penes vos constat esse humatum: cujus animæ, si vobis placet, precibus subveniatis, et ossamenta in decentiori loco, sicut pollicebamini, locari faciatis.

Vivendo læte per tempora longa valete!

XII.—A GRANT OF TWO CASKS OF RED WINE FROM HENRY III. TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM. [From an In-speximus of Henry IV., in the possession of W. B. Beaumont, Esq., M.P.]

Henricus, Dei gratia, rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod, de gratia nostra speciali, concessimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris, Priori et Conventui domus, sive prioratus, Sancti Andreæ de Hexham, in comitatu Northumbriæ, et successoribus suis, duo dolia vini rubii,^u habenda et percipienda annuatim in portu de Novo Castro super Tynam, per manus capitalis pincernæ nostri Angliæ, vel ipsius deputati ibidem, pro tempore existentis; sibi et successoribus suis præ-

^u This privilege seems to have remained in force until the Reformation.

dictis, in augmentationem Divini cultus ibidem imperpetuum; eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore et anno vini prædicti in præsentibus minime facta existit aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, restrictione, mandato, causa, re, materia quacumque in contrarium facta, edita, seu provisa, non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, quarto die Martii, anno ab inchoatione regni nostri quadragesimo nono, et re-adeptionis nostræ regię potestatis anno primo.^v

XIII.—AN ORDINATION, OR SET OF RULES, LAID DOWN FOR THE MONASTERY OF HEXHAM BY GODFREY DE LUDHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND CONFIRMED BY ARCHBISHOP WICKWAIN. [Reg. Archiep. Romani, 91-2.]

Nos Godefridus, miseratione Divina, Ebor., etc., xv kalendas Octobris, anno Domini m^o cc^o lx^o 8^o, in monasterio de Hextildesham, visitationis officium impendentes,^w comperimus, quod famosæ memoriæ W., predecessor noster, ad correctionem et reformationem status domus, quædam statuta edidit et tradidit observanda, ex quibus quædam, quæ quoad spiritualitatem et temporalitatem domus utilia invenimus, præsentibus duximus inserenda. Ejusdem itaque prædecessoris vestigiis inhærentes, præcipimus, quod Prior majora negotia domus, et majores obedientiarios, scilicet suppriorum, sacristam, terrarium, cellerarium, camerarium, bursarium, de consilio et assensu sanioris partis Conventus, statuatur. Eosdem autem, præter suppriorum, prout viderit expedire, Deum habens præ oculis, amoveat. Majora autem negotia domus, dicimus de fratribus admittendis, de pos-

^v March 4, 1264-5. The allusion is to Montfort's rebellion and Henry's reverse.

^w A set of injunctions made to the priory of Hexham after the visitation of archbishop Ludham in 1268. They correct, I must observe, errors of omission and commission, but they are not by any means the whole body of rules which the Prior and Canons were bound to observe.

We learn that an earlier set of injunctions had been made by archbishop Gray, many of which, in all probability, are repeated here, just as these were accepted and confirmed by archbishop Wickwaine in 1283, twenty-five years after Ludham enacted them, and also by archbishop Romanus in 1291. Ludham presided over the see of York for a very short time, and this is one of the very few documents in existence to which his name is attached.

I shall make some remarks upon this highly valuable paper in another part of this volume.

We now come to the documents more immediately relating to the Priory. Some of those which have gone before, relate to the general history of the North, and are illustrative of the chronicles of the two priors. Among those which follow, I have inserted a few which relate to neighbouring places and monasteries.

sessionibus alienandis, de firmis et corrodiis perpetuo concedendis. Et si forte circa hujusmodi ordinationem dissensio orta fuerit inter Priorem et Conventum, ad nostrum arbitrium referatur. Alienationes autem possessionum, et concessionem pensionum annuarum, non fiant absque nostro consilio et consensu. Minora vero negotia, et minores obedientiarum, videlicet, custodem fabricis ecclesiæ, duos cantores, hospitum receptorem, refectorium, sub-sacristam, et cæteros, consilio supprioris et aliorum trium vel quatuor, statuatur vel disponatur. Sit igitur Prior, et qui ejus loco ordini præsidet, in regulari observantia sollicitus, et regulariter, sine personarum acceptione, corrigat quicquid in subditis fuerit corrigendum. Priore alicubi pro negotio domus proficiscente, canonicus cum eo iturus expensas a bursariis recipiat, et, cum redierit, computum de expensis bursario reddat. Quotiescumque Prior consilium Conventus et assensum super aliquo negotio necesse habeat inquirere, rationes tam juniorum quam seniorum audiat, nec præsumat aliquis quod utile sibi visum fuerit proterve defendere, sed magis pendeat ex arbitrio præsentis. Nullus canonicus usquam ex villa sine rationabili causa eat, nec tunc, sine licentia Prioris, vel supprioris, si Prior absens fuerit, et tunc assignetur ei scutarius pro voluntate Prioris, et provideantur ei necessaria de communi, tam in equis quam in expensis. De consilio fratrum eligatur sæcularis discretus, et approbatæ conversationis, qui præbendæ de Salton præsideat, et computum de omnibus receptis et expensis, tam de equis nutritis quam de aliis rebus, semel in anno, reddat, nisi eadem præbenda ad firmam tradita fuerit. Terrarius consilio Prioris procuret exteriora, una cum aliquo discreto layco a Priore assignato, tam in grangiis et in redditibus, et proveniuntibus animalium, et aliarum rerum; et audiat a conversis et servientibus computum in præsentia Prioris, vel alicujus quem loco ejus assignaverit. Respondeatque bursarius sibi et cum omnibus obedientiariis bis in anno de omnibus receptis coram Priore et aliquibus discretioribus. Computabunt bursarii bladium et farinam, et braseum recipiant per tallias, et locis debitis per talleas distribuunt. Celerarius et camerarius de communi bursa recipiant quod ad officium suum pertinet, et recepta consilio Prioris expendant. Conversi et servientes, qui animalibus et ovibus præsent, per consilium Prioris et terrarii, sibi necessaria de officio proprio provideant. Nullus sæcularis in refectorio comedat, nisi sit honesta et commendabilis persona; mulieres vero nulla ratione infra septa claustrum, et maxime in refectorio, vel infirmario, vel penticio bibant vel reficiant. Infirmis in infirmario existentibus, prout infirmitas sua exegerit, secundum facultates domus juxta regulam Beati Augustini pro-

videatur. Ostium claustrī ab aliquo maturo sæculari vel converso jugiter custodiatur, qui sæculares compescat, ne importune se claustrō ingerant, præter licentiam custodis ordinis; nec sit introitus in claustrum nisi per collocutorium, nisi de licentia Prioris vel custodis ordinis. Canonici extra refectorium reficientes aliqua causa rationabili, finito prandio, ordinate ad claustrum redeant. Pauperes Christi secundum quod facultates domus suppetunt misericorditer subleventur, et hospites secundum possibilitatem domus recipiantur. Nullus de elemosina a sanctis patribus pauperum usibus deputata aliquid minuere præsumat, aut pro voluntate disponere, aut in alios usus convertere. Opus ecclesiæ, secundum quod facultas domus suppetit, efficaciter promoveatur. Nullus depositum alicujus nisi de licentia Prioris recipiat, et hoc sub testimonio duorum vel trium. Pacem perturbantes fratrum, prout rector ordinis viderit expedire, regulariter compescantur et graviter corripiantur. Sacrista, camerarius, cantor, hospitum receptor, summo silentio, et horis statutis in ecclesia intersint, nisi rationabilis causa intervenierit. Nullus canonicus equum habeat in curia vel extra, præter obedientiariorum qui necesse habent. Personæ ydoneæ ad canonicandum per consilium fratrum caritative admittantur. Conversi singulis diebus Dominicis in capitulo, conventu præsentē, conveniant, et ibidem de excessibus suis satisfaciant. Licentia eundi in infirmariam, vel alibi extra claustrum, post collationem, interdicatur, nisi rationabilis causa intervenierit. Prior, terrarius, celerarius, nec aliquis alius, post collationem, potationi vel superfluis confabulationibus vacent, nisi necesse habuerint moram facere ob reverentiam magnorum hospitum; ne prolixa sessione gravati, minus expedite Divinis officiis possint interesse. Nullus, regularem observantiam occasionabiliter subterfugiendo, in infirmario jaceat vel reficiat. Nullus canonicus venationi intendat. Nullus canonicus ingerat se strepitui causarum sæcularium sivi capituli, nisi vocatus ab eo cui nos vices nostras in hac parte commiserimus; nec tunc, nisi de licentia Prioris vel custodis ordinis. Quælibet officina numero servientium antiquitus statuto contenta sit, nisi evidens necessitas aliud exegerit. Prior prehendingantes, et domum onerantes, et garciones inutiles, et canes inutiles a curia faciat amoveri; et si Prior negligens fuerit, hoc per terrarium et celerarium ad archiepiscopum referatur. Servientes, cum reperti fuerint inutiles, nullius favore eis patrocinate, ab officiis amoveantur. Minuti, tam in hyeme quam in æstate, ante collationem cænent. Nullus sub pœna anathematis aliquam proprietatem habeat. Nullus fratri suo majori vel minori crimen imponat, nisi quod probare voluerit, quod si fecerit, pœnam sustineat talionis; si autem Priori ali-

quid hujusmodi objecerit, secundum quod in altiore gradum peccaverit, gravius puniatur. Nullus canonicus delictum fratris sui, alicujus favoris obtentu, celare, vel in capitulo propositum defendere præsumat; quod si fecerit, canonicæ subjaceat disciplinæ. Omnia quæ in thesauraria reponuntur in utensilibus, ornamentis, vestimentis, et rebus aliis, tribus fratribus exponantur, et in scripto redigantur. Sigillum commune sub tribus clavibus fideliter custodiatur; quarum una clavis sit in custodia Prioris, altera supprioris; tertia vero alicujus canonici ad hoc a Conventu electi. Firmiter, etiam, tam Priori quam Conventui inhibemus, ne possessiones suas vel thesaurum ecclesiæ pro terris emendis vendant vel impignorent, vel pecuniam sub usura ad hoc mutuo accipiant, nisi de consilio nostro, si in regno fuerimus, vel eorum quos loco nostro constituerimus, si nos abesse contigerit. Volumus etiam quod infirmarius ad curam infirmorum de cætero præficiatur, per quem infirmis, ut prædictum est, provideatur.

Ad hæc, cum Divinus cultus diminui non debeat sed augeri, ac numerus canonicorum præter solitum sit adeo minoratus, quod exinde propter paucitatem canonicorum defectus in Divinis obsequiis nescitur iminere, statuendo præcipimus quod, quamcito comode fieri poterit, sex vel quinque, qui vitæ commendabilis fuerint et honestæ, ad vestrum consortium et habitum assumatis, ut vestros labores impertiantur et sustineant in Divinis obsequiis exhibendis. Item, cum non debeant aliqui in capitulo super transgressionibus aliquibus proclamati improbas dissensiones quærere, vel, prætendendo excusationes in peccatis, se in admittendis correctionibus difficiles exhibere, statuimus ut qui super hoc notabiles fuerint, vel fratribus et canonicis rixam fecerint, vel verba probrosa dixerint, taliter castigentur quod metu pænæ illorum alii a similibus arceantur. Cum silentium in choro, claustro, refectorio, dormitorio, necnon et capitulo, nisi cum ibi de hiis quæ ad correctionem et salutem pertinent loquendum fuerit, jugiter debeat custodiri, districte præcipimus quod qui ad interrumpendum silentium in aliquo locorum prædictorum fuerit assuetus, pro modo culpæ gravi subjaceat disciplinæ; si quis vero per ignaviam aut torporem suum ecclesiasticis officiis non curaverit exercitare, et curam et diligentiam apponere, ut ea, prout congruit, cordetenus scire possit, severius castigetur; qui, si nec sic se correxerit, aliis ministeriis deputetur quæ ad juniores vel novicios spectare solebant, ne in vinea Domini aliquis omnino remaneat otiosus. Obedientiarii autem, et maxime qui obedientias infra septa monasterii habuerint, Conventum sequantur, et horis canonicis cum Conventu studeant interesse, nisi aliqua justa causa fuerint

impediti. Cum autem negotiatio non solum regularibus, sed et clericis sæcularibus, sit penitus interdicta, et non solum a malo sed a specie mali jubet Apostolus abstinere, districtius inhibemus, ne quis canonicus sub prætextu vel velamento obedientiæ, vel administrationis alicujus promovendæ vel procurandæ, præsumat aliquid genus mercimonii exercere: quod si apertum fuerit, præcipimus graviter vindicari. Cum unumquemque, in vocatione qua vocatus fuerit, secundum Apostolum, deceat permanere, statuimus quod unusquisque canonicus cujuscumque gradus seu conditionis fuerit, secundum tempus vocationis suæ, stallum et locum habeat inter fratres, ne si juniores antiquioribus in ordine præferantur, indignatio vel oblocutio oriatur inter cæteros, quos labor prolixior et majora merita anteponunt. Cæterum, cum monasterium vestrum situm sit in frigida regione, adeo quod ære turbido, tempestatibusque validis, frigora ibidem, præcipue yemali tempore, acrius invalescunt, in tantum quod nonnunquam propter æcris intemperiem infirmitates mortiferæ aliaque incommoda noscantur nonnullis canonicis retro temporibus accidisse, concedimus, ex gratia speciali, quod, a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque Pascha, in festis dupplicibus, quibus soliti estis in albis absque cappis propter festorum excellentiam Divinis obsequiis interesse, operimenta capitibus habeatis, quæ facta de nigris agninis pellibus dupplicatis vel nigro panno furrato, se ultra scapulas adeo non prætendant, quod exinde possint aliqua contra honestatem regularis observantiæ denotari; ista gratia, usque eam revocandam duxerimus, duratura. Attendentes autem quod Conventus unanimiter et speciali devotione desiderat semel in ebdomada Matutinas et alias Horas canonicas cum missa de Beata Virgine celebrare, et tam pio desiderio assensu benivolo annuentes, concedimus quod singulis septimanis, a festo Sanctæ Trinitatis usque ad Adventum Domini, et ab Octavis Epiphaniæ usque ad Septuagesimam, Matutinæ et Horæ aliæ cum Missa de Beata Virgine in choro diebus sabbati celebrentur, nisi festum Novem Lectionum acciderit, vel etiam Trium de Sancto qui in canone Missæ fuerit, vel proprias Laudes habuerit, vel etiam alicujus Sancti alterius specialis de quo bona fiat Legenda cum Oratione propria habeatur; aut etiam solempnis Vigilia alicujus Apostoli vel Sancti evenerit, qua Nocturnus ex consuetudine dici debeat; et tunc fiat servitium de Domina in aliqua alia feria septimanæ, ubi, secundum providentiam cantoris seu ebdomadarii, competentius fieri poterit. Statuimus autem ut hæc ordinatio, singulis annis, quater in capitulo coram Priore et Conventu publice recitetur, volentes quod qui in aliquo articulo transgressor inventus fuerit, canonicè tanquam pro transgressione regulæ puniatur. Insolentiam

autem Prioris et incuriam, si circa eam in suis articulis observandam negligens fuerit aut remissus, impunitam minime relinquemus. In cujus, etc.

Nos Willelmus, etc., permissione Divina, etc., nonis Julii, anno gratiæ m^o cc^o lxxx^o tertio, et pontificatus nostri quarto, in monasterio nostro de Extildesham visitationis officium exercentes, præmissa omnia, quæ tunc in capitulo coram omnibus et singulis distincte fecimus recitari, approbamus, et præcipimus amodo in suis articulis firmiter observari.

XIV.—THE REJECTION OF THE POSTULATION OF A NEW PRIOR OF HEXHAM BY ARCHBISHOP GIFFARD. [Reg. Giffard, 72 b.]

In nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, nos magister G. de Sancto Leofard, officialis curiæ Ebor., et commissarius specialiter datus a venerabili patre W. Dei gratia Ebor. Archiepiscopo, in negotio postulationis quæ dicitur factam de persona fratris Ricardi de Ebor. in Priorem monasterii de Extildesham;^{*} auditis et intellectis meritis postulationis memoratæ, postulantium et postulati, quia invenimus ipsam non a duabus partibus Conventus factam, nec in concordia, set in discordia et divisione, nec personam postulatam capacem gratiæ quæ fieri debet postulato, eo quod defectum notabilem natalium patitur, qui absque sedis apostolicæ gratia speciali nullatenus valet aboleri, ipsam postulationem non admittimus, et sententialiter rejicimus, cassamus, et irritamus; rejectam, cassam, et irritam pronuntiamus, et infirmamus, sive infirmum decernimus, quicquid secutum est ex ea, vel ob id; et domino nostro Archiepiscopo jus providendi dicto monasterio de Exteldesham viduato, de persona idonea, sententialiter reservamus.

^{*} The Convent of Hexham have postulated as their new Prior, a canon of the name of Richard of York. An enquiry is made into the election, and it is found to be defective, *i. e.*, it was not desired by two-thirds of the electors, and it was done in anger and discord. In addition to this, the candidate could not shew that he was the child of lawful wedlock, and on these accounts the election was set aside.

Gilbert de St. Leofard, the commissioner, who afterwards became bishop of Chichester, reserves for the archbishop the right of providing a proper Prior. It does not appear that he had the power to do so. The archbishop could reject a candidate, but he could not nominate a Prior himself.

This document is undated, but, judging from the preceding and succeeding instruments, it seems to have been written between 1269 and 1271. The Prior elected was probably a canon of the name of Henry, who died in 1280.

XV.—THE DECREE OF ARCHBISHOP ROMANUS ON HIS VISITING
THE PRIORY OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Romani, 95 b.]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos J, primas, etc., die Martis proxima post festum Nativitatis Beati Johannis Baptistæ, anno gratiæ m^o cc^o nonagesimo primo, in monasterio de Hextildesham, visitationis officium exercentes,^y comperimus, quod bonæ memoriæ Godefredus, prædecessor noster, ad correctionem, et reformationem domus, quædam statuta edidit et tradidit observanda, quæ coram nobis in capitulo dicti monasterii recitata, sicut ea sancte et salubriter introducta conspiciamus, approbamus; adjiciendo eisdem, nihilominus, injungentes, quod status monasterii et administrationis cujuslibet obedientiarii, saltem semel in anno toti Conventui, aut aliquibus ex senioribus et prudentioribus, ad hoc a capitulo deputatis, per Priorem et obedientiarios domus plenaria ratio innotescatur. In refectorio nullus omnino quarta feria carne vescatur. Compotus de præbenda de Salton, per eum qui dictæ præbendæ custos fuerit, coram Priore et aliquibus de senioribus et prudentioribus de Conventu, semel in anno reddatur. Ludum ad scaccam, et tabulas, exerceri in infirmitorio prohibemus. Nullus sæcularis in infirmario comedat, nisi sit medicus, qui ibidem pro corporali salutē infirmorum contigerit advocari. Prior omnem defectum circa infirmos contingentem, post denunciationem de hoc sibi factam, sine tarditate et negligentia faciat emendari. Is qui super vestibus, calciamentis, superpelliciis, apparatu lecti, vel teguminis ministrandi, gerit officium, pecuniam seu denarios non tradat pro re hujusmodi taliter indigenti, sed res ipsas, prout necessitas exegerit, distribuat et ministret. Nullus aliquam proprietatem quomolibet habeat, nisi hoc a Priore ei fuerit pro injuncta administratione permissum. Præmissa statuta, itaque, circa quorum observationem negligenter hactenus invenimus fore actum, cum hiis adjectionibus nostris præscriptis, in omnibus et singulis suis articulis præcipimus deinceps sub pœna anathematis districtius observari: intendentes, absque dissimulatione qualibet, animadversione condigna punire quoscumque eorundem de cætero transgressores. Datum et actum apud Hextildesham, iij idus Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

^y Archbishop Romanus confirms the injunctions of his predecessor Ludham, and makes a few additions to them. It is amusing to see how the sick canons in the infirmary were not allowed to play at chequers and draughts.

XVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT TO CARLISLE AND HEXHAM PAID BY ARCHBISHOP ROMANUS IN 1294. [From the Register of John Halton, bishop of Carlisle, 3 *a*, and that of archbishop Romanus, 98 *a*.]

Tertio kalendas Aprilis, anno Domini 1294, veniens a partibus Kendal, dominus Johannes Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, transitum suum fecit per diocesis Karliolensem versus manerium suum de Extildesham,^z et pernoctavit apud Overton in Westmerland. Die sequenti, apud Louther, ad instantiam domini Willelmi de Capella,^a tunc rectoris de Louther; et, ad instantiam domini Johannis Dei gratia Karliolensis tunc episcopi, eidem domino archiepiscopo in Westmerland obviantis apud Linstok, per civitatem Karlioli suum iter faciens, die tertia declinavit, et sumptibus domini episcopi inibi moram fecit. Et sic, extra diocesis Karlioli transiens, nichil quod episcopali incumbit officio faciens, ad *Sitientes*, apud Extildesham suos ordines celebravit.

Memorandum, quod dominus visitavit Priorem et Conventum de Hextildesham, die Mercurii proxima post Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, scilicet xviii kal. Maii, pontificatus sui nono.

XVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF TWO INVASIONS OF ENGLAND BY THE SCOTS, AND OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERY OF HEXHAM. [From the Chronicle of Lanercost, 175-6, and 191.]

MCCXCVI., sexto idus Aprilis, Gawalenses per Cumberland, duce comite de Boghan, tota virtus tyronum ac juvenum per Reddisdale aditum sibi facientes,^b in quo excursu omnem gentilium rabiem crudelitate superantes, cum fortes et adolescentes qui effugerant comprehendere non possent, in decrepitos, et

^z The third visit of this archbishop to Hexham. A farther account of it will be given in the preface. It is carefully recorded that the primate, although the superior of the bishop of Carlisle, performed no episcopal act within his diocese.

^a William de Capella became rector of Lowther in 1280-1 (Reg. Wickwaine at York). He was living in the 14th of Edward II., but was so infirm, etc., that a curator was assigned to him (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 438).

^b An account of the great invasion in 1296, in which Hexham suffered so cruelly. A Lanercost poet, speaking of the impiety of the Scots, says (Chron. Lanercost, 192),

“Per te fædata loca sancta Deoque dicata,
Templaque sacrata, sunt, pro dolor! igne cremata.
Esse nequiverunt destructio damnaque multa
Ecclesiæ celebris Haugustaldensis inulta.”

The second inroad was made by Wallace.

anus, ac mulieres in puerperio decubantes, necnon in parvulos bimos aut trimos, arma adhuc nova cruentaverunt, tyrannidem non tyrocinium frequentantes, in tantum ut parvulos ad mensuram palmæ lanceis transfossos in æerem suspenderent, ubi animas exhalantes ad æthera avolarunt. Ecclesias dedicatas combusserunt, feminas Deo sacratas, maritatas etiam juvenculas, in loco sacro sicut alibi corruperunt, post expletam libidinem aut interficientes eas aut spoliantes. Aggregaverunt etiam turbam clericulorum in scholas de Augustaldia, et, foribus oppilatis, ignem in massam illam Deo candidam imposuerunt. Destructa sunt per eos tunc tria cœnobيا sanctorum collegiatorum, Lanercost, canonicorum regularium, et Augustaldia, ordinis ejusdem, ac monialium Lambelei, quorum omnium utique vastatio non modo imputari potest virtuti præliatorum sed ignaviæ prædonum, qui exiliorem patriam aggressi sunt, ubi nullam contingerent invenire resistentiam.

Quia vero solius Dei est de pessimis elicere optima, referam hic duo ædificationis causa, plerique quippe perfidi in titulo Christianitatis bonis volunt similes haberi, non re sed specie. Hæc ex istis præ manibus probari possunt; nam cum scirent se sceleratissima apud præfatas moniales perpetrasse, petierunt in fine a sacerdote missam sibi celebrari. Ille, ut puto, metu magis quam aliter allectus, sacra ministeria usque ad Confectionem exsequeutus est, at panem cum palpare et benedicere se speravit, subito evanuit. Is, verecundiam suam tegere volens, aliam hostiam arripiens consecrare voluit, sed inter digitos contractantis disparuit. Sic, temeritate ejus repressa, et vindicta Dei intellecta, omnes astantes, ut male consciï, aufugerunt.

In ecclesia vero Augustaldensi, quam inclytus Domini archipræsul exstruxit Sanctus Wilfridus, reposita erant scrinia plura ab antiquo sanctorum patrum pignora reservantia, quorum dignitates et opera pertractat Sanctus Beda De Gestis Anglorum. Ipsa vero basilica Romano opere insignita, ad honorem mitissimi Apostolorum Sancti Andreae, ac spiritualis patroni Scotorum, Beati Wilfridi ministerio exstitit dedicata. Et cum arcere temerarios deceret, tam Sanctorum magnificentia quam religiosorum cœnobitarum reverentia, insani supradicti, nec ista aliquid æstimantes, nec Dei cuncta cernentis timorem curantes, barbara feritate flammis ædificia sacrata destruentes, res ecclesiasticas repertas rapientes, mulieres etiam humiliantes ibidem ac demum transfodientes, nulli ætati, conditioni, aut sexui parcentes, ad hoc tandem perfidiæ signum proruperunt, ut reliquias Sanctorum thecis reconditas despecte in ignem dejicerent, laminas auri vel argenti ac gemmas detraherent, caput quoque imaginis Sancti Andreae figuram prætendentis cachinnose ampu-

tarent, præcipientes ut ad suum solum conculcandum inde recedens remearet.

Per idem tempus auditus est a fidedignis auribus clamor in summo æthere, ter vindictam expetens de iniqua gente, qui, qualiter in auribus Divinis personuit, infelices illius populi eventus demonstrabunt in proximo subsequentes.

* * * *

MCCXCVII. Post hæc Scotti conglobati Northumbriam intraverunt, totam patriam devastantes, faciendo incendia, depredationes et homicidia; et venerunt fere usque ad villam Novi Castri, illam autem declinaverunt, et comitatum Carlioli intraverunt; ibi, sicut in Northumbria fecerunt, omnia destruentes. Postea in Northumbriam redierunt, quæ prius omiserant plenius devastando; et in festo Sanctæ Cecilæ virginis et martyris [Nov. 22] in Scotiam redierunt; nullum tamen castrum in Anglia vel in Scotia adhuc capere potuerunt.

XVIII.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP NEWARK TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF BRIDLINGTON, ASKING THEM TO GIVE SHELTER TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM, WHOSE MONASTERY HAS BEEN DESTROYED BY THE SCOTS. [Reg. Archiep. Newark, 16 *a*.]

Dilectis in Christo filiis Priori et Conventui de Bridlington, salutem, et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Cum sit notorium, et intuentibus . . . (qu)aliter dilecti filii Prior et Conventus de Hextildesham,^c patronatus nostri, per invasionem Scottorum, anno præterito, ipsorum monasterium . . . cum bonis, quæ depredari non poterant, in cineres et pastum ignis convertentium, et jam, iterato incursu eorundem hostium, . . . nichilum sic redacti, adeo quod nihil, unde vivere valeant, eis relinquitur, nec habent sicut de Filio Hominis scribitur . . . reclinare;^d propter quod necessario dispersionem subire coguntur, ac pro-

^c A document which follows necessarily upon its predecessor. The Priory of Hexham could give the Canons no shelter; all their lands were plundered, and the crops destroyed or carried off. The Prior and his brethren, therefore, must starve, or go into another district.

The archbishop steps in, and desires the house of Bridlington, which was of the same order, to entertain them. The distance was great, but they would have a kindly welcome. We can well picture to ourselves the pilgrims begging on their way through broad and green Yorkshire, and telling the tale of their sufferings and wrongs to the wondering villagers, who had never yet seen the Scots in their folds and fields.

This document is so injured by damp that it is impossible to give it fully.

^d St. Matt. viii. 20. St. Luke ix. 58.

fessi ejusdem ordinis qui potentiores fuerint es et sanctiones canonicas, desolatis fratribus, quousque ipsorum fuerit relevata inopia, in hujusmodi teneantur in subvenire. Nos, prout ex officio pastorali astringimur, ipsorum depressioni, sublata vagandi materia, paterno affectu, vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, firmiter injungendo, mandamus, quatinus, sicut vos in ipsis compassionis oculos dirigentes religionis viros canonicos dictæ domus nostræ de Hextildesham, ordinis vestri professos, exhibitores præsentium, quos inter mittimus moraturos, favore benivolo admittatis; ipsosque ut proprios exhibeatis de gremio et in omnibus pertractetis; mandatum taliter impleti quod in eo desolatis misericordium impendisse laudum mandatori. Valete. Data apud Cawod xij kalendas Januarii, anno gratiæ m^o cc^o nonagesimo septimo.

XIX.—THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY ARCHBISHOP NEWARK TO HIS PROCTORS IN THE COURT OF ROME.^e [Reg. Archiep. Newark, 25.]

Petitiones nostræ traditæ fuerunt per dominum Rogerum de Mar,^f in curia, videlicet, dominis Francisco cardinali, et Petro Ispano; de quarum, prima, scilicet, quod possemus de beneficiis, quæ tempore electionis nostræ habuimus providere, non oportebit de cætero cogitare, cum omnia jam sint collata et plena, nichilominus ad exauditionem aliarum quæ remanent, captato tempore, laboretis.

Item, videatis, quancito ad curiam veneritis, an mercatores de Societate Amanatorum de Pistor' commune servitium in festo Beati Martini proximo præterito solverint, sicut socii sui in Anglia nobis per suas promiserunt litteras, quas habemus, quibus in Anglia plene satisfacimus pro eodem.^g

^e From the rough draught of the instructions inserted in archbishop Newark's register, and corrected, probably, by himself. That prelate came to the see under great difficulties, which were increased instead of being alleviated by these missions to Rome. He was obliged to wait two years before he was consecrated (Stubbs, col. 1728); and that ceremony took place at York, the recipient being unwilling to go abroad on account of the wars which were then raging (Prynne's Coll., iii., 642). The expense entailed by all this soliciting and delay was enormous.

These instructions seem to have been issued in 1298.

^f Newark had previously sent a proctor to Rome, Roger de Mar, the sub-chantor of the canons, and his own chaplain. He was also rector of Whixley, and in 1296 he went on an embassy to Adolphus king of the Romans (Fæd., n. e., i., 826).

^g A company of foreign bankers with whom Newark's predecessors had large dealings, and to whom he himself had recourse in the way of exchange, and the transmission of money to Italy.

Item, procuretis quod gratiæ, adhuc in receptione pallii debitiæ, ante omnes alias gratias exaudiantur, si videritis expedire.

Item, si dominus Franciscus^h vobis loquatur de fructibus decanatus, petendo eosdem pro illo autumpno, quod pendebat confirmatio vel provisio, dicendum est ei, quod sibi deberi non possunt, quia nec tunc vacavit, nec nos tunc electus (*sic*) de archiepiscopatu quicquam habuimus, eo quod dominus rex coluerat et seminaverat omnes terras archiepiscopatus ante provisionem, et fructus inde provenientes percepit, et habuit suo jure.

Item, cum navisⁱ ecclesiæ nostræ Ebor. diu est corruerit (*sic*), propter quod necesse est novam ecclesiam re-ædificare opere sumptuoso, nec ad hoc habet ecclesia aliquas facultates. Petatur decima et tertia non residentium per triennium, vel alia quota prout melius videritis expedire, et facilius poterit impetrari.

Item, maneria nostra de Hextildesham et Alwenton in marchia Scotiæ, cum villis adjacentibus, consueverant valere annuatim archiepiscopis, prædecessoribus nostris, quinque mille, ce marcæ;^j vero per Scottos interfectis hominibus et inhabitatoribus villarum, atque maneriis et villis, una cum nobilissimo prioratu et ecclesia, quæ erat in loco, in cineres actu reiterato redactis, bona temporalia archiepiscopatus plusquam in tertia parte valoris ipsorum proculdubio minorentur: petatur ad reparationem maneriorum ipsorum appropriatio trium ecclesiarum nostri patronatus, ad mensam archiepiscopatus, cedentibus vel decedentibus rectoribus earundem; videlicet, ecclesiarum de Bolton, ad lx marcas; Queldrik, xxx marcas; et Misterton, xxxv marcas sterlingorum; summas secundum taxationem veri valoris ultimam extentarum. Ob hoc quidem clerum nostrum

^h Francis Gaetano, nephew of Boniface VIII. (Benedict Gaetano), was created by him cardinal deacon S.M. in Cosmedin in 1295. He had been provided to the next vacant dignity at York, and that chancing to be the deanery, the cardinal laid claim to it. The pope gave way in favour of William de Hamilton, who had been elected by the chapter and the archbishop; but there was some trouble, as is seen here, about the claims of Gaetano, to which he pertinaciously adhered.

At archbishop Romanus's death the possessions of the see were in the king's hands.

ⁱ Archbishop Romanus laid the foundation-stone of the new nave at York on the 6th of April, 1291. His misfortunes towards the close of his life probably delayed the progress of the work.

^j We now come to the mention of Hexham. The archbishop states his losses in a very startling way. The scribe must surely have made a blunder when he says that the archbishop's annual income from Hexhamshire amounted to 5200 marks. The primate certainly makes an unseemly request when he asks for leave to appropriate to himself and his successors "ad mensam" the livings of Bolton Percy, Wheldrake, and Misterton. I need not say that it was refused.

gravari nollemus, cum hiis diebus alias multipliciter deprimatur. Valorem ecclesiarum hic ideo exprimi fecimus, ut deliberare possitis an expediat in petitione valorem inseri vel omitti.

Item, cum indultum fuerat Johanni prædecessori nostro quod posset dividere quinque præbendas in Ebor. ecclesia, cum vacarent,^k ita quod singula divisarum l marcas valeret, sicut ex transcripto indulti hujusmodi, quod vobis mittimus, plene liquetur; petatur pro nobis consimilis gratia de præbendis totidem vel pluribus, hoc mutato, quod unaquæque divisarum xxx vel xl marcas ad plus valeat præbendarum, cum beneficia hiis diebus tanti valoris non constet existere, ut solebant.

Item, impetretur, ut liceat nobis illa in nostra provincia conferre beneficia, quæ per tantum tempus vacarunt quod eorum collatio sit ad sedem Apostolicam devoluta. Et super hoc habeamus bonam executor'.

Item, ut ad certum numerum quæ impetrari poteritis, possimus cum nobilibus docilibus dispensari ad curam . . . nullatenus obsistente.

XX.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP NEWARK TO MATTHEW, CARDINAL-DEACON OF ST. MARY IN PORTICU, PLEADING AS HIS EXCUSE FOR THE NON-PAYMENT OF THE MONEY WHICH WAS DUE FROM HIM AT ROME, HIS LOSSES AT HEXHAM, ETC.^l
[Reg. Archiep. Newark, 25 a.]

Salutem. Licet bona quæ piæ memoriæ Johannes, prædecessor noster, reliquit post mortem, per ministros regios pro diversis debitis in quibus eidem domino regi et aliis tenebatur, dum vixit, seisita, et fere per biennium detenta, ac demum nobis circa id solícite laborantibus, suis liberata executoribus, ad æs alienum non sufficiant persolvendum; et immo veris et indubitatis creditoribus, usque ad summam mille librarum sterlingorum defalcationem, facere necessario oportebit; obtentu tamen paternitatis vestræ dulcissimæ, nobis, ut efficaciter sensimus, semper propitiæ, illas quinquaginta libras vobis a prædicto

^k Romanus wished to divide the prebend of Masham into three, and that of Langtoft into two, each part being worth 50 marks per annum. The king put his veto upon the scheme (Prynne's Coll., iii., 783. Acta Capit. Ebor., 15. Reg. Romanus), which, if carried out, would have increased the primate's influence.

The power of granting dispensations in cases of marriage within the forbidden degrees, illegitimacy, etc., was generally sought for and obtained by the archbishops.

^l A letter written in 1298. It gives a painful picture of the difficulties in which the archbishop found himself involved.

prædecessore debitas de vestra pensione mercatoribus de societate Amanatorum de Pistorio, per eosdem, si recipere voluerint, vobis in Romana curia persolvenda, solvi citra instantem Quadragesimam, volente Domino, faciemus. Et, ecce! amatissime pater, ob destructionem et amissionem tertiæ partis archiepiscopatus nostri in valore, per sævitiam Scottorum, villas et maneria nostra quæ fuerunt in confinio regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ incendientium igne, atque redigentium in cineres; ac etiam regni statum, et guerram; necnon servitia sanctæ Romanæ curiæ; tam gravi onere premimur debitorum, quod nobismet ipsis ad præsens, et parcissime (amicis tamen pro mutuo consitis undique), vix sufficimus ad vivendum; cum, Divina favente elementia, nostræ excreverint facultates, nos ad comoda vestra per operis affectum habebitis, Deo propitio, valde gratos; et paratos ad omnia jugiter prosequenda quæ vestræ cederint voluntati. Data, etc.

XXI.—FIVE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO WILLIAM DE CATTEDENE, A CANON OF HEXHAM, HIS OFFENCES AND PUNISHMENTS. [Reg. Archiep. Corbridge, 93 *b*; and Reg. Greenfield, pars i., 33, 38, 39.]

T., Dei gratia, etc., dilecto in Christo filio, Priori de Hextildesham, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Ad absolvendum fratrem Willelmum de Cattedene,^m concanonicum vestrum, sacerdotem, a violenta manuum injectione in Ricardum de Berewyk, clericum sæcularem, dum tamen non sit atrox injuria, vel alias excessus difficilis vel enormis, injuncta sibi pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari; et ad faciendum, ulterius, circa personam ipsius quod ipsius animæ saluti videritis convenire; vobis, quantum ad nos attinet, hac vice committimus vices nostras. Valete. Data apud Thorp, xj kal. Febr. mº cccº secundo.

II.

Memorandum, quod septimo kal. Maii, anno gratiæ mcccvi., apud Scroby, emanavit quædam littera Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham pro fratre Willelmo de Cattedene, eorum canonico, qui ex levitate animi domum suam exuerat,ⁿ quod ipsi cum, ad

^m A series of documents relating to a refractory canon who seems to have got into all kinds of scrapes. The first is striking a clerk, for which he is to do penance.

ⁿ Cattedene has been wandering away from his monastery, and the archbishop desires the Prior and Convent to receive him back, as he was desirous of returning.

domum suam humiliter revertentem, ad sinum misericordiæ admitterent, juxta observantiam regularem, et ordinis disciplinam; eumque fraterna caritate tractarent, nisi alia rationabilis causa obsistat eidem, ob quam id facere minime debeatis. Super qua voluit per dictos Priorem et Conventum, quamcitus comode poterunt, certiorari.

III.

W., permissione Divina, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham salutem, etc. De statu fratris Willelmi de Cattedene, vestri concanonici, ne inconsulte pereat evagando^o ad vestram (*sic*), in personis procuratorum vestrorum a vobis ad hoc sufficiens mandatum habentium, et ejusdem Willelmi submissionem spontaneam in nos factam, sic pro tranquillitate vestra communi duximus ordinare; videlicet, quod ad Priorem et Conventum de Giseburn, in habitu ipsum decente, et lecto sibi congruo, et nostris eis directis et vestris similiter dirigendis literis, celeriter, ne in ordinis vestri scandalum, ipsiusque animæ periculum vagetur amplius, mittatis eundem ibidem vestris sumptibus, quos mediocriter taxavimus, moraturum, donec de ipso aliter duxerimus ordinandum: et quod eis, septimanis singulis, dum ibi steterit, pro mensa, xijd. persolvatis. Valete. Data apud Scroby quarto idus Julii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

IV.

Willelmus, permissione Divina, etc., Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham, etc. Quia monasterium de Shelford^p visitantes, invenimus quod vos Priori et Conventui ejusdem domus de Shelford, in qua frater Willelmus de Cattedene, concanonicus vester, est per aliqua tempora commoratus, duas marcas pro victualibus dicti concanonici vestri, et xxs. pro habitu ejusdem

^o The previous warnings seem to have been fruitless. Cattedene still clings to his migratory habits, and the archbishop, therefore, as a punishment, orders him to be sent to Gisburgh in Cleveland, where there was another house of Austin canons. The Prior and Convent of Hexham are to equip him with a befitting habit and bed, to pay his travelling expenses, and to give the Convent of Gisburgh 12d. a week for his board, whilst he continued in their house.

The archbishop writes on the same day to the Prior and canons of Gisburgh desiring them to receive Cattedene.

^p In the following year Cattedene is still in exile from Hexham, and has been sent, perhaps for some other offence, to the monastery of Shelford, co. Notts. The Prior and Convent of Hexham have not paid for his board and dress, and they are desired to do so without delay. A few months afterwards there is an order for him to be sent home from Hexham. This seems to have been deferred, as it is repeated on the 24th of March in the following year. The primate tells the Prior of Hexham and his canons that Cattedene has amended his ways, and begs them to receive him kindly.

eis debitos, non solvistis; vos requirimus et rogamus, vobis nichilominus firmiter injungendo mandantes, quatinus dictam pecuniam eisdem, prout tenemini, sicut scitis, solvi absque moræ dispendio faciatis. Valete. Data apud Shelford, tertio nonas Octobris, pontificatus nostri, etc. (*secundo.*)

v.

Willelmus, etc., Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham. Fratrem Willelmum, concanonicum vestrum, quem ex causis certis ad monasterium de Shelford destinari fecimus, ad nostrum beneplacitum moraturum, ad vos remittimus, sub regulari observantia Domino serviturum. Vobis mandantes, quatinus cum benigne recipiatis, et fraterna caritate in Domino pertractetis. Valete. Data apud Thurgarton, septimo kal. Febr., pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

XXII.—PERMISSION FROM ARCHBISHOP CORBRIDGE TO SIMON DE MEYNILL TO LEAD THE LIFE OF A HERMIT AT ST. OSWALD'S, NEAR HEXHAM. [Reg. Corbridge, 90 *b.*]

Thomas, Dei gratia, etc.; dilecto in Christo filio Priori de Hextildesham, salutem,—Monstravit nobis Simo de Meynill, lator præsentium, quod inter ipsum, qui contemplando affectat Domino famulari, et fratrem Johannem, heremitam apud Sanctum Osewaldum juxta Hextildesham, concorditer est consensus, quod simul viventes ibidem heremiticam vitam ducant.² Ad quos, si est ita, nostrum favorabiliter præbemus assensum. Valete. Dat. apud Lith, idibus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

XXIII.—A GRANT OF LETTERS DIMISSORY TO FIVE CANONS OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Archiep. Corbridge, 95 *a.*]

Memorandum, quod sexto kalendas Maii, anno gratiæ m^o ccc^o tertio, apud Wilton, dominus concessit dimissoria^r fratribus

² A curious document. A person of the name of John is living as a hermit at St. Oswald's, the scene of the victory over Cadwalla, and a place which the canons of Hexham would regard with peculiar veneration. Simon de Meynill asks and obtains the archbishop's permission to associate himself with John in his life of hardship and devotion. Hermits, especially on the Continent, very frequently lived in pairs.

The two probably found an abode among the rocky slopes of the hill which hangs over the Tyne.

^r Hexham was at so great a distance from York that the archbishops did not

Willelmo de Culgayth, Thomæ de Rus, Hugoni de Thorneton, Thomæ de Whytherne, et Willelmo de Morpath, canonicis de Hextildesham, acolitis, ut a quocunque suffraganeo, vel alio episcopo regni Angliæ, ad omnes superiores ordines valeant promoveri, dum tamen aliquid canonicum non obsistat, etc.

XXIV.—COMMISSION FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO THOMAS, BISHOP OF WHITHERNE, TO ACT AS SUFFRAGAN IN HEXHAM-SHIRE, ETC. [Reg. Greenfield, pars i., 192 *a*.]

Willelmus, permissione Divina, Ebor. archiepiscopus, etc., venerabili in Christo fratri, domino Thomæ eadem gratia Candidæ Casæ^s (episcopo), salutem, et fraternæ caritatis continuum

think it right to bring the canons to that city to be ordained. They generally gave them permission, therefore, to go to Carlisle or Durham, particularly to the former place, as its bishop was more immediately under the control of the primate.

Archbishop Romanus seems to have begun this practice, as appears by the following document addressed to bishop Irton, who died in 1291-2:—

“J., primas, etc. Venerabili fratri domino R. eadem gratia Karliolensi episcopo, salutem, etc. Ut canonicos professos monasterii de Hext’ ordinandos, etc., eo non obstante, quod de nostra jurisdictione existunt, etc. Præsentibus post Pascham proximam minime valituris. Data apud Thorp, xv kal. Dec. s. a.” [Reg. Romani, 95 *a*.]

On 16 kal. Dec., 1290, the primate issued a similar licence to the same prelate (ibid., 99 *b*). On 3 id. Dec., 1289, the same bishop was desired to ordain the monks of Furness; and those of Cartmell and Conishead in 1294.

It is curious to trace the canons of Hexham by the ordination lists. The earliest of these at York is in the year 1274, and after this there are none until the time of archbishop Zouche in the middle of the next century.

The earliest register at Durham is that of bishop Kellawe, who came to the see in 1311. There are no ordination lists in it, but they appear in the register of Richard de Bury his successor, and many of the canons of Hexham received their orders in the diocese of Durham.

The series of registers at Carlisle commences with the noble volume of John de Halton a few years before 1300, and the ordination lists are regularly inserted in it. I find in it the following names (Reg. Halton, 39, 75, 105 *b*, 106, 126 *b*).

1297. Fratres Adam de Carliolo and Robert de Hawyk, canons of Hexham, priests. Letters dimissory from the chapter of York.

1303. Die Sabb. Quat. Temp. Sep., in Carlisle Cathedral, Wm. de Colgayth, Thomas de Qwytebern, Hugh de Thorneton, and Thos. de Rue, canons of Hexham, subdeacons. Lrs. dim. archiep. Ebor.

1307. Die Sabb. in vig. S. Trin., at Dalston. Thomas de Ruda, Wm. de Culgayth, and Wm. de Morpath, canons of Hexham, deacons; and Thos. de Qwyteberne and Hugh de Thornton, priests.

1309. Die Sabb. Quat. Temp. Sep., at Dalston, Wm. de Hextildesham and Symon de Overton, canons of Hexham, deacons.

* The commission of a suffragan bishop. It was renewed to the same prelate on the 15th of July, 1308, when the primate was at Appleton-on-Wisk.

On the 30th of June, 1294, archbishop Romanus asked the bishops of Carlisle and St. Asaph to come to Ripon to officiate at the consecration of the bishop

incrementum. De vestra sincera industria confidentes, executionem officii nostri in archidiaconatu Richemond, ultra moras, et in libertate nostra de Hextildesham; videlicet, quoad altarium et superaltarium portabilium consecrationem; ecclesiarum et cimiteriorum sanguine vel semine pollutorum reconciliationem; primæ tonsuræ, illis, scilicet, de locis prædictis qui septem annos compleverint, liberique et legitimi, ac alias rationabiliter litterati fuerint collationem; parvulorum et aliorum confirmationem; in locis prædictis, et aliis nostræ diocesios, per quæ versus diocesim vestram, eundo sive inde redeundo, contigerit vos transire: necnon vasorum, vestimentorum, et ornamentorum ecclesiasticorum benedictionem; vobis, per præsentem, committimus, hoc anno, continuo a die confectionis ipsarum tantummodo duraturam. In Christo Jhesu diu valeat vestra fraternitas reverenda! Data apud Scroby, sexta kal. Julii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo sexto.

XXV.—INJUNCTIONS GIVEN ON THE VISITATION OF THE MONASTERY AT HEXHAM BY ARCHBISHOPS GREENFIELD AND MELTON. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 35 b. Reg. Archiep. Melton, 434.]

Willelmus, permissione Divina, Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham, nostræ diocesios, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.^t Ad vestrum nuper declinantes monasterium, pro

of Whitherne, which was, in the first instance, to have taken place at Hexham. He was, however, consecrated at Gedling, co. Notts, "die Dom. in crast. B. Dionisii, 1294" (Reg. Romanus, 109 a, etc.).

His predecessor, Henry, bishop of Whitherne, made his profession of obedience to the archbishop of York at Hexham on Sept. 9, 1286. Hexham, although at a long distance from Whitherne, was much nearer to it than York, and it would be a great boon to the bishop-elect to allow him to halt there.

^t A second set of injunctions. I consider that these two papers throw more light upon the inner life of a house of Austin canons than any documents that have yet been printed. I shall speak at some length about them in the Preface.

The recommendations of two archbishops, Greenfield and Melton, are here blended together; the latter having adopted so much of the ordinances of his predecessor that it is quite unnecessary to give them twice. The portions within brackets are only found in Melton's register. The rest is common to him and Greenfield.

I find the following memorandum about this visitation in archbishop Greenfield's register, part i., 34 b :—

"Memorandum quod emanavit quædam littera Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham ad visitandum eos in capitulo eorundem, die Lunæ proximo post instans festum Sancti Hillarii, sub data apud Cawod, id. Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno primo, et in forma consueta. Adjecta illa clausula ne pomposas invitationes facerent ad visitationis impedimentum."

visitatione apud vos, sicut nobis ex pastoralis incubuit officio, exercenda, aliqua, quæ correctione digna ibidem invenimus, ad honorem Omnipotentis Dei, utilitatem monasterii, et religionis augmentum, in hunc modum duximus reformanda.

In primis, statuimus, et, in virtute obedientiæ, districte injungimus et mandamus, quod caritas fraternitatis, ac unitas pacis et concordiæ, sine quibus nulla subsistit religio, inter vos jugiter et ferventer, juxta doctrinam Apostolicam, observetur. Item, cum cultus Divinus minui non debet sed augeri, statuimus ut antiquus canonicorum numerus, absque diminutione qualibet, [cum domus respiraverint facultates, et pax in marchia Scotiæ confinibus stabilita fuerit,] observetur, [et interim, successive, prout excreverint bona domus, et permiserint, canonicorum numerus augeatur] et in loco decedentium alii subrogentur. Item, Divinum obsequium, tam in Psalmodia, quam in Cantu, tractum fiat cum devotione debita, et distincte, ac etiam Horæ de Domina, et alia quæ in ecclesia submissa voce dicuntur. Item, Missa Matutinalis, quæ ante guerram celebrari solebat in Conventu cum nota, exnunc more solito celebretur. Item, statuimus quod Prior, supprior, et quiscunque præsidens ordini, diligenter invigilent ut regula Beati Augustini in omnibus suis articulis observetur, et quod coram Conventu legatur seriatim et distincte, semel in singulis septimanis, ne quis valeat ignorantiam prætere in hac parte; quod si, ex causa necessitatis, aliquis articulus dictæ regulæ debeat prætermitti, hoc non fiat nostra vel successorum nostrorum licentia non obtenta. Item, silentium, quod multa mala generat non servatum, sub gravi pœna transgredientibus infligenda, locis et horis debitis observetur. Item, Prior, aut supprior, seu quivis religioni præsidens, qui exemplum bene vivendi aliis tenentur præbere, non sint personarum acceptores in correctionibus faciendis, nec ex odii fomite, aut livore vindictæ, sed ex caritatis radice, singulos corripiant et castigent, juxta qualitatem excessuum, et conditiones varias personarum: sit autem, Prior, et quilibet Conventui præsidens, inferioribus affabilis, misericors, severus, et justus; oleum infundens et vinum, pro loco et tempore opportunis. Item, Prior, infra domum, et extra, ad solatia, non semper eosdem, sed nunc istos nunc illos convocet de Conventu. Item, cum non debeant aliqui, in capitulo super transgressionibus aliquibus proclamati, improbas dissensiones quærere, vel, prætendendo excusationes in peccatis, se in correctionibus difficiles exhibere, aut de hiis quæ in visitatione fuerint, quærere seu respondere, aut impropere cuiquam de correctis; ne per hoc dissensio, rixa, vel invidia suscitetur, vel aliud gravius perpetretur; statuimus, ut qui super hiis vel aliquo præmissorum

notabiles fuerint, seu obligationes," aut conspirationes illicitas, vel fratribus seu canonicis rixam fecerint, vel verba probrosa dixerint, aut pacem perturbaverint, et super hoc testimonio majoris partis Conventus deprehensi fuerint, juxta regularem observantiam^r taliter castigentur, quod, metu pœnæ illorum, alii a similibus arceantur; quod si in hujusmodi protervitate animis induratis perstiterint, id sub majoris partis Conventus testimonio ad nostram notitiam deferatur. Item, Vesperæ dicantur, omni anni tempore, ante noctem, juxta constitutionem ordinis, et communem consuetudinem in aliis ecclesiis observatam. Item, ostia claustrum hora claudantur debita, quorum claves resideant penes Conventui præidentem. Item, ostium claustrum, per quod ingredi sæculares solebant, ab aliquo converso vel sæculari maturo jugiter custodiatur de die, qui illos compescat, ne præter licentiam custodis ordinis se claustrum ingerant importune; nec sit in claustrum introitus nisi per collocutorium, et tunc de licentia Prioris, vel ejus locum tenentis. Item, nullus canonicorum sanctimonialium loca frequentet, aut eas ad domum vestram, seu ad aliqua maneria domus vestræ attrahat vel invitet, aut cum eis seu quacunque muliere, de qua oriri poterit sinistra suspicio, fabuletur, sed confabulationem hujusmodi cum omni fugiat diligentia tanquam pestem. Item, in refectorio, omni quarta feria, esum carniū districtius prohibemus. Item, canonici extra refectorium ex causa rationabili comedentes, finito prandio, nisi legitime fuerint impediti, ad claustrum secuturi Conventum redeant ordinate. Item, nullus sæcularis in refectorio comedat, nisi sit persona commendabilis et honesta:^r mulieres vero nulla ratione infra septa claustrum, maxime in refectorio vel in infirmaria [nec sæculares personæ in infirmaria] comedant sive bibant. Item, infirmaria a commensationibus, potationibus lascivis, ludis noxiis et inhonestis, necnon a discursibus frequentibus sæcularium custodiatur districte. Item, nullus sanus, die quo in infirmaria sanguine minutus fuerit, per curiam seu extra claustrum exterius evagetur, sed recreatione habita, quamcūque comode poterit, ad Conventum potius revertatur. Item, infirmis in infirmaria existentibus, prout infirmitas cujuslibet exegerit, secundum facultates domus, juxta regulam Beati Augustini, per aliquem maturum, discretum, et idoneum canonicum, qui ad hoc fuerit deputatus, necessaria ministrentur. [Item injungimus quod infirmi canonici, juxta conditiones suas et ægritudinum qualitates, quatenus facultates domus suppetunt, procurentur, grossis cibariis in levioribus commutatis, quibus

^r In Melton's register the word is *colligationes*.

^v In Melton's rules this is altered to *disciplinam*.

^w In Melton's rules the passage runs, *nisi sit commendabilis et honestus*.

per infirmarium, vel alium canonicum, Matutinas, Missas, cæteraque Divina officia, præcipimus celebrari.] Item, infirmi et minuti, de Prioris licentia, ipso præsentem, vel supprioris, absente Priore, causa recreationis habendæ, exitum habeant in gardinum, et claustrales etiam ad sui solatium, aliquando, sicut prædecessorum nostrorum temporibus habuerunt. [Et quia vigente in membris vigore corporali, qui ex æeris mutuacione et alio solatio plurimum confortatur, mens, in seipsa collecta, Divinis vacare, et Deum potest intimius contemplari; et, ut singulorum canonicorum devotio ferventius excitetur ad continuandum perpetuis futuris temporibus, morem decantandi solempniter cotidie, post Completorium, Canticum Salve Regina, quæ inter vos noviter, ut comperimus, inolevit, toleramus; observantia regulæ, honestate, disciplinaque ordinis in omnibus semper salvis. Item, ordinamus* quod, singulis annis, Conventu in quatuor partes assignato, una pars canonicorum de licentia Prioris, vel supprioris, aut custodis ordinis, pro recreatione et solatio, semel quolibet anno, immediate post festum Nativitatis Beati Johannis Baptistæ, habenda, moretur in aliquo manerio domus per sex dies continuos, tribus partibus interim in monasterio integre remanentibus; qua parte canonicorum ad monasterium reversa, alia pars canonicorum vadat ad dictum manerium, vel aliud, per totidem dies solatium habitura; et sic successive fiat, quousque omnes solatium habuerint uniforme.] Item, licentiam eundi in infirmariam vel alibi extra claustrum, post collationem, cuique vestrum interdiciamus, nisi causa rationabili id exposcat præsentis arbitrio ponderanda. Item, nullus, subterfugiendo, occasionaliter seu ficticie, in infirmaria moretur, nisi, superioris arbitrio, necessaria vel rationabili causa subsit; sed qui sanus et potens fuerit ut sequatur Conventum, per præsentem Conventui compellatur. Item, præcipimus quod elemosina diligenter custodiatur et bene, de qua pauperum Christi indigentia, secundum quod facultates domus suppetant, sublevetur; nec de ipsa quicquam ad sustentationem canum, vel alias illicite consumatur, [sed magis indigentibus et pauperibus scholaribus provide erogetur.] Item, si quis proprietarius inventus fuerit, nisi canonicè monitus se correxerit, juxta statutum ordinis super hoc editum, et constitutiones canonicas, tanquam perditionis filii, acriter puniatur; [et ne committendi proprietatis vitium cuiquam occasio offeratur, vel deturabilitas delinquendi, injungimus et mandamus, ut sit de cætero in domo camerarius, et una camera pro ejus officio deputetur; qui cum quispiam canonicorum vestibus, calciamentis, vel aliis necessariis indiguerit,

* I have supplied these two words to make sense.

pecuniam seu denarios non tradat pro hujusmodi rebus emendis taliter indigenti, sed res ipsas, prout necessitas exegerit, et quantitas pecuniæ in certo vestrum unicuique, attentis domus facultatibus, assignatæ, permiserit, singulis indigentibus subministret; cui, receptis novis indumentis, vetera pauperibus eroganda ilico liberentur; et pauperes canonicorum consanguineos, si qui sint, permittimus circa assecutionem hujusmodi indumentorum veterum cæteris anteferri: injungimus, etiam, quod omnes et singuli canonici domus in habitu sint omnino, juxta antiquam religionis observantiam, uniformes, nec per aliquem in habitu interiori vel exteriori fiant aliquæ novitates.] Item nullus a correctionibus factis in capitulo frivole appellare præsumet, nec cujusquam appellatio admittatur, nisi præsidens ordini in corrigendo modum excesserit, juxta canonicas sanctiones; in quo casu ipsum appellantem persequendi appellationem suam liberam habere præcipimus facultatem. Item, Prior omnia majora negotia domus tractet et expediat, de consilio et assensu antiquorum et discretiorum totius Conventus, in nullo præmissorum proprio sensui. . . . Item, Prior non teneat secum aliquem sæcularem, cuiquam de Conventu suo rixosum, contumeliosum, aut infestum, sed quamcitius sibi de aliquo tali constiterit, eum amoveat sine mora. Item omnem inutilem familiam, et canes inutiles, infra octo dies a receptione præsentium præcipimus amoveri, [nec canes venatici infra septa monasterii teneantur.] Item, cum omnia bona dictæ domus vestræ de Hextildesham sint communia, nec habeat Prior bona discreta a bonis Conventus, statuimus quod tota pecunia proveniens de maneriis, firmis, ecclesiis, redditibus, et possessionibus quibuscumque ad dictam domum spectantibus, ad manus duorum bursariorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, integre perveniat; a quibus tam Prior, vel suus capellanus, pro dicti Prioris necessariis, quam etiam alii quos pro negotiis domus vel alias ex causa rationabili exire contigerit, suas expensas recipiant moderatas, et eisdem bursariis, cum redierint, computum inde reddant. Item non licentietur ad exeundum aliquis canonicus, nisi ex magna et rationabili causa, præfixo sibi certo termino infra quem redire debeat, taliter associetur, et expensas et vecturam habeat,^y quatenus domus facultates permiserint, salva ordinis honestate. [Item, cum ad suppriorum pertineat gubernatio, et regimen totius Conventus, sub Priore, quantum ad observantiam regularem, ipsum, de consensu Prioris et totius

^y In Melton's register this paragraph is thus expressed: "Causa—Et tunc brevis et certus revertendi terminus ei detur, ne vagandi facultas ad loca sibi inordinata, et minus decentia tribuatur, et expensas ac victuram competentes habeat."

vel majoris et sanioris partis Conventus, præfici volumus; ac etiam, cum necesse fuerit, amoveri: et hoc idem de sacrista, terrario, celerario, camerario, bursario, præcentore, elemosinario, infirmario et cæteris obedientariis duximus ordinandum, nostra et successorum nostrorum salva in omnibus potestate:] omnes autem obedientarii, ad quorum manus aliqua bona domus provenierint, coram Priore et Conventu, vel saltem coram quinque vel sex de discretioribus domus per Conventum electis, et ipsi Priori adjunctis, semel, annis singulis ratione officiorum suorum reddant compotum de receptis et expensis, et per ipsum post modum status domus Conventui innotescat. [Item, fratres conversi domus curam, custodiam, et administrationem maneriorum spectantium ad eundem habentes, de hujusmodi administratione et cura eis commissis compotum et ratiocinium, sub forma consimili, annis singulis, semel reddant, et id facere per Priorem, si necesse fuerit, compellantur.] Item, de consilio Prioris, et majoris partis Conventus, eligatur aliqua sæcularis persona discreta, quæ præbendam de Salton custodiat, et sufficientem inveniatur securitatem de fideliter serviendo, et compoto fideli reddendo; alienationes vero possessionum perpetuæ, vel ad vitam hominis, concessionem corrodiorum, et pensionum annuarum non fiant de cætero, sine nostra vel successorum nostrorum licentia speciali, [aut boscorum venditiones, non fiant, nec robæ, quibus domum vestram in præsentem excessive invenimus oneratam, narratoribus seu sergeantis patriæ concedantur de cætero, quantumcumque causa urgens subsit, sine nostra sive successorum nostrorum licentia speciali, et super quam nostras vel successorum nostrorum litteras habeant, cum necesse fuerit, exhibendas. Item, quia domum vestram prædictam variis debitorum oneribus invenimus oneratam, præcipimus, ordinamus, et injungimus, tam vobis Priori, suppriori, terrario, et aliis officiariis, quam cæteris canonicis dictæ domus, quod talem exhibeat moderationem in expensis, ut saltem paulatim possitis a dictis oneribus respirare.] Item, sigillum commune sub tribus claudatur serruris, quarum una clavis penes Priorem, et duo penes duos canonicos, per totum Conventum ad hoc electos, volumus residere; nec sigilletur aliqua littera sigillo eodem, nisi prius coram toto Conventu lecta fuerit, et ipsi consenserint ut signetur: quod si duo vel tres absque causa rationabili proterviendo reclamaverint, consignationem hujusmodi nolumus impediri. [Item, cum canonicos regulares in maneriis vel ecclesiis solos morari tam indecens quam animabus eorum periculosum, et expresse prohibitum a jure existat, non permittatis de cætero fratres Simonem de Overton, de Stanfordham, et Alanum de Gisburn, de Wardon ecclesiarum vicarios, quas in

usus proprios obtinetis, solos in suis vicariis, quarum quælibet pro duorum canonicorum sustentatione congrua sufficiens existit, morari, sed cuilibet eorum unum canonicum de domo in socium assignetis.] Hæc autem statuta salubria et præcepta, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, sub pœnis depositionis, seu amotionis Priori et suppriori, ac excommunicationis majoris cæteris de Conventu, si contra præmissa venire præsumpserint, per nos et successores nostros, prout justum fuerit, infligendis, plene et per omnia præcipimus inviolabiliter observari. Et ut præmissa omnia singulorum mentibus intensius imprimantur, in capitulo, coram Conventu, articulatim et distincte, semel singulis mensibus, volumus recitari. Datum apud Hextildesham, vij idus Aprilis, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo septimo, et pontificatus nostri secundo.^z

XXVI.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF KIRKHAM, ENJOINING THEM TO SEND PETER DE GOUSHILL TO HEXHAM, AND HUMPHREY DE COKEWALD TO CARHAM. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 109 *b*.]

Willelmus, permissione, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui monasterii de Kirkam, salutem.^a Ex certis causis, quas nuper

^z Melton's rules terminate thus: "Valete. Datum apud Cawode, xvij kalendas Septembris, anno Domini millesimo, ccc^{mo}, tricesimo, quarto, et pontificatus nostri decimo septimo."

^a Another specimen of monastic discipline. The archbishop visits the Austin Priory of Kirkham near Malton, and two of its canons are to be sent from home as a punishment. Peter de Goushill is to go to Hexham, and four marks per annum are to be paid for his board, etc. He is never to leave the limits of the monastery unless the Prior chooses to take him out with him.

The other case is a curious one. By the rule of the order, no Austin canon was allowed to have any property of his own, independent of the common fund. It is discovered that Humphrey de Cokewald, or Coxwold, has a deposit of his own, and it is at once seized, and the offender is punished for breach of rules. By some means or other the refractory canon had gathered together the large sum of fourteen marks in addition to a quantity of plate and jewels. The archbishop's disposition of this treasure is a remarkable one. The plate, etc., are to be put in the treasury of the house. Five marks of the money are to be spent upon the roof of the cloister and the fabric of the church, by which we have an interesting architectural date. The remaining nine marks are to be laid out upon a pittance, or feast, for the canons, sick and sound. The order that each canon is to say ten masses for the soul of Coxwold's father, seems to shew that this treasure was his patrimony, which he was tempted to secrete.

The loss of his treasure was not the only punishment to which the offender was subjected. He was sent off to Carham in the far North, on the banks of the Tweed. The place was given to the house of Kirkham by its founder Walter l'Espece; and there there was a cell, which, at the Dissolution, sheltered, as Leland tells us, two canons. The advowson of the neighbouring living of Kirknewton also belonged to Kirkham abbey.

The account of the visitation of the priory of Kirkham, to which the arch-

in monasterio vestro visitantes comperimus, inter cætera duximus ordinandum, quod frater Petrus de Goushill, concanonicus vester, propter status sui correctionem salubrem, ad monasterium de Hextildesham mittatur, usque ad tempus, pro nostro moderandum arbitrio, moraturus ibidem; sumptibus monasterii vestri, quos ad quatuor marcas taxamus per annum pro tempore moræ suæ, Priori de Hextildesham liberandas; quodque continue ibidem sequatur Conventum, nisi infirmitate vel alia causa legitima fuerit impeditus, nec septa monasterii de Hextildesham exeat, nisi in comitiva Prioris.

Frater, vero, Hunfredus de Cokewald, vester concanonicus, mittatur ad vestram cellam de Karreham, et ibi, quousque aliud ordinavimus, moram trahat.

Quocirca vobis mandamus, quatinus dictos concanonicos vestros ad loca prædicta modo prædicto transmittere nullatenus differatis.

Cæterum, de pecunia, videlicet quatuordecim marcis, quæ penes dictum Hunfredum inventæ fuerint, volumus et ordinamus quod quinque marcæ ad cooperturam claustrum vestri ac ecclesiæ vestræ fabricam; et quinque marcæ ad pitantiam Conventus in festis majoribus et diebus præcipuis; quatuor vero marcæ residuæ ad recreationem et pitantiam fratrum vestrorum infirmantium, pro vestro arbitrio, assignentur. Singuli autem canonici vestri monasterii . . . ii, anno præsentis, decem missas celebrent pro anima patris dicti Hunfredi, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Ciphos quoque, coclearia, firmacula, et alia jocalia cum dicto Hunfredo inventa in thesaurariam vestram communem reponi, et fideliter custodiri volumus, donec aliud duxerimus ordinandum. Valete. Data apud Wylton, xiiij kalendas Junii, pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

XXVII.—A PEREMPTORY LETTER ADDRESSED BY ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD TO THE PRIOR OF HEXHAM ORDERING HIM TO SEND TO HIM ROBERT DE WHELPINGTON, ONE OF HIS CANONS. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 40 a.]

Willelmus, etc., dilecto in Christo filio, Priori de Hextildesham,^b salutem. Licet propter usurpationes varias, nobis et

bishop alludes, has not occurred to me; but the Prior himself seems to have been a defaulter, as, on the 18th of February, 1308-9, Peter de Dene and Nicholas de Galveton were desired to receive his purgation (Reg. Greenfield, part i., 115 a).

^b A sharp and strong letter to the Prior, who narrowly escapes punishment himself, about a refractory canon. What his offence was I know not, but there may have been some attempt to interfere with the archbishop's visitatorial power.

ecclesiæ nostræ præjudiciales ac dampnosas, per vos, et quosdam alios de concanonicis vestris, inconsulte et indebite factas temporibus retroactis, in vos, tanquam hujusmodi temeritatis auctorem, graviter possemus animadvertere, etiam usque ad mutationem status vestri, justitia exigente; quia tamen erga personam nostram in multis vos invenimus beneficium, atque gratum, volentes de benignitate personæ vestræ parcere in præsentī, vobis, in virtute obedientiæ, et sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, firmiter injungendo, mandamus, quatinus fratrem Robertum de Whelpington, concanonicum vestrum, infra mensem a die receptionis præsentium, ad nos, ubicunque tunc fuerimus in nostra civitate vel diocesi, cum vestris literis destinatis, per nos ad monasterium Sancti Oswaldi Gloucestriæ propter sua demerita transmittendum; ibique pœnitentiam sibi per nos injungendam peracturum, donec aliud de ipso duxerimus ordinandum. Dignum namque est ut qui matrem suam spiritualem, videlicet Eboracensem ecclesiam, dampnificare et exasperare indies non erubuit, per coercionem debitam ad salubrem reconciliationis gratiam inclinetur. Moneatis, igitur, dictum fratrem Robertum, vice nostra, quod infra mensem prædictam ad nos veniat, nostra monita pariter et injuncta humiliter recepturus, sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, quam extunc in personam ipsius proferimus, si nobis aut vobis parere contempserit in præmissis. Expensas autem moderatas pro itinere a domo vestra usque Gloucestriam dicto fratri Roberto, et pro mora sua in domo Sancti Oswaldi prædicta quatuor marcas per annum, per vos volumus et præcipimus liberari. Quicquid autem feceritis in præmissis, nos, citra finem mensis prædicti, distincte et aperte certificare curetis, per vestras clausas literas harum seriem continentes. Valete. Data apud Otteley, xxj die Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

At all events this seems to have been the beginning of a feud which lasted for some time.

The monastery of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, of which some remains may still be seen, was given to the see of York by William Rufus; and it would be complete exile to Whelpington, who, as his name betokens, was a native of a little village in Northumberland.

Whether Whelpington went to Gloucester or not, he lived to be the president over the house in which he had been a canon. His elevation took place after the struggle for that post with Gilbert de Ponteburgh, a canon of Nostell, who was placed at the head of the monastery by the primate. The canons of Hexham could not brook the introduction of a foreigner; and probably some wrangling on a matter of privilege, which ultimately induced the archbishop to take so decisive a step, was the cause of the present removal of Whelpington.

XXVIII.—A SUMMONS TO THE PRIOR OF HEXHAM TO ATTEND A PROVINCIAL COUNCIL AT YORK AGAINST THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS. [Reg. Greenfield, pars i., 180 *a*, *b*.]

Venerabili in Christo patri, et domino suo, domino W., Dei gratia, Ebor. archiepiscopo, Angliæ primati, vel ejus vices gerente, et in hoc instanti concilio provinciali Ebor. præsidenti, devotus in Christo filius, Thomas, Prior de Hextildesham,^c salutem, cum omni obedientia, reverentia, et honore debitis tanto patri. Literas venerandæ paternitatis vestræ, octavo kalendas Maii recepimus, tenorem qui sequitur continentes.

Willelmus, permissione Divina, Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas. . . . Ut omnis status ecclesiasticus, et sacræ regulæ diligenter valeant custodiri, statutum existit, ut provincialia concilia convocentur, in quibus emergentia negotia discutiantur, et debite corrigantur; quæ, etsi secundum jura fieri debeant omni anno, tunc tamen est præcipue circa ea diligentiori studio laborandum, cum emergerint negotia graviora, præsertim talia ex quibus in Christi populo enorme scandalum generatur. Sane quantus clamor ascenderit hiis diebus contra ordinem Militiæ Templi, ipsiusque ordinis singulares personas, super hæresi, ydolatRIA, perfidia, et aliis enormibus, jam satis est per mundi climata divulgatum. Pater siquidem sanctissimus, dominus Clemens, Divina providentia, papa Quintus, hujusmodi clamore sæpius excitatus, a nonnullis fratribus ipsius ordinis, coram se ad judicium evocatis, super præmissis diligentius inquisivit; quorum multi coram eodem domino papa, patribusque reverendis, dominis cardinalibus, prædicta flagitiosa crimina sponte judicialiter sunt confessi. Idem quoque dominus papa, super præmissis intendens ulterius procedere, juxta canonicas sanctiones, cum comode nequeat a singulis ordinis supradicti personis inquirere per se ipsum; onera sua partiri volens cum aliis prælatis inferioribus, qui in partem sollicitudinis sunt vocati, nobis per apostolica scripta mandavit, ut, sub certa forma, contra supradictum ordinem, et ipsius singulares personas, judicialiter procedamus. Ut igitur tam prædicta, quam alia quæ nostro incumbunt officio, cum consilio saniori plenius exequi valeamus, disposuimus, Deo duce, vicesimo die mensis Maii, in ecclesia nostra Ebor. pro-

^c One of the formal letters of summons to the council, which was to be held at York against the Templars. In my life of archbishop Greenfield I have given a long account of these proceedings. The tone assumed by the primate in this letter towards the Prior is very suggestive of the connection which subsisted between them.

The Templars had several places and houses in Northumberland. One was at Temple Thornton. At Chibburn they had a preceptory, of which the greater portion is still in existence.

vinciale concilium celebrare. Quocirca, tenore præsentium, peremptorie vos citamus, quod, dictis die et loco, cum diebus continuandis et prorogandis, compareatis personaliter coram nobis, super proponendis in concilio tractaturi, salubre consilium impensuri; necnon ea quæ statuta, ordinata, et facta fuerint, humiliter admissuri, ac etiam efficaciter impleturi; facturi et recepturi quod consonum fuerit canonicis institutis. Vos, enim, præmunimus, quod si absentes fueritis in termino secundo, nisi propter evidentes causas et rationabiles, de quibus legitime fidem facere oportebit, vos tamquam inobedientes et contumaces, juxta juris exigentiam, puniemus. De die vero receptionis præsentium (*sic*). Et quicquid faciendum duxeritis in præmissis, nos, dictis die et loco, distincte et aperte certificare curetis, per vestras patentes literas harum seriem continentes. Data apud Cawod, ij idus Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo, trescentesimo, decimo, et pontificatus nostri quinto.

Quod quidem venerabile mandatum vestrum in omnibus, per omnia, in dicto concilio, dictis die et loco, personaliter comparentes, sumus plenarie executi. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Data apud Hextildesham, quarto nonas Maii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo decimo.

XXIX.—LETTERS DIMISSORY FROM ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD FOR THE CANONS OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 48 a.]

Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio Priori monasterii de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis, salutem. Devotionis vestræ precibus favorabiliter inclinati, ut, ad vestram præsentationem, concanonici vestri, quicumque in vestro monasterio professi, per venerabiles fratres nostros, dominos Karliolii et Candidæ Casæ episcopos,^d et eorum quemlibet, ad omnes sacros ordines canonicè valeant promoveri; dum tamen aliud canonicum non obsistat; vobis, prædictos concanonicos vestros præsentandi, ipsisque dominis episcopis dictos ordines statutis temporibus libere conferendi, concedimus licentiam per præsentem, triennio a data eorum tantummodo duraturas. Datæ apud Tykehill, idibus Junii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo decimo.

^d A document which must be taken in connection with one that has been previously given, No. XXIII.

On the 23rd of June, 1311, archbishop Greenfield granted letters dimissory for all minor orders, at the hands of any catholic bishop, to Thomas de Apelton, Hugh de Muhaut, Richard de Alwenton, and Adam de Corbrigg, canons of Hexham (Reg. Greenfield, part i., 54 a).

XXX.—A GRANT OF A CORRODY FROM THOMAS DE FENWICK, PRIOR OF HEXHAM, TO ROGER, THE CLERK, OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 49 b.]

Noverint universi quod nos, frater Thomas de Fennewyk, Prior monasterii de Hextildesham, et ejusdem loci Conventus, Divinæ pietatis intuitu, et venerabilis patris, domini Willelmi, Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopi, Angliæ primatis, obtentu, Rogero, clerico,^e de Hextildesham, corrodium unum de nostro monasterio, quod vixerit percipiendum, sub forma infrascripta, consensu unanimi, donavimus, et concedimus per præsentem. Videlicet, quod, dum sanus fuerit et laborare poterit, singulis diebus, comedat et bibat cum libera familia domus nostræ; ipso autem senio aut invaliditudine corporis detento, singulis diebus, de nostro monasterio percipiet unum panem album Conventualem, et unam lagenam cervisiæ Conventualis, et unum ferculum de coquina. Ita tamen, quod idem Rogerus, in negotiis nostris communibus, pro nobis et nostro monasterio supradicto fidele præstet obsequium, et consilium, juxta vires, quotiens super hoc ex parte nostra fuerit requisitus. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum commune nostri capituli præsentibus est appensum. Data apud Hextildesham, iiij kalendas Maii, anno gratiæ millesimo trecentesimo undecimo.

XXXI.—A COMMISSION TO THE BISHOP OF WHITHERNE TO CONSECRATE CERTAIN ALTARS WITHIN THE MONASTERY OF HEXHAM, ETC. [Reg. Greenfield, pars i., 196 a.]

Willelmus, etc., venerabili fratri nostro, domino Thomæ,

^e A favour to an old servant. Between 1307 and 1310 Roger was the archbishop's receiver at Hexham, and his name will be found on the list of those officers that I shall give in Vol. II.

On the ides of June, 1310, the archbishop, at the request of the Prior of Hexham, granted letters dimissory to him and Philip of Hexham, for the reception of all orders.

A *corrodium* was frequently purchased; but as the granting of such favours by the monastery tended to impoverish the house, although it was lucrative for the time, restrictions were very properly put upon such concessions. In this case no complaint could be made, as the boon seems to have been solicited by the archbishop.

Roger's *corrodium* was as follows. As long as he was well and able to work, he was to eat and drink daily with the household of the Priory. When ill, or old, he was to receive daily a white loaf and a flagon of beer such as were used in the Convent, and one course from the kitchen. In return for this privilege, he was made one of the retainers of the house, and he was to aid it as far as he could with his hands and head.

This will explain pretty well what a *corrodium* was. Singularly enough it still lingers in the North in the word *crowdy*.

eadem gratia Candidæ Casæ episcopo,^f salutem, et fraternæ caritatis in Domino continuum incrementum. De vestra sincera devotione et industria confidentes, ad consecrandum altaria quæcumque infra monasterium canonicorum regularium de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis, de novo constructa seu noviter reparata, quæ consecratione indigent; necnon et superaltaria portabilia, certo die quem ad hoc duxeritis assignandum; et ad omnia alia faciendum quæ circa officium hujusmodi necessaria fuerint, vel etiam oportuna, vobis, tenore præsentium, committimus vices nostras. In prosperis vos conservet Altissimus, ad regimen ecclesiæ suæ, per tempora longiora! Valete. Data apud Tykehill, ij idus Junii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo decimo.

XXXII.—AN ORDER FROM ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD TO SEND TO HEXHAM, ROGER DE THORNE, A REFRACTORY CANON OF BRIDLINGTON, AND TWO OTHER DOCUMENTS ABOUT HIM. [Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 111 *b*, 112 *a*, *b*.]

I.

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui de Bridlington, salutem.^g Injunctæ nobis pastoralis sollicitudinis officium, juxta sanctiones canonicas, nos compellit, ut ad debitam morum et vitæ reformationem, correctionemque salubrem religiosarum præcipue personarum nobis ubilibet subjectarum, vigilantia studio, curaque sollicita nostræ mentis intuitum committamus. Cum itaque fratrem Rogerum de Thorne, concanonicum vestrum, propter nonnullos excessus, qui religionis suæ non conveniunt honestati, per eundem nuper commissos, et coram nobis ac clericis nostris judicialiter confessatos, ad monasterium de Hextildesham, vestri ordinis, fore decrevimus transmittendum; ad peragendum ibidem pœnitentiam suam arbitrio moderandam; vos, Priorem, suppriorum, celerarium,

^f A very important document. The repairs necessary in the monastery after the mischief done by the Scots in 1296 and 1297 have been made, and the bishop is summoned to consecrate some altars which had been built anew or restored. This shews that there had been some very serious injury to the interior of the church.

^g Roger de Thorne, the cellarer of the Augustinian Priory of Bridlington, is in disgrace, and is sent to Hexham to go through his prescribed penance.

In No. II. his offence is described. He had caused to be arrested Martin de Grimston, Richard de Grimston, and Stephen de Cotum, three clerks and officers of the archbishop. He was soon pardoned.

From No. III. it appears that whilst excommunicated for his misdeed he had attended service. This breach of ecclesiastical law is also forgiven.

sacristam, bursarium, elemosinarium, ac cæteros de Conventu singulariter singulos, et communiter universos, monemus primo, secundo, tertio, ac peremptorie, vobis nichilominus in virtute obedientiæ, et sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, quam, si huic mandato nostro ad plenum non parueritis, in vos—in hiis scriptis proferimus, districte præcipiendo mandamus; quatinus, visis præsentibus literis, eundem fratrem Rogerum ad dictum monasterium de Hextildesham cum decenti comitiva, vestri monasterii sumptibus, omni dilatione postposita, transmittatis. Ita quod idem frater Rogerus citra diem Sabbati proximum post Dominicam qua cantatur *Quasi modo geniti*, personaliter modis omnibus accedat ad monasterium de Hextildesham memoratum, et se in eodem monasterio personaliter repræsentet, ac moram ibidem faciat, donec de statu suo aliud duxerimus ordinandum; sub pœna superius annotata, quam, si huic mandato nostro non paruerit, aut inobediens fuerit, vel rebellis in pœnitentiam suam, monitione canonica præmissa, eundem incidere volumus, ipso facto. Valete. Data apud Burton juxta Beverlacum, ij idus Aprilis, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo undecimo.

II.

W., etc., dilecto filio officiali archidiaconi Estriding, salutem. Quia fratrem Rogerum de Thorn, nuper celerarium domus de Bridelington, a majoris excommunicationis sententia, quam incurrerat pro eo quod dominos Martinum de Grymeston et Ricardum de Grymmeston, clericos et ministros nostros, ac magistrum Stephanum de Cotum, clericum, certo loco, contra ipsorum voluntatem arestabat violenter; et ipsos per alios arestari fecit, absolvimus in forma juris. Vobis mandamus quatinus ipsum fratrem Rogerum sic absolutum esse pupplice nuntietis, et faciatis per alios nuntiari. Valete. Data apud Wylton, iij idus Junii, pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

IV.

Noverint universi quod nos, Willelmus,—super irregularitate quam frater Rogerus de Thorn, canonicus de Bridelington, nostræ diocesios, contraxerat, pro eo quod majoris excommunicationis sententia nuper a canone innodatus, immiscuit se Divinis, auctoritate nobis (a sede Apostolica commissa) in indulgentia ad instantiam Hospitaliariorum pro subsidio Terræ Sanctæ concessa, eo primitus, juxta formam ecclesiæ, a dicta per nos excommunicationis sententia absoluto, secum dispensavimus gratiose. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Data apud Cawod, nonis Julii, anno gratiæ millesimo, trescentesimo, undecimo.

XXXIII.—CERTAIN INJUNCTIONS MADE BY ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD ON HIS SECOND VISITATION OF THE PRIORY OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 52 b.]

Willelmus, permissione Divina, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham, salutem.—Dudum in vestro monasterio visitationis officium exercentes,^h quædam inter cætera correctione digna invenimus, quæ pro utilitate domus vestræ reformanda duximus in hunc modum. Imprimis siquidem ordinamus, quod decretum nostrum in visitatione nostra ultima, quam dudum in vestro monasterio exercuimus factum, sub pœnis in eodem contentis, et aliis aggravandis, si contrarium de cætero factum fuerit, in omnibus et singulis suis articulis inviolabiliter observetur. Et, ut cultus Divinus in vestro monasterio augeatur, ordinamus, quod ultra numerum xxiii canonorum, nunc in vestro monasterio existentium, duo infra istum annum proximum recipiantur ad habitum, qui idonei sint ad jugum Domini subeundum; quem numerum, videlicet, viginti sex canonorum ad minus, attentis vestri monasterii facultatibus, et nunc antiquitus observatum, decernimus in eodem perpetuo sustinendum, ut etiam indempnitati vestri monasterii consulantur. Statum domus vestræ, tam de terris, tenementis et redditibus, quam de bonis mobilibus, et se moventibus, debitis, et creditis, ac aliis comoditatibus, et oneribus quibuscumque, distincte et aperte sub sigillo vestro communi, citra instans festum Beati Johannis Baptistæ, nobis plenarie transmittatis. Ad hæc, vobis omnibus et singulis, sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, firmiter inhibemus, ne quis vestrum alteri de hiis quæ hac nostra visitatione comperta fuerint vel ostensa, dicta vel facta, impropere; seu verba probrosa aut contumeliosa clam vel palam proferat; aut dampnum cuiquam ea occasione faciat, vel inferri procuret. Item terrarius, qui pro tempore fuerit, omnes gersummas terrarum suo tempore levatas percipiat pro expensis suis necessariis, prout hactenus in dicto monasterio ex consuetudine extitit observatum: ita tamen, quod idem terrarius omnes summas pecuniæ de gersummis hujusmodi levatas suo tempore, distincte et fideliter in scriptis redigat, et in fine anni quantitatem earundem ostendat Conventui integraliter in scriptura: et si quid ultra expensas suas superfuerit, prædictis Priori et Conventui restituat sine fraude, ne de proprietatis vitio contra professionem sui ordinis valeat quoquo modo innotari. Item statuimus et etiam ordinamus

^h Some additional injunctions of archbishop Greenfield. The most important of them is that in which the number of the canons is mentioned and defined.

quod frater Thomas de Harum, nunc vicarius ecclesiæ parochialis de Stannfordham,ⁱ Dunelmensis diocesios, prædictis religiosus et eorum Conventui appropriatæ, et cæteri vicarii, ejusdem ordinis canonici, qui pro tempore in eadem fuerint canonicè instituti, unum honestum et maturum canonicum domus vestræ secum habeat in dicta vicaria continuo commorantem, dictorum Prioris et Conventus arbitrio, cum causa subfuerit, revocandum : ita quod, eo revocato, alius canonicus domus prædictæ loco sui ibidem continuo subrogetur, ne prædictus vicarius, qui religiosus existit, in præfato loco solus absque socio sui ordinis remaneat contra canonicas sanctiones. Hæc autem vobis, Priori et Conventui, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, sub pœna distictionis canonicæ injungimus, futuris perpetuo temporibus inviolabiliter observanda. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Valete. Data apud Hextildesham, quarto kalendas Maii, anno gratiæ m^o ccc^{mo} undecimo.

XXXIV.—A PROVISION MADE BY ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD FOR THOMAS DE FENWICK, PRIOR OF HEXHAM, ON HIS RETIRING FROM HIS OFFICE. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 53 *a*, *b*.]

Universis,—Willelmus, etc., salutem in Domino sempiternam.^j Illos, qui in regimine sibi commissio diutius, laudabiliter, et utiliter, pro viribus, laborarunt, justum et pium arbitramur, condignis beneficiis prosequi ; et eorum necessitatibus, ex paterna benivolentia, providere. Attendentes, itaque, quod frater Thomas de Fennewyk, Prior monasterii de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis, in suo officio per longa tempora laudabiliter et utiliter laboravit ; et ob hoc affectantes, quod præter præmium quod a bonorum omnium Retributore expectat, tantum tamque diutinum laborem suum sentiat in diebus ultimis sibi, saltem in aliquo, fructuosum ; de consensu totius Conventus præfati monasterii de Hextildesham pariter et assensu, de statu dicti fratris Thomæ, jam senio et labore confracti, sic duximus ordinandum. Videlicet, quod idem frater Thomas, cum præfati Prioratus regimine cesserit aut absolutus fuerit ab eodem, cameram illam inhabitet, quæ dormitorio ex parte orientali est con-

ⁱ On Dec. 5, 1313, bishop Kellawe directed the dean of Newcastle to summon the vicar of Stamfordham to appear at Durham about the taxation of his living (Reg. Kellawe, 109 *b*).

^j A very curious document, upon which I shall make some comments in the Preface. Thomas de Fenwick, the Prior, is broken down with age, and this is the provision which, with the consent of the archbishop, was made for him in his retirement.

tigua, sumptibus ejusdem monasterii sustinendam, ac e(ti)am reparandam; ut, curis terrenorum funditus exutis, Deo, cui servire regnare est, in sanctæ contemplationis otio, ac Divinorum obsequio, ibidem libere valeat famulari. Ordinamus, insuper, quod idem frater Thomas, quamdiu vixerit, de monasterio memorato duas integras liberationes canonicales percipiat pro se ipso, et tertiam pro uno canonico sibi associando, singulis videlicet diebus, tam in pane, vino, et cervisia, quam de coquina et aliis necessariis, quantum tribus est canonicis ejusdem monasterii liberatum; necnon focale, ac candelam de cepo et cera, quantum ei fuerit necessarium. De speciebus autem, sicut uni canonico, volumus liberari. Ad hæc etiam concedimus eidem unum corrodium pro vallecto suo, et aliud corrodium pro garcione suo, ac tertium corrodium pro uno pagio; et robas pro eisdem, annuatim, sicut alii vallecti, garciones, et pagii Prioris, qui pro tempore fuerit, percipiunt in monasterio memorato. Ordinamus, insuper, et concedimus eidem, unam capam, et unam tunicam, a Priore ejusdem monasterii sibi annis singulis liberandas. Et, præter præmissa, concedimus eidem fratri Thomæ, decem libras argenti bonæ et legalis monetæ, pro aliis sibi necessariis, annis singulis, quoad vixerit, (a) bursariis ejusdem monasterii percipiendas, et ad duos anni terminos, videlicet in festo Natalis Domini quinque libras, et in festo Nativitatis Beati Johannis Baptistæ quinque libras. Et si contingat prædictum fratrem Thomam, pro suis aut ejusdem monasterii negotiis, seu causa recreationis, aut alia quacumque honesta, monasterium exire prædictum, ordinamus quod Prior, qui pro tempore fuerit, equitaturam sibi, pro se, et uno canonico, et uno armigerio, et hernesio sibi necessario, inveniat competentem. Hæc autem omnia et singula per nos, ut præmittitur, ordinata, et eidem fratri Thomæ concessa, Priori ejusdem monasterii, qui pro tempore fuerit, ac singulis de Conventu, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et, sub interminatione anathematis, injungimus inviolabiliter observanda. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum nostrum, una cum sigillo communi capituli monasterii de Hextildesham prædicti, præsentibus est appensum. Acta et data apud Hextildesham, iij kalendas Maii, anno gratiæ, m^o ccc^o undecimo.

XXXV.—AN ORDER TO THE SUB-PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM TO ADMIT, AS THEIR PRIOR, GILBERT DE PONTEBURGH, CANON OF NOSTELL. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 51 b.]

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Suppriori et Conventui domus

nostræ Sancti Andreae de Hextildesham,^k salutem et benedictionem. Nuper in vestro monasterio visitationis officium exercentes, comperimus fratrem Thomam de Fennewyk, tunc vestrum Priorem, adeo debilem et senio confractum, quod impotens de cætero redditur ad labores. Ipsius igitur status debilitatio compatiens affectu, ad devotam ejus instantiam, illum a Prioratus officio duximus absolvendum. Cæterum ne præfatum monasterium, propter ipsius vacationem diutinam, quæ ex diversis occasionibus, potissime nobis absentibus, contingere poterit, quod nollemus, in spiritualibus et temporalibus grave dispendium patiatur; nos hujusmodi periculis obviare, et ipsius indempnitati consulere, prout ad nos pertinet, affectantes, dilectum filium fratrem Gilbertum de Ponteburgi, canonicum Sancti Oswald de Nostell, vestri ordinis, virum utique religiosum, in spiritualibus circumspectum, ex causis præmissis, et aliis, quas, ob honorem vestri monasterii et personarum ejusdem, ad præsens duximus subticendas,^l in Priorem vestrum canonice præficimus, et pastorem; eidem curam et administrationem in spiritualibus et temporalibus committentes. Quocirca, vobis omnibus et singulis, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub pœna districtiōis canonicæ firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatinus ipsum in Priorem vestrum reverentius admittentes, sibi in omnibus quæ sanctæ religioni et statui domus vestræ conveniunt, ut Priori vestro, cum devotionis promptitudine humiliter intendatis; alioquin sententias quas rite tulerit in rebelles, faciemus auctoritate Domino inviolabiliter observari. Valete. Data apud Thorp juxta Ebor., quarto nonas Julii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo undecimo.^m

^k This is the first document in a long and painful dispute. When archbishop Greenfield visited Hexham he found that the Prior was an old man, and that many abuses had crept into the monastery which were not likely to be remedied by any inmate of that house. Accordingly, Thomas de Fenwick, the Prior, resigns his office, and the primate puts in his room a canon of Nostell.

This introduction of a foreigner caused a rebellion in the monastery which lasted for some months. After going through various phases, it ended in a compromise; Ponteburgh, the Nostell canon, retiring with a large pension, and the office which he had temporarily filled reverted to the canons of the house. This is the only occasion on which an archbishop of York attempted to control the election of a Prior, and he was foiled. I shall give another document which refers to this dispute.

^l This clause would give great offence at Hexham, and with justice, I think.

^m On the same day the archbishop made Ponteburgh the Prior, and ordered the keeper of the spiritualities at Hexham to install him.

XXXVI.—THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE CANONS OF HEXHAM FOR INSUBORDINATION IN THE ELECTION OF THEIR PRIOR. [Reg. Archiep. Greenfield, pars i., 55 *b*, and pars ii., 202 *a*, in a slightly varied form.]

Robertus de Pykering, etc., discreto viro, custodi jurisdictionis de Hextildesham, salutem in Auctore salutis. Cum fratres Adam de Driffeld supprior monasterii de Hextildesham, Radulphus de Empingham terrarius, Alanus de Gysburne precentor, Hugo de Houghton sacrista, Robertus de Howyk celerrarius, Hugo de Thornton camerarius, Willelmus de Alwenton, Willelmus de Howyk, et Robertus de Whelpington," ac omnes alii canonici de Conventu monasterii de Hextildesham prædicti, culpabiles existentes propter suam notoriam inobedientiam et offensam manifestam, per dictum patrem sint majoris excommunicationis vinculo innodati; dictumque monasterium de Hextildesham, ampliori eorum protervia exigente, ecclesiastico sic suppositum interdicto, et ex communione eorundem poterit grex Dominicus infici, quod nollemus; vobis, in virtute obedientiæ et sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatinus prædictos suppriorem, et supranominatos, ac omnes et singulos de Conventu culpabiles, eorum-

" Another phase in this great controversy. It will be well, however, to mention the steps which preceded it.

On the 17th of July the primate wrote a strong letter to the canons, ordering them to admit Ponteburgh within three days. If they refuse, they will be excommunicated, and their monastery placed under an interdict, as a beginning only of their punishment. On the same day the archbishop told Robert de Pickering, his vicar-general, what he had done, enjoining him to protect and advance the interests of Ponteburgh to the utmost of his power with every ecclesiastical weapon, "ne per tolerantie segnitiam, quod absit, dicti canonici de Hextildesham jurisdictionem nostram vilipendeant quomodolibet vel perturbent" (Reg. Greenfield, pars i., 55 *a*).

This threat, however, did not produce submission, and on the 22nd of July Pickering wrote a letter endeavouring to persuade the canons to obedience by a promise that their claim to elect a prior should never again be interfered with, if they would pay obedience to Ponteburgh. In another epistle written on the same day to Roger de Thornton, the keeper of the spiritualities at Hexham, Pickering says that he had had a conference with Adam de Carlisle, one of the canons, as the representative of the rest, and desires Thornton to place in the hands of the sub-prior and convent the letter which has been just mentioned, if they manifested any wish to be reconciled to their superior (Reg. Greenfield, part i., 55 *a*).

All this seems to have been in vain, and on the 2nd of August the offenders were excommunicated, and this punishment continued in force until the 20th of November.

In the month of January following a compromise was effected, of which an account has been given in my history of the Priors. These sturdy Northern monks, practically, carried their point, and no archbishop ever afterwards attempted to control their right of election.

que monasterium ecclesiastico suppositum interdicto faciatis, per vos et alios, per totam jurisdictionem de Hextildesham, singulis diebus Dominicis et festivis, pulsatis campanis, accensis candelis, pupplice nuntiari, et a denunciatione hujusmodi non cessari, donec aliud vobis inde fuerit demandatum. Certificantes nos super hiis quæ feceritis in præmissis, et de nominibus contradictorum seu rebellium, si qui fuerint, ac qualiter processeritis contra eos, citra festum Translationis Beati Cuthberti, distincte et aperte per vestras patentes literas harum seriem continentes. Data apud Ebor., quarto nonas Augusti, anno gratiæ, millesimo ccc^{mo} undecimo.

XXXVII.—PERMISSION FROM ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD FOR THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM TO SELL A CORRODY TO SIR JOHN SWINBURN, KNIGHT. [Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 39 a.]

Memorandum, quod secundo kalendas Januarii anno prædicto (scilicet septimo) dominus scripsit Priori et Conventui de Hextildesham, quod quia dominus Johannes de Swyneburn^o est amicus suus, et bonum locum tenere potest, tam domino quam ipsis Priori et Conventui in partibus illis, quod placeret sibi, si absque dampno ecclesiæ suæ fieri valeat, petitio dicti domini Johannis concedatur: (quacumque inhibitione domini de non vendendis vel comedendis corrodiis eis facta nullatenus obsistente, etc.,) petitio quod possit emere unam liberationem de dictis Priore et Conventu, ad opus cujusdam consanguineæ suæ.

XXXVIII.—AN ORDER TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF SHELFORD TO RECEIVE ADAM DE CARLISLE, A DISOBEDIENT CANON OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 138 a.]

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui de Shel-

^o Another grant of a corrody at the request of the archbishop. It was given to Sir John Swinburne for the use of a kinswoman of his. The motive for granting it was only a selfish one.

I presume that this Sir John is the person who in 1300 and 1301 was commissioner of array for Northumberland (*Parl. Writs*, i., 342, 361). He was also assessor and collector of the disme for the same county, and commissioner.

In 1307-8, 1312 (*bis*), 1313, and 1313-14, the archbishop made him a justice to deliver the gaol at Hexham (Reg. Greenfield, part i., 36 b, 38 a, 39 a, 41 b).

On the 14th of November, 1314, bishop Kellawe of Durham granted an indulgence of forty days for the souls of Sir John de Swynburn, knight, and Avice his wife, who were buried in the church of Chollerton (Reg. Kellawe, 138 a).

ford, salutem.—Quum frequenter in religiosis personis loci mutatio morum et vitæ solet emendationem afferre, prout rerum edocet experientia, et sacrorum canonum perhibent instituta; nosque in vestro monasterio vigere credimus sanctæ religionis cultum et regularis observantiæ disciplinam; fratrem Adam de Carliolo,^p canonicum monasterii Sancti Andreae de Hextildesham, ad vos duximus destinandum, ut aliquo temporis spatio, nostro arbitrio moderando, inter vos ad emendationem status sui, auctore Domino, valeat conversari: sumptibus tamen omnimodis sui monasterii, quos cum debito moderamine taxandos duxeritis, postquam per vestras literas nobis de eorum quantitate constiterit, vobis plenarie refundendis. Quocirca devotioni vestræ, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatinus prædictum fratrem Adam benigne admittentes, eum inter vos tractare curetis fraterna in Domino caritate. Ita videlicet, ut ubilibet sequatur Conventum, præterquam in secretis tractatibus vestri capituli, quibus eum non decet nec expedit interesse. Volumus autem quod postquam per aliquod temporis spatium mores ipsius experti fueritis, si vobis Priori visum fuerit in vestra vel aliorum confratrum vestrorum comitiva, qui videlicet famæ laudabilis et honestæ conversationis extiterint, recreationis causa, ad aliqua loca vestra extra monasterium quandoque valeat se transferre. Nos vero oportuno tempore certificare curetis, si dictus canonicus inter vos bene et honeste se gesserit, prout suæ religionis convenerit honestati. Valete. Data apud Lanum, xxj die Junii, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

XXXIX.—A CITATION FROM ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD TO THE PRIORS OF HEXHAM AND BOLTON IN CRAVEN, THE PRESIDENTS OF THE GENERAL CHAPTER OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF YORK. [Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 71 b.]

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Prioribus monasteriorum de Hextildesham et Boulton in Craven, ordinis Sancti Augustini, capitulo generali ejusdem ordinis infra nostram diocesim, ut dicitur, præsidentibus,^q salutem, etc. Sacrosanctam ecclesiam,

^p The ordination of this canon has been already mentioned, and he was one of the leaders in the late dispute between the archbishop and the canons. He is now sent to Shelford, co. Notts. The cause of his removal is not mentioned, but he seems to have given some offence. His crime, however, was not a great one, as he is to be gently handled, although there is nothing said about his return.

^q A sharp letter to the Priors of Hexham and Bolton, the presidents of the

matrem nostram, sic disposuit Deus gloriosus et sublimis, ut qui certis suis subditis præsidentes, inferioris tamen gradus locum optinent, in eadem juri suorum superiorum minime valeant derogare; ne, si cuique sua jurisdictio non servetur, ecclesiasticus ordo proculdubio confundatur. Sane nuper quædam monasteria vestri ordinis jure ordinario visitantes, comperimus, per vos vel alios dudum vestris capitulis præsidentes, aliqua fuisse statuta, seu etiam ordinata, quorum occasione nonnulli fratrum vestrorum in visitatione nostra in quibusdam monasteriis vestri ordinis nuper facta, excessus, crimina, et defectus, quorum reformatio et correctio per Priores proprios etiam scienter et absque causa legitima omissa fuerat, nobis non audebant, per nos astricti sub obedientiæ debito, revelare. Quæ impunitatem et fomentum criminum et excessuum dare poterunt, et in juris nostri manifestum præjudicium redundare. Quocirca devotioni vestræ in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quatinus, si qua hujusmodi per vos aut alios vestris capitulis præsidentes ordinata fuerint vel statuta, quæ in juris aut jurisdictionis nostræ præjudicium cedere valeant quovismodo; aut correctiones criminum et excessuum, seu reformationem defectuum in personis vel in rebus monasterii vestri ordinis nobis ubilibet subjectorum, quæ in visitatione nostra facienda iminent, quomodolibet valeant impedire, ipsa sine moræ dispendio revocetis. Nos enim, auctoritate Constitutionum felicis recordationis domini Bonifacii papæ VIII., omnia et singula hujusmodi per vos vel alios quoscumque vestris capitulis præsidentes ordinata vel statuta, per quæ effectus debitus visitationis nostræ in monasterio vestri ordinis nobis ubilibet subjectis juri ordinario factæ, vel etiam faciendæ, quomodolibet valeat impediri, una cum sententiis, juramentis, promissionibus, obligationibus, seu quibusvis pœnis aliis in hujusmodi ordinationibus vel statutis contentis, omnino irrita esse decernimus, et etiam declaramus, et nullius penitus existere firmitatis. Nec quemquam fratrum vestri ordinis nobis jure ordinario subjectorum hujusmodi sententiis, juramentis, promissionibus seu pœnis aliis quibuscumque

general chapter of the Augustinian order within the province of York. The archbishop, in making his visitation of the Augustinian monasteries, discovers that the canons regard themselves as bound to obey their presidents rather than himself, and that there are several delinquencies, therefore, which he is unable either to punish or discover.

He tells the presidents that their attempt to set up their authority as superior to his own within the province of York is opposed to the papal constitutions, and he summons them peremptorily to appear before him on a set day to answer for themselves. The primate was clearly in the right; and, in the case of the Prior of Hexham, he would speak with an authority which the other would be unwilling to disregard.

ex præmissa causa obligari aliquammodo vel astringi. Citantes nichilominus peremptorie vos, Priores de Hextildesham et Boulton, generali capitulo vestri ordinis, nunc, ut dicitur, in nostra diocesi præsidentes, quod tertio die, . . . post festum Sancti Martini Yemalis, ubicumque tunc fuerimus in nostra diocesi, comparcatis personaliter coram nobis, præmissas ordinationes et statuta exhibituri, ac super eisdem audituri, facturi, et recepturi quod canonicis convenerit institutis. Certificantes nos, citra festum Sancti Martini prædictum, quid feceritis et faciendum duxeritis in præmissis, per vestras patentes literas harum seriem continentes. Valete. Data Scroby, decimo die Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

XL.—SEVERAL LETTERS ABOUT WILLIAM DE MORPETH, A REFRACTORY CANON OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 40 *b*, 126 *a*, 210 *a*.]

I.

Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio Priori de Hextildesham salutem, etc. Fratrem Willelmum de Morthpath,^r concanonicum vestrum, super quibusdam animæ suæ salutem contingentibus, ad aures nostras de persona sua delatis, coram nobis fecimus evocari, sibi que objectis articulis, ad eosdem negative respondit, prius præstito ab ipso ad sancta Dei Evangelia juramento. Quos quidem articulos, cum responsionibus ad eos factis, vobis mittimus præsentibus interclusos, mandantes vobis, et in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes, quatinus super dictis articulis per eundem negatis, sibi, cum duodecima manu canonicorum sui ordinis, purgatione, in forma debita, indicatis. Quid autem inde feceritis, et qualiter idem frater Willelmus, ac per quas personas se purgaverit, nobis per vestras clausas literas, sine moræ dispendio, rescribatis. Interim vero prædictum fratrem W. claustrum tenere volumus, nec septa monasterii quovismodo exire, nostrisque ac vestris monitis et injunctis parere humiliter et devote, prout in quadam monitione, quam in scriptis sibi fecimus, plenius continetur; cujus copiam similiter vobis mittimus præsentibus interclusam. Valete. Data apud Scroby, xij kalendas Decembris, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

^r A canon of Hexham of the name of Morpeth has been misbehaving. He appears before the primate, and denies the charges made against him. The archbishop then sends him back again to Hexham to be kept within the walls of the monastery till he can clear himself.

II.

Venerabili in Christo fratri, domino R., Dei gratia Dunolm. episcopo,^s Willelmus, etc., salutem, et sinceræ caritatis in Domino continuum incrementum. Excommunicatorum nomina claves ecclesiæ contempnentium, in locis ubi conversari dicuntur, Christi fidelibus expedit publicari, ut dum a liminibus ecclesiæ et communione hominum excluduntur, saltem rubore suffusi ad humilitatis gratiam et reconciliationis affectum citius inclinentur. Cum itaque frater Willelmus de Morpath, canonicus monasterii de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis, propter ipsius manifestam offensam per nos auctoritate ordinaria, exigente justitia, majoris excommunicationis sententia sit ligatus, ac idem frater Willelmus infra vestram diocesim, ut dicitur, commoratur; fraternitatem vestram ortamur in Domino, quatinus eundem fratrem Willelmum sic excommunicatum esse, in solempnioribus locis vestræ diocesios, et specialiter apud Morpath, ubi, ut dicitur, frequentius conversatur; ac aliis, quibus expedire videbitur, diebus Dominicis et festivis, faciatis solempniter publicari; ne sua contagione pestifera, oves aliquas inficiat gregis vestri. Et quid feceritis in præmissis, nobis, si placet, citra Octabas Epiphaniæ Domini, constare faciatis per vestras patentes literas, harum seriem continentes. Conservet vos Dominus ad ecclesiæ vestræ regimen per tempora longiora! Data apud Scroby, sexto decimo kal. Januarii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo tercio decimo.

III.

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui monasterii de Bridlington, salutem. Quia ex testimonio quorundam canonicorum vestrorum, ex parte vestra nobis missorum, accepimus, quod frater Willelmus de Morpath,^t canonicus monasterii de

^s Morpeth, it seems, unable or unwilling to purge himself, has made his escape from the confinement of the cloister, and has been excommunicated. He is now rambling about the diocese of Durham. The archbishop, therefore, desires bishop Kellawe to announce that he is excommunicated, particularly at Morpeth, of which place, as his name betokens, he was probably a native.

After a long pause bishop Kellawe complies with his request. On the 3rd of August, 1314, more than six months after the date of archbishop Greenfield's letter, the bishop wrote from Riccall near York to do what was desired (Reg. Kellawe, 130 a).

^t Morpeth seems to have been at large for more than six months; but, a few days after the bishop of Durham wrote his letter, he was secured. On the 10th of August, 1314, the archbishop wrote to the Prior and Convent of Bridlington desiring them to receive him, "consanguineorum et amicorum suorum sumptibus, quos propter instantem temporis caristiam æstimamus ad quinque marcas annuas." The order that Morpeth was to be supported by his friends was prompted, as the primate told the monks of Hexham, by the distressed condition of their house—"in vestri monasterii exonerationem multipliciter, quod dolenter referimus, jam

Hextildesham, pœnitentiam suam per nos sibi injunctam in vestro monasterio hactenus humiliter peregit, et est laudabiliter conversatus, mores suos in melius com(m)unicando; eundem fratrem Willelmum, ad ejusdem vestri monasterii exonerationem, ad dictum monasterium de Hextildesham remitti volumus et mandamus. Et quia intelleximus quod Prior monasterii de Hextildesham, apud Saulton, quæ est præbenda in ecclesia nostra Ebor., moram facit; volumus, et mandamus, quatinus eundem fratrem Willelmum, ad dictum locum, cum decenti comitiva, et necessariis sumptibus, visis præsentibus, absque moræ dispendio, transmittatis. Proviso, quod ante recessum ejusdem fratris Willelmi, idem in capitulo vestro, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis, corporale præstet juramentum coram vobis, quod occasione pœnitentiæ sibi per nos injunctæ, et emissionis de monasterio de Hextildesham, ac missionis seu destinationis ad vestrum monasterium, ob causas quas in hac parte duximus faciendas, nullum nobis aut ecclesiæ nostræ Ebor., vel manerio nostro de Hextildesham, seu libertatibus vel juribus ejusdem nostræ ecclesiæ quibuscumque, seu nostris hominibus, tenentibus, aut nativis, vel nobis quomodolibet adhærentibus, dampnum, præjudicium, aut gravamen aliquod inferet, seu inferri ab aliis procurabit, nec inferentibus auxilium præbebit, consilium, vel favorem. Valete. Data apud Cawod, tertio idus Januarii,ⁿ pontificatus nostri anno nono.

XLI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE INJURY DONE TO HEXHAM BY THE SCOTS IN 1312, 1314, AND 1315. [From the Chronicle of Lanercost, 219, 229, 230.]

MCCCXII. Audiens autem Robertus de Bruseⁿ hanc discordiam in Austro, congregato magno exercitu, circa festum

depressi;”—they were merely to provide him with dress and shoes (Reg. Greenfield, part ii., 121 a).

Morpeth was at Bridlington for six months, and then he goes back to Hexham. The way in which the archbishop speaks of the oath by which he was to be bound to refrain from injuring him or any of his people, seems to shew that he had been a dangerous person. He had probably allied himself with some of the Northumbrian freebooters in his wanderings from his fold.

^u On the same day the archbishop wrote to the convent of Hexham, and its head, desiring them to admit their wandering brother.

^v We now come to a period in which every year was full of disasters to the North of England, and especially to the monastery of Hexham on account of the inroads of the Scots.

Brus was tempted to come into England, in 1312, by the quarrels between Edward II. and his nobles about Peter de Gaveston. He burnt Hexham and Corbridge, making his head-quarters at the latter place, and ravaging the country to the Westward.

Assumptionis Beatæ Virginis [Aug. 15] intravit Angliam, et combussit villam de Exham, et Corbrigiam, et partes illas occidentales, et accepit prædas et spolia multa, et captivos; nec fuit aliquis qui auderet resistere. Ipse autem pacifice et secure moram faciens juxta Corbrigiam, misit partem exercitus sui usque Dunelmum, qui ibidem subito venientes in die fori rapuerunt omnia quæ invenerunt in villa, et eam pro magna parte incendio tradiderunt, et resistentes crudeliter occiderunt; castrum tamen et abbatiam minime invaserunt. Timentes autem Dunelmenses plura mala eorum, nec sperantes adjuvari per regem, composuerunt cum eis, et dederunt eis pro episcopatu illo duo millia librarum pro treugis habendis usque ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ^w [June 24, 1313]; quæ tamen noluerunt Scotti recipere, nisi sub hac conditione, quod per terram episcopatus possent habere liberum transitum et redditum quandocunque vellent ulterius in Angliam equitare. Illi autem de Northumbria, timentes adventum eorum ad eos, dederunt eis alia duo millia librarum pro pace habenda usque ad terminum supradictum.

MCCCXIV. Interim autem Scotti occupaverunt Tyndale Australem sicut et Borealem, scilicet Hautewisel, Hextelsam, Corbrigg, et sic loca versus Novum Castrum; et Tyndal fecit homagium regi Scotiæ, et fortiter debellabat Gillesland et alias partes Angliæ circumstantes.^x

Eodem etiam tempore Scotti iterum Northumbriam destruxerunt. A Natali autem Domini supradicto usque ad nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ [Dec. 25, 1314—June 24, 1315], solus comitatus de Cumberland dedit sexcentas marcas regi Scotiæ pro tributo.

MCCCXV. Scotti circa festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli (June 29) episcopatum Dunelmensem intraverunt, et villam de Hertilpole, hominibus fugientibus ad mare in navibus, spoliaverunt, sed non combusserunt; et maximam prædam de Episcopatu in suo reditu abduxerunt.^y

^w Graystones, the Durham historian (Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres, 94), thus speaks of this inroad, "Hujus (*i. e.*, Ricardi de Kellawe) episcopatus anno secundo combusta est Dunelmum per Scottos, et magna pars episcopatus combusta et de prædata, episcopo tunc existente Londoniæ ad Parliamentum regis. Qua combustionem facta, inierunt illi de episcopatu treugas cum Scotis, datis mille marcis usque ad certum tempus."

This account slightly varies from that of the Lanercost historian.

^x This looks like a thorough military occupation of the country. There was just time for the barns and cottages to be rebuilt, and the corn to ripen again in Hexhamshire, after the inroad of 1312, when the spoilers again make their appearance, "et totam quasi Northumbriam, exceptis castris, tempore treugarum durante, incendio vastaverunt" (Chron. Lanercost, 228).

^y In this inroad the Prior of Durham had a very narrow escape. The Scots

XLII.—A LETTER ADDRESSED BY ARCHBISHOP GREENFIELD TO THE PRIORS AND CONVENTS OF THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDER WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF YORK, DESIRING THEM TO SHELTER THE CANONS OF HEXHAM WHO HAVE BEEN RUINED BY THE SCOTS.² [Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 45 *b*.]

Willelmus, dilectis filiis universis et singulis Prioribus et Conventibus canonicorum regularium, de ordine Sancti Augustini, nostræ diocesis, salutem. Inter opera caritatis, quæ quisque fidelis, ex præcepto Domini, proximo suo astringitur, attestante veritate Evangelica, continetur, ut ex affectu proximum diligat, et, necessitate urgente, quo tempore communicanda est bonorum substantia ad subveniendum necessitati proximi, se et sua exhibeat cum effectum. Cæterum, si hæc inter quoscunque fideles Christi pro salutis remedio et legis observantia sint servanda, quanto fortius inter religiosas personas, præsertim ejusdem ordinis et diocesis, istius caritatis indeficientis exhibitio requiretur. Cum itaque religiosi viri, Prior et Conventus monasterii de Hextildesham, vestri ordinis, propter invasiones et deprædationes Scottorum, inimicorum Dei ac regni et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, bonis eorundem religiosorum, ex quibus victum

were at Chester-le-Street whilst the Prior was at his country-house at Beaurepaire near Durham. He had been warned of their approach, but chose to finish Mass before he retreated. This delay enabled the Scots to surround the park, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could break through the cordon and gallop off to Durham. Many of his suite were captured, and he lost all the ornaments and fittings of his chapel and table, together with the stock in the park at Beaurepaire, consisting of sixty mares, and one hundred and eighty cows and their followers (*Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres*, 96).

² A letter which shews the misery caused at Hexham by the inroads which have been just recorded. There was nothing left for the poor canons to subsist on, as the whole district was plundered and injured in every way.

On the 11th of February, 1314-15, the archbishop kindly ordered R. de Thornton, his receiver at York, to lend the Prior and Convent 40*l.*, to be repaid at Michaelmas, "Depressioni monasterii de Hextildesham per frequentes Scottorum incursus pio compatiens affectu, *ad instantem supplicationem Prioris et Conventus*, eis concessimus xl libras ex mutuo" (Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 194 *a*).

This benefaction, however, was not sufficient to keep the Convent together; from inability to maintain so large a body of men in so desolate a place, it was necessary to scatter them abroad, and this letter is a touching appeal from the primate to the other monasteries of the Augustinian order to afford shelter to their afflicted brethren. This is one of the last documents in archbishop Greenfield's register in which the troubles of the canons of Hexham are alluded to. At the close of the same year the primate's earthly work was over.

On the 22nd of September the archbishop wrote to Ralph de Empingham, a canon of Hexham, who was one of his officials in that place, desiring him to return to his duties, "Si Scoti a partibus de Hextildesham se versus Scotiam retraxerint, ita ut in domo vestra stare possitis, absque periculo, hiis diebus." The same letter informs us that the Prior was absent from his post (Reg. Greenfield, pars ii., 48 *b*). I shall print this document in Vol. II., as it refers to the management of the archbishop's property.

habere consueverant et habebant, per dictos inimicos invasis, combustis penitus et consumptis, vel etiam asportatis, nichil omnino ad præsens habentes unde valeant sustentari; quod dolenter referimus, compellantur dispersionis sentire incomodum, et per mendicitatem incertam, nisi aliunde eis subveniatur, quærere sibi victum. Nos, ex pastoralis sollicitudinis officio, ad præfatos religiosos subditos nostros, ex persecutione dictorum inimicorum crudeli, et invasione nepharia desolatos, nostræ mentis intuitum convertentes, ne in ipsius religionis et totius cleri obprobrium cogantur, quod absit, publice mendicare; devotionem vestram obnixius rogamus, hortamur in Domino, et nichilominus, sub obtestatione Divini judicii, vos monemus, quatinus, cum per Priorem dicti monasterii aliquis ejusdem canonicus ad vos singulariter missus fuerit, ex hac causa eundem sic missum benigne admittatis, et fraterna caritate in Domino pertractetis; donec, hostili persecutione cessante, cum pace ad locum in quo professi fuerant, annuente Altissimo, valeant remeare. Speramus siquidem pro certo, prout Prior dicti monasterii nobis asseruit, quod mora singulorum eorumdem fratrum apud singula vestra monasteria non erit vobis nimium onerosa. Has nostras preces, exhortationes, et monitiones, intra benignæ exauditionis januam tam favorabiliter admittentes, ac efficaciter adimplentes, ne manus coercionis debitæ et compulsionis accomodæ nos oporteat apponere ad præmissa. Valete. Data apud Cawode, nonis Februarii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo quarto-decimo.

XLIII.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP MELTON TESTIFYING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERY OF HEXHAM AND THE DISPERSION OF THE CANONS.^a [Reg. Melton, 400.]

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos pervenerit hæc scriptura, Willelmus, permissione Divina Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Perhibendum testimonium veritati pium et acceptum Domino attendentes, ad universitatis vestræ notitiam deducimus pro constanti,

^a *Litera testimonialis super destructione monasterii de Hextildesham*, is the title of this document in the margin of the register, and it tells a great deal.

A new archbishop, William de Melton, comes to York, and this is one of the earliest documents that he issues in connection with Hexham. Many months had elapsed since his predecessor's death, and during this time, apparently, the canons of Hexham had been obliged to be exiles from their monastery. This is a general letter to the Christian faithful, testifying to the calamity that had befallen them.

quod religiosi viri Prior et Conventus monasterii de Hextildesham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, nostræ jurisdictionis, in confinio terrarum Angliæ et Scotiæ notorie situati, per invasionem Scottorum, rebellium hujus regni, ac aliorum diversorum prædonum discursum, domibus suis et maneriis redactis in cineres, tanto discrimini atque mendicitati, quod est dolendum, hiis temporibus exponuntur, quod ex omnibus eis appropriatis ecclesiis, aut terris, ac bonis spiritualibus vel corporalibus pertinentibus ad eosdem, nil eis relinquatur unde valeant sustentari; sicut nec nobis, ex terris et redditibus ac libertatibus pertinentibus ad manerium nostrum de Hextildesham, ex quibus tertia pars nostri archiepiscopatus dependet; propter quod iidem religiosi abinde se secesserunt dispersi, summa necessitate eos cogente, in sæculo periculosius evagantur, testimonio præsentium quas sigilli nostri munimine fecimus roborari. Data apud Burton prope Beverlacum, iiij kalendas Februarii, anno gratiæ m^o ccc^{mo} xvii.

XLIV.—AN INDULGENCE GRANTED BY ARCHBISHOP MELTON IN BEHALF OF THE CATHEDRAL AT CARLISLE^b WHICH HAS BEEN BURNED BY THE SCOTS. [Reg. Melton, 459 *a*.]

Willelmus, etc., venerabilibus fratribus co-episcopis nostris, etc.—Inter cætera piæ devotionis opera id in conspectu Altissimi

^b A document which alludes to the injuries done by the Scots to the cathedral of Carlisle. That church was closely connected in several respects with Hexham; both were held by Augustinian canons, and they were so near to each other that there was always a very friendly intercourse between them. As little is known about the early history of Carlisle cathedral, I shall print several documents which refer to it, especially as they throw some light upon the annals and status of the monastery of Hexham.

Among the papers for the year 1286, on the first page of the register of archbishop Romanus, there is a rough draft of an indulgence for Carlisle cathedral which had been burned "cum libris, ornamentis, domibus et ædificiis adjacentibus." This is the usual form adopted in indulgences, and nothing is told us about the cause of the fire. It is quite possible, however, that this document refers to a later event than those of the year 1286, as it occurs at the foot of the page, and we may perhaps ascribe it to 1292, when there was a very dreadful conflagration at Carlisle, which is described in the chronicle of Lanercost (144, 145, 147).

We learn from the same authority (230-2) that the cathedral was attacked and valiantly defended in 1315. It was to repair the injuries which it then sustained that the present indulgence was issued. I shall give afterwards some other instruments which describe the process of the renovation of the church and the appeals for contributions.

Between July, 1316, and July, 1317, the diocese of Carlisle was twice exposed to a destructive inroad of the Scots; the cathedral seems to have been untouched, but the poverty and wretchedness of the county would oblige the canons to seek for contributions to their fabric fund in another district. This, no doubt, was the cause of this appeal being made by the archbishop of York.

The following extract from bishop Halton's register says much for the suffer-

credimus fore gratum, quod ad foundationem, sustentationem, et reparationem ecclesiarum gratiose convertitur; quæ tamquam sancta et salubria in terris habitacula fideles ad orandum recipiunt, et impetrandum in fide sacramenti altaris, quod pro salute credentium in ara Dominica sacrorum cotidiano ministerio sacerdotum offertur speratam veniam placato Domino de peccatis. Cum itaque cathedralis ecclesia Karlioli per repentinam incendii voraginem una cum domibus et ædificiis adjacentibus, quasi ad extremam consumptionem, quod dolentes referimus, per sævientem incursum et ferocem invasionem Scotorum, inimicorum rebellium hujus regni, in cineres sit redacta; ita quod ejusdem ecclesiæ ministri vix habent ubi comode sua valeant capita reclinare, nec ad reparationem tam miserabilis ruinæ ejusdem ecclesiæ suppetant facultates. Nos tanto discrimini eo ferventius paternis affectibus prospicere censuimus, et spiritualibus, quibus possumus, muneribus subvenire, quo dicta ecclesia in venerationem Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, mediatrix Dei et hominum sanctissimæ, est fundata. Devotionem vestram igitur studiose requirimus, et in Domino attentius exhortamur, vobis in remissionem peccaminum nihilominus injungentes, quatinus cum procuratores vel nuntii præfatae ecclesiæ ad vos venerint, pro fidelium elemosinis colligendis, ipsos in proximis capitulis vestris celebrandis post inspectionem præsentium præ omnibus aliis negotiis, negotiis nostrarum Ebor. Beverlac., Suwell, and Rypon ecclesiarum, quæ pro ipsarum fabricis volumus præferri, duntaxat exceptis, benivole admittatis eorum negotium—omnibusque qui ad fabricam ejusdem ecclesiæ—manus porrexerint adjutrices, xl dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia, Deo propitio, misericorditer relaxamus. Data apud Thorp prope Ebor., vj id. Novembris, anno gratiæ millesimo ccc decimo octavo.

XLV.—THE DISPERSION OF THE CANONS OF HEXHAM.^c [Reg. Melton, 408 *a*.]

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Abbati et Conventui de Thornton super Humbre, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Etsi

ings of his diocese. The chronicler of Lanercost tells us nothing about the second incursion:—

“Anno regni domini nostri regis decimo, Robertus de Brus cum suo exercitu bis intravit nostram diocesin, et eam transeundo et morando per deprædationes et combustiones quasi totaliter devastavit; et ideo nulli collectores erant deputati, quia nichil superfluit unde decima potuit levare” (Reg. Halton, 221).

The pictures of the mischief done by the Scots which are drawn in this prelate's register are indeed frightful.

^c Several years have passed away since archbishop Melton came to York, and the canons of Hexham seem to have found their way back to their usual abode.

Northumberland, during this period, had not been free from the invaders.

omnes, qui Christiana religione varietate ordinum ad laudem et decorem sponsæ Christi censeantur per orbem, caritate mutua convenit se juvare; illas præcipue personas in fraternæ caritatis odore, Divina et humana jussio suadet et hortatur devotius sua onera vicaria promptitudine supportare, quo eas copulat eadem professio atque ordo. Cum, itaque, quod non sine cordis amaritudine recitamus, monasterium de Hextildisham, hactenus famosi nominis et salubris, nostræ diocesis, vestrique ordinis et professionis, per hostilem incursum Scotorum, rebellium hujus regni, sua nuper animalia et bestias diversis vicibus depredantium, villasque suas et maneria ac loca incendii voragine destruentium, præter infortunium universale morinæ bestiarum quod jamdiu in hoc regno invaluit, devastatum; hiis diebus tanto subiaceat lapsui et jacturæ, quod ad sustentationem collegii canonicorum Deo servientium nunc ibidem, et ad solita hospitalitatis onera supportanda, propriæ suæ non sufficiant facultates. Quum de ipsis dispersionem necessario ad tempus fieri oportebit, fratrem Willelmum de Kirkeoswald, canonicum domus ejusdem, vestrique ordinis professum, latorem præsentium, qui dudum inter vos conversatus gratum ex vitæ et religionis vestræ sanctimonia, ut asserit, gustavit odorem; ad vos transmittimus; inter vos in domo vestra ad tempus, domus suæ sumptibus, ne vobis nimis onerosus existat, videlicet pro quatuor marcis annuis, quas, pensata hac sua inopia, vobis placeat acceptare, regulariter moraturum. Vestram devotionem attentius requirentes, quatinus, contemplatione præmissorum, eundem canonicum sic velit favorabiliter admittere et tractare, ut nos, gratam de vobis promptitudinem degustantes, proinde vobis specialius teneamur. Certificantes nos de die receptionis præ-

In 1318 the whole county as far as Newcastle seems to have been ravaged by them (Chron. Lan., 235), and in the following year Hexhamshire could scarcely escape when the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas plundered Gillsland (ibid., 240). In 1321 there was another very serious invasion, in which much mischief was done (ibid., 242). Another dispersion, therefore, of the canons was inevitable, and it is here enjoined. If the wanderers had found their way back before 1322, they would, in all probability, be again scattered by the marauders, who got as far south as Yorkshire.

The reason for the present dispersion was the poverty of the house—everything having been destroyed or burned. In addition to this, there was a murrain among cattle.

This scourge, which all the chroniclers describe, seems to have reached the North in 1319, having devastated the South during the two preceding years. It was confined to oxen and cows, and so few of them were left alive that men were compelled to use horses at the plough (Chron. Lanercost, 240).

The Priory of Durham also groaned under this pestilence, which seems to have been accompanied by a scarcity of food, a quarter of wheat selling for as much as 40s. (*Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres*, 96). All the registers of the Northern bishops and priories bear witness to the sufferings of the time.

sentium, cum ex parte dicti canonici fueritis requisiti. Valet. Data apud Thorp prope Ebor., ij kalendas Martii, anno gratiæ m° ccc° vicesimo.

Memorandum, quod, eisdem die et loco, emanârunt con-similes litteræ Priori et Conventui de Thurgarton pro fratre Hugone de Mohaut; et Priori de Bridelington pro fratre Ricardo de Alwenton; et Priori de Gisburn pro Ada de Tyndal;^d et Priori de Novo Burgo pro Johanne de Novo Castro, canonicis domus prædictæ.

XLVI.—AN INDULGENCE IN BEHALF OF THE NUNNERY AT LAMB-
LEY, IN THE DIOCESE OF DURHAM, WHICH HAS BEEN DE-
STROYED BY THE SCOTS.^e [Reg. Archiep. Melton, 513 a.]

Universis,—Willelmus, etc., salutem in sinceris amplexibus Salvatoris. Inter cæteras sollicitudines quibus ex suscepti re-

^d This person occurs in 1335 as the representative of Thomas the Prior and the Convent of Hexham before Richard de Eryom, canon of York and deputy of the bishop of Durham, at Darlington. The bishop had desired the Prior and Convent to confer a benefice on John, son of John Feryman, of Bubwith, a poor clerk. They object to do so through their proctor on the ground that Feryman had wounded with a sword one William de Kelfield, a priest, and that he had been publicly excommunicated for that offence in the churches of Hemingbrough, Bubwith, and Selby (*Misc. Doc. penes Dec. et Cap. Dunelm.*, 2629).

Tynedale was Sub-Prior of Hexham in 1329, and penancer for the district (Reg. Melton, 428 a).

^e An indulgence in behalf of the little Nunnery of Lambley, which, from its having been destroyed by the Scots, had a claim to the sympathy of archbishop Melton, who had been so deeply injured by them.

It lies, or rather lay, high up in Tynedale, close to the Cumbrian border, "in a most charming seclusion, on a haugh, on the left bank of the Tyne, where all sorts of trees, especially oak and ash, thrive luxuriantly. In Camden's time, it was 'for the most part undermined by the floodings of the river and fallen down.' For a century or more not one stone of it has been left upon another" (Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., 95).

Mr. Hodgson prints several deeds to which the nunnery was a party, and I shall give one or two in another place. The history of this little home of piety is lost like its walls. The very name of its founder is unknown, and at the Dissolution the annual revenues of the house amounted only to the paltry sum of 5*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* There is something very touching in the thought of a few holy women subsisting on a pittance like this, far away from the haunts of men, defenceless and unaided. Solitude indeed has its charm, and they found it there in their little sanctuary with its wood and water. The few sheep which grazed on the green bank before them suggested a name for their abode, and they called it the Lamb-lea.

Lambley was one of the three religious houses destroyed by the Scots in 1296 (Chron. Lanercost, 174), and on no other abode of piety could the marauding expeditions in succeeding years fall with greater cruelty. The poor nuns were homeless and resourceless, and they could only beg their bread. In 1322 they were residing in Newcastle, where they received the alms of Edward II. (Brand's *Newcastle*, i., 215). Many years would pass away before they recovered from the effect of these disastrous inroads.

giminis onere astringimur, illam cernimus quoque piam, qua religiosæ contemplationi deditis in hiis præsertim prospicimus, quæ necessariam subventionem exigunt, ut Deo quietum et placidum exhibeant famulatum. Convertentes, igitur, intuitum ad pauperes moniales monasterii Sancti Patricii de Lambeley, Dunolmensis diocesios, quarum monasterium cum libris et ornamentis, necnon et cæteris ædificiis, cum bonorum aliorum gravi dispendio, hostilis Scotorum incursus consumpsit; adeo quod prætextu tanti discriminis ad ultimam quasi inopiam sint redactæ. Eisdem in tam miserabili depressione in compassionis visceribus subvenire censuimus, ad relevationem comodam, utinam! placato Altissimo, prædictorum. Universitatem vestram requirimus et rogamus, quatinus cum aliqua dictarum monialium, vel earum nuntii, ad vos accesserint, pro vestris elemosinis in suarum subsidium colligendis, ipsos in mansuetudinis spiritu benigne admittatis; cæteros Christi fideles suas eis conferre elemosinas excitando. Nos autem, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, et gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ matris suæ, bonorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, necnon sanctissimi Confessoris Willelmi, Omniumque Sanctorum meritis confidentes, omnibus parochianis nostris, et aliis, quorum diocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, de peccatis suis vere contritis, pœnitentibus, et confessis, qui ad sustentationem seu relevationem dicti monasterii, aut monialium ibidem Deo servientium, manus porrexerint adjutrices; aut in extremis laborantes quotam partem bonorum suorum donaverint, legaverint sive procuraverint monasterio prælibato, viginti dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia, Deo propitio, misericorditer relaxamus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Data apud Cawode, quinto kal. Junii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo primo.

XLVII.—TRANSMISSION OF WILLIAM OF HEXHAM, CANON OF HEXHAM, FROM THAT PRIORY TO THAT OF ST. MARY DE PRATIS AT LEICESTER, AT THE REQUEST OF THOMAS EARL OF LANCASTER.^f [Reg. Archiep. Melton, 411.]

Reverendæ religionis viris, dominis et fratribus in Christo carissimis, domino Ricardo, Dei gratia, Abbati monasterii

^f A curious request, which the Prior of Hexham grants with a somewhat bad grace and in singularly awkward Latin. A canon wishes to leave the house, as the troubles to which it has been subjected interfere with the life of devotion and repose which he wished to lead. Knowing the difficulty of changing his residence he has influence enough to make the well-known earl of Lancaster prefer his

Beatæ Mariæ de Pratis Leycestr', et ejusdem Conventui venerando, sui semper ad vota, Robertus Prior et Conventus de Hextildesham, fraternæ caritatis successus prosperos in Domino, cum salute. Litteras nobilis viri domini Thomæ, comitis Lancast' et Leycestr', senescalli Angliæ, recepimus speciales, nobis pro concanonico nostro, fratre Willermo de Hextildesham, cum instantia supplicantis; ut idem frater Willelmus de professione sua, qua nostræ ecclesiæ astringi dinoscitur, perpetuis temporibus per nos legitime et simpliciter absolutus, ad monasterium vestrum possit de nostra licentia se transferre; prout appetit animo deliberato et desiderio vehementi. Cujus precibus favorabiliter inclinare nos inducunt venerabilis patris et domini nostri, domini Willelmi Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopi, Angliæ primatis, devota supplicatio, discreta persuasio, pariter et mandatum. Quibus omnibus, non tam ducimur quam trahimur, certa causa per eundem fratrem Willelmum coram dicto venerabili patre nostro lucide et cum constantia allegata; præsertim cum idem frater Willelmus in loco nostro quem elegit pacifice conversari, ac Domino rite famulari, sicuti supposuit in ingressu, non poterit, ut est notum: ecclesia nostra prædicta, ac locis adjacentibus, villis et maneriis nostris, rebus mobilibus et immobilibus, Scotorum, rebellium Christi et ecclesiæ, invasionibus et incursibus furibundis, et incendiî voragine exinanitis, proth dolor! et exhaustis jam tertio, nostræ congregationis dispersione fieri oportebat;^g quod non tam voce quam mente

request, and before his voice archbishop and Prior and Convent give way; the latter, however, most unwillingly. There was, however, as the Prior remarks, a secret reason which is not disclosed.

The archbishop *asks, persuades, and orders* the Prior to make the concession, and on the 14th of November he confirms the consent which he had required of them, and absolves the canon from his vows, as if he had heard of the matter for the first time! Whelpington, the Prior, writes in a discontented and sarcastic spirit, and we can form some idea of the temper which had withstood successfully archbishop Greenfield, and which the recent disasters of his house would not have improved.

In the following year the earl of Lancaster was put to death before his own castle of Pontefract, leaving a name behind him which was long cherished and remembered.

We hear of Wm. de Hexham again. On the 18th of June, 1335, archbishop Melton gave him a loan of 20*l*. He was then a canon of Leicester and warden or prior of Cockerham (Reg. Melton, 54 *b*).

He was probably a native of Hexham. In 1297, on the Saturday in the first week in Lent, a person of that name was ordained priest at Carlisle (Reg. Halton, 39).

On the 19th of August, 1280, a Wm. de Hexham was instituted to the living of Thirkleby in Yorkshire on the presentation of the Priory of Newburgh (Reg. Wickwaine, 74 *b*). On the 26th of January, in the fourth year of archbishop Romanus, a person of the same name was released from prison at Ripon, having purged himself from a charge of theft (Reg. Romanus, 94 *a*).

^g The sense of this passage is somewhat obscure.

referimus dolorosa. Nos igitur, præmissa singula considerantes, ac dilecti confratris nostri intensam devotionem diutina fatigatione probantes graviter et temptantes, ipsiusque profectum prosperum in actibus claustralibus quos satis diligit dulciter affectantes; licet ecclesia nostra de ipsius absentia jacturam non modicam patiatur; ne tamen miseri videamur quorum solatium esse creditur habere consortes in pœna, dictum concanonicum nostrum, fratrem Willelmum de Hextildesham, a professione sua in ecclesia nostra prædicta solempniter celebrata, necnon ab obedientia Priori monasterii nostri, et ejus successoribus, debita et promissa, de unanimi consensu nostro, quatenus ad nos pertinet, absolvimus; non absque cordis amaritudine copiosa. Et eidem fratri Willelmo, ut inter vos, sicut instanter petit, suo perpetuo stare possit, liberam concedimus facultatem; ejus conversationis famam per quindecim annos et amplius inter nos claram et odoriferam coram Deo et hominibus integram et illæsam vobis recommendamus, tam assertionem cognitionis, quam testimonio veritatis. In quorum omnium testimonium sigillum commune capituli nostri, una cum sigillo officii Prioris, presentibus est appensum. Acta et data in capitulo nostro de Hextildesham, decimo die Novembris, anno gratiæ millesimo ccc^{mo} vicesimo primo.

XLVIII.—PERMISSION TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO BLESS THE
 ABBAT OF BLANCHLAND WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF YORK.^h
 [Reg. Melton, 462 a.]

Willelmus permissione Divina Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, venerabili in Christo fratri domino Lodovico Dei gratia Dunolm. episcopo, salutem, et fraternæ caritatis in Domino

^h Permission to perform an episcopal act in another diocese. On the 12th of May, Louis de Beaumont, bishop of Durham, writes from Naburn, near York, to the archbishop, asking his leave to bless the abbat elect of Blanchland, and it is granted.

Of the Augustinian priory of Blanchland, or Alba-Landa, there is very little known. It lies on the Derwent, at the extremity of Hexhamshire and close to the county of Durham, a sacred ring uniting two shires in one. For the claims of religion and the duties of hospitality it is at a suitable distance from Hexham, for in the erecting of a monastery such points as these were carefully considered.

Blanchland occupies a most secluded position among the moors, so secluded, indeed, that it is difficult to approach or discover. Tradition says that when Henry the Eighth's commissioners came down to dissolve the monastery, they lost their way, and were unable to find the place. The canons, overjoyed at their departure, most indiscreetly began to ring their bells; and the sound, piercing through the still air in that hill-country, reached the ears of their foes, who were still too near, and guided them to the spot.

continuum incrementum. Petitioni et precibus vestris favorabiliter annuentes, ut fratri Johanni de Staynton, canonico monasterii de Alba-landa, vestræ Dunolm. diocesios, in abbatem ejusdem monasterii electo et confirmato, in aliqua ecclesia seu capella nostræ diocesios, quam ad hoc duxeritis eligendum, munus benedictionis impendere hac vice valeatis, de nostra speciali gratia, licentiam vobis concedimus per præsentem: jurisdictione, et jure diocesano, ac dignitate, et ecclesiæ nostræ Ebor. ac successorum nostrorum, nobis competentibus, nobis in omnibus et per omnia semper salvis. Valete. Data apud Thorp prope Ebor., ij idus Maii, anno gratiæ millesimo ccc^{mo} xxij^o.

XLIX.—A LETTER ADDRESSED BY ARCHBISHOP MELTON TO THE PRESIDENTS AND PRIORS OF THE ORDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE, EXHORTING THEM TO FOLLOW ONE USE AND ONE REGULAR OBSERVANCE.ⁱ [Reg. Melton, 516 *a*.]

Willelmus, etc., dilectis in Christo filiis, præsidentibus ac cæteris prioribus, ac priorum absentium procuratoribus, et canonicis ordinis Sancti Augustini, nostræ diocesios et provinciæ, in hac instanti convocatione congregatis, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Inter cætera, quorum causa nos urget, illa plerumque meditatio mentem nostram occupat, illa nos votiva sollicitudo fatigat, ut religiosæ conversationis vestræ honestas, quam pio sinu amplectimur, per nostræ deliberationis consilium sic salubriter augeatur, sic concorditer adjuvetur, quod apud vos multiplicatæ devotionis initiata sinceritas commissis vobis collegiis in præsentem proficiat, et posteris pululare floridis non desinat incrementis; et quid dum conformem devotionem imprimere cupimus, deformitatis materia necessarium censuimus amputare. Quænam itaque apud regulares deformitas probrosior quam inter eos qui ejusdem se asserunt religiones cultores, diversorum rituum singulares observantius confovere? Nunquam religiosæ conditioni contingit quod dum paræ professionis, licet diversorum cœnobiorum, canonici non-

ⁱ A very valuable document. It appears that the Augustinian monasteries in the province of York followed no particular use in their services, indeed this is plain from the injunctions which have been already made to Hexham. This defect had struck the heads of the order, and a meeting seems to have been held at Helaugh Park, near York, where a proper book was drawn up, which received the approbation of the chapter-general, but it was not accepted generally. The archbishop now steps in, and asks to see a copy of this book. He suggests rather than orders the adoption of the York use, and assumes a tone of authority which many of the readers of his letter would by no means like.

nuncquam convenerunt, in horis canonicalibus exsolvendis varia sentiunt; et hic suum usum, cum socium non intelligat, alteræ (*sic*) abusu ridiculosæ proponit, nuncquam religiosæ indempnitati convenit, quod tam nuncupatione regulari; dum hic videlicet dominus, alius vero frater appellatur; quam in calciamentorum pompositate,^j dum equitant, et caparum varietate, quibus simplici colore nigro tinctis dicti religiosi prius vixerant contentati, nunc plerique eorum capis de burneto in signum abjectæ humilitatis internæ notissimum uti publice non verentur; quas re(j)ici volumus prorsus de cætero et dimitti. Nimia acceptatur disparitas apud eos, profecto quanta ex hiis ordini scandala proveniant, quantaque opprobria subsequantur facillime attendere poterit oculus sagaciter animæ intuentis. Horum provide consideratio nostrum interpellat affectum, ut nos qui hoc dudum attenta meditatione pensantes, operosum adhibuimus studium, ut uniformitatem debitam quoad præmissas disparitates solide pararemus; non desistamus acceptis; sed reddamus vos paterna monitione sollicitos, quatinus in hac instanti convocatione prædicta sic prospere agatis pro viribus, quod inter se vota vestra non discrepent; sed vicaria promptitudine, quasi in unum alveum congesta, ad reparationem præmissorum conveniant concorditer et subsistant. Usuum igitur diversitates apud vos hætenus reprobe acceptatas ad unicum usum compendiosum in hac vestra congregatione, si comode poteritis, studiosius redigatis. Et quia usum ecclesiæ nostræ Ebor. communiter credimus convenire, usum ipsum in singulis conventibus vestris statuatis de cætero observandum; sed super hoc oportet nos, ut con(j)icimus, ulterius deliberare. Alias disparitates quaslibet, quibus huc usque non sine ordinis vestri vituperio adhæsistis, ad pares observantias per singula circumspectius revocantes. Ex hoc si quid ordinis reverentia augebitur, et concors ad(j)icietur familiaritas, ac futuris temporibus placida inter fratres, si quid vero huic comodæ provisioni nostræ duxerint improbe resistendum; nos ad denunciationem præsentium, quibus eam, si necesse fuerit, firmiter injungimus, eorum conatus demeritos curabimus, disponente Domino, promptius refrænare. Cæterum cum vos, seu vestri prædecessores, super præmissis excessibus et erroribus cohibendis, libellum quemdam per canonicos vestros, ad hoc, electa eorum industria, deputatos, apud prioratum de Parco, nostræ diocesios, summarie feceritis, ut dicitur, compilare; quem subsequenter in vestro capitulo generali communi deliberatione, quatenus ad vos pertinuit, confirmastis; et quamquam contenta

^j On the 3rd of June, 1401, archbishop Arundel enjoined the Prior of the Augustinian house at Leeds to see that his monks made use of "ocreis sive botis," according to the rule of their order (Reg. Arundel at Lambeth).

in eodem non tam juri contraria quam ad conservationem ordinis vestri utilia, ut accepimus, existant; vos tamen ea hactenus non observastis, quin ipsis qui materiam dissolutionis resecant forsitan et impugnant, sicut prius adhuc negligitis inhærere. Nos vero paterna solitudine vestrum ordinisque vestri honorem cupientes per omnia pro viribus præservare, et ne hostis humani generis vobis nimiam insolentiæ, quod absit, materiam indicat, occasione præmissa, suis fallaciis, favente Domino, sagaciter obviare; vobis, præsidentibus prædictis, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ injungimus et mandamus, quatinus dictum libellum, seu ejus copiam, fideliter ac plenius transcriptam, infra duorum mensium spatium, a tempore receptionis præsentium continue numerandorum, nobis absque ulterioris moræ dispendio transmittatis; ut visis ac diligenter examinatis contentis in eodem, retractis contrariis, resecatisque superfluis et inutilibus, si quæ sint, ad ea tantum quæ honori Dei et vestri ordinis sanctitati convenerint, per vos prius, ut dicitur, approbata, et per nos, si oporteat, confirmanda, vos et ordinem vestrum prædictum, juxta pristina vota vestra, salubriter astringamus. Rursus, quia capitulum generale in nostra provincia seu diocesi non meminimus vos nostris temporibus celebrasse, quod tamen de triennio in triennium celebrare, ad reformationem excessuum, et incrementa virtutum, quæ circa dictum ordinem vestrum existant, jugiter intuendum estis obnoxii, hoc evidenter sacris canonibus fore denoscitur institutum; pleraque possent ex hoc eidem ordini vestro discrimina patentius imminere. Vobis mandamus, et in Domino exhortamur, quatinus capitula vestra generalia de triennio in triennium de cætero teneatis, quæ canonum sita persuadent et injungunt in hac parte, in ipsis capitulis devotius pertractantes; et quum circa hoc retroactis temporibus inventi estis negligentes nimium et remissi, pœnam vobis ea occasione per nos infligendam nobis expressius, tenore præsentium, reservamus. Et de omni eo quod in præmissis feceritis, et qualiter præsens mandatum nostrum fueritis executi, nos distincte et aperte citra tertium diem post lapsum dictorum duorum mensium proximo subsequentium, reddere curetis certiores, per vestras patentes literas, quæ harum seriem repræsentent. Valete. Data apud Cawode, quarto idus Aprilis, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo tertio.

L.—AN INDENTURE BETWEEN THE BISHOP AND THE CHAPTER OF CARLISLE, RELATING TO VARIOUS ORNAMENTS, ETC., BELONGING TO THAT CATHEDRAL.^k [Reg. Rosse at Carlisle, 139 *a.*]

Hæc indentura testatur quod venerabilis pater dominus J., miseratione Divina, et Apostolicæ sedis gratia, Karliolensis episcopus, ex accomodato recepit de S(u)ppriore et Conventu ecclesiæ Karliolensis, mortuo priore ejusdem, per manus fratris Walteri de Ebor., ejusdem ecclesiæ sacristæ, vestimenta et alia subscripta. Videlicet, unam casulam rubeam de samit cum tunica et dalmatica de sindone rubea ejusdem sectæ, cum j alba cum parur' de armis regis et comitis Lincoln, cum pertinentiis; item, j tunicam et dalmaticam de sindone rubea pro diacono et subdiacono: item, j casulam cum tunica et dalmatica de baudekyn, unius sectæ, cum alba, stola, manipul' et pertinentiis de serico consutis: item, alias duas albas cum pertinentiis pro dyacono et subdiacono: item, j casulam cotidianam: item, j capam de samit rubea cum morsur': item, ij capas crocei coloris: item, ij pallia altar' cum paruris brodatis et tertiam sine parur': item, j baudekyn integrum pro frontell: item, j Missale, sine Evangeliiis et Epistolis: item, j alium librum Evangeliarum et Epistolarum: item, unum librum Pontifical': item, ij Gradalia: item, unum calicem argenteum deauratum: item, ij fiala argentea: item, j baculum pastorem cum capite de argento et deaurato: item, unam mitram gemmatam, et unam aliam simplicem: item, ij paria cirothecarum cum uno annulo pontificali: item, j turribulum argenteum et deauratum: item, j superaltare: item, j crismatorium argenteum: item, unum parvum librum pro Confirmatione Puerorum, cum una stola; et ij crofris. Data Karl., die Dominica proxima post festum translationis sancti Thomæ Martyris, anno gratiæ, ut supra (1325).

LI.—LICENCE TO ROBERT DE NONINGTON, CHAPLAIN, TO HAVE A CONFESSOR IN HEXHAMSHIRE FOR THREE YEARS. [Reg. Melton, 422 *b.*]

Willelmus, etc., dilecto filio Roberto de Nonington, capellano, jurisdictionis nostræ de Hextildesham, salutem. Ut confessorem^l ydoneum tibi valeas eligere, qui peccatorum tuorum

^k A curious document, which shews the status of the head of the neighbouring Augustinian priory of Carlisle, and the connection between him and the bishop. The list of treasures is neither large nor valuable.

^l Another of the curiously miscellaneous documents relating to Hexhamshire, with which the registers at York abound.

On the 1st of October, 1319, archbishop Melton gave permission to Martin

confessionem audiat, et ab eisdem te absolvat, tibi que super ipsis, quotiens opus fuerit, injungat pœnitentiam salutarem, et in casibus nobis a jure reservatis, parcorum nostrorum fractione, et libertatis nostræ de Hextildesham violatione dumtaxat exceptis, tibi, hujusmodique confessori tuo, liberam in Domino concedimus facultatem, de nostra gratia speciali; præsentibus ultra triennium minime duraturis. Vale. Data apud Novum-Castrum-super-Tynam, ij idus Maii, anno gratiæ millesimo ccc^{mo} xxvij.

LII.—THE RESIGNATION OF HIS OFFICE BY ROBERT DE WHELPINGTON, PRIOR OF HEXHAM. [Reg. Melton, 426 *b*.]

Venerabili in Christo patri et domino, domino W., Dei gratia, etc., R., Prior de Hextildesham, in omni obedientia, honore et reverentia, seipsum. Ad commissi nobis regiminis curam et onera de cætero supportanda, nos insufficientes penitus, tam præ gravi senio, quam præ ægrotantis corporis molestia, sentientes, officium Prioratus in ecclesia vestra et nostra conventuali de Hextildesham nobis commissum, cum omni jure quod nobis competit, seu competere poterit, in eodem, in venerabiles manus vestras resignamus, pure, sponte, absolute, et simpliciter per præsens; salva nobis provisione canonica in eadem ecclesia vestra, auctoritate paternali legitime confirmanda. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum, quo utimur in dicto officio, præsenti est appensum. Data apud Hextildesham, secundo idus Septembris, anno gratiæ millesimo ccc^{mo} vicesimo octavo.

LIII.—A PROVISION MADE BY THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM FOR ROBERT DE WHELPINGTON, THEIR LATE PRIOR, ON HIS RESIGNATION OF HIS OFFICE.¹ [Reg. Melton, 428 *a*.]

Universis sanctæ matris filiis præsentes literas inspecturis, Prior et Conventus monasterii de Hextildesham, seipsos in Domino salutari. Sanctæ conversationis honestas, morum

de Alnwick, a Friar Minor, to hear the confessions of Sir Henry Fitzhugh and Sir Robert de Hastings, knights, Garnius de Weston, Nicholas de Aske, Lady de Charmue, and Sara her *domicella*, in the parts of Richmond and Hexham (Fasti Ebor., i., 415).

¹ Another grant of a pension to a retiring Prior, which was confirmed by the archbishop on the 27th of December. On the same day the primate ordered Thomas Fox, his receiver at Hexham, to give to the resigning official, as a mark of his favour, six oak planks for fuel.

gravitas, laboriosæque vitæ prolixitas, merito exigunt in prælato, ut post sudores diutinos et cursum suæ militiæ consummatum, sub quietis otio, senescentis ævi tempora condignæ provisionis antidoto procurentur. Hinc est quod ad reverendi religionis viri, nuper Prioris nostri, domini Roberti de Qwelpington, laudabilis vitæ merita et labores multiplices in Prioratus regimine supportatos mentis nostræ intuitum convertentes, ex unanimi nostra voluntate, pariter et assensu, quatenus in nobis est, concedimus per præsentés, quod provisionem eandem in omnibus et per omnia habeat, sponte nostra, quam dominus Thomas de Fenwyk, prædecessor suus, sub provisionis titulo habere ultimo consuevit: videlicet cameram Prioris inferiorem pomerio nostro contiguam, quam dictus dominus Thomas, dum vixit, sibi habuit assignatam; una cum duabus liberationibus canonicalibus pro se, et una pro socio concanonico secum moraturo, per nos secundum arbitrium nostrum deputando: valetum, insuper, unum, et famulum unum cum Prioris vallettis et famulis vesciendos et pascendos, una cum pagio sibi, domus nostræ sump-tibus, servituros. Pro garderoba vero sua, et aliis suis necessariis providendis, decem libras argenti de manerio nostro de Silkesworth percipiat annuatim, quoad vixerit; una cum capa et tunica de camera Prioris, sibi annis singulis, ut præmittitur, liberandis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum capituli nostri commune præsentibus est appensum. Data in capitulo nostro apud Hextildesham, nono die mensis Novembris, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo octavo.

LIV.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP MELTON TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM, DESIRING THEM TO GIVE A PENSION TO THOMAS DE LELOM, IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE ELECTION OF A NEW PRIOR." [Reg. Melton, 428 a.]

Willelmus, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui monasterii Sancti Andreæ de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis, salutem. Cum a nostris prædecessoribus a multis retroactis temporibus

" A customary privilege on the election of a new head of a monastery, which was generally claimed and exercised by the bishop or archbishop. The primate's wishes were attended to in this instance, as the Prior and Convent gave Lelom, on the 1st of March, an annual pension of five marks, issuing out of their lands at Little Broughton in Yorkshire (Reg. Melton, 428 a).

Lelom was a valuable servant of the archbishop at Hexham. In 1327, and again in 1334, he was bailiff there, and on several occasions he was a justice of assize. In 1350 he made a generous gift to the Convent of Hexham in the shape of lands and houses. I shall say more about him in my account of the bailiffs in Vol. II.

provide sit obtentum, et a tempore, cujus non existit memoria, laudabili consuetudine observatum, ut in præfectione Abbatum et Priorum, jurisdictioni nostræ subjectorum, per eosdem et eorum conventus constituendæ sint personis per prælatum nominandis certæ pensiones annuæ, ut prælatus, ad supportationem oneris sibi incumbentis, idoneos habere valeat suis obsequiis insistentes. Devotionem vestram rogamus, attente monemus, et hortamur in Domino, quatinus dilecto ac caro valletto nostro, Thomæ de Lelom, quem ad hoc vobis specialiter duximus nominandum, juxta præmissam ecclesiæ nostræ consuetudinem, constituatis; et etiam per vestras patentes literas concedatis, quoad vixerit, unam pensionem a vobis et vestro monasterio prædicto, annuatim percipiendam; quæ, secundum facultates dicti vestri monasterii, et dantes deceat, et recipienti utilis ac fructuosa existat; nobisque merito grata esse debeat pariter et accepta. Taliter vos habentes in hac parte, si placet, ut eo favorabiliores vos inveniatur dictus Thomas, quo nobis insidet magis cordi, ac vobis et vestro monasterio in vestris agendis, artius teneamur. Et nos de eo quod in præmissis duxeritis faciendum, nobis velle vestrum plenius rescribatis, præsentium per latorem. Valete. Data apud Thorp prope Ebor., duodecimo kalendas Januarii, anno gratiæ millesimo trescentesimo vicesimo octavo.

LV.—A LETTER IN BEHALF OF THE COLLECTORS FOR THE MONASTERY OF HEXHAM.^o [Reg. Melton, 436 *b*, 438 *a*.]

Memorandum, quod sub datis apud Cawode, secundo kalendas Septembris, anno Domini, etc., tricesimo quinto, scriptum fuit universis abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, archidiaconis, ipsorumque officialibus et ministris, decanis ruralibus, ecclesiarum rectoribus, vicariis et capellanis parochialibus, ac aliis prælatis per diocesim et provinciam Ebor. constitutis, ad admittendum Johannem de Yedingham, Thomam de Hertilbiry, et Nicholaum de Holrame, pro quæstu domus de Hextildesham, juxta nostrarum priorum continentiam literarum in hac parte.

Memorandum, quod sub data apud Thorp juxta Ebor., viij idus Novembris, anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} xxxvj, emanavit j littera quæstus pro Johanne de Yedyngham, et Nicholao de Holrame, clericis, pro quæstu domus de Hextildesham, per j annum, etc.; cum indulgentia xl dierum, cum ratificatione sub

^o An intimation that the brief-bearers of the monastery were wandering up and down the country in the quest of funds for the canons and their church.

forma qua scripta est pro monasterio de Whiteby,^p in archidiaconatu Clyveland.

LVI.—A COMMISSION FROM ARCHBISHOP ZOUCHE TO HOLD A VISITATION OF THE MONASTERY OF HEXHAM.^q [Reg. Archiep. Zouche, 294 *b*.]

W., etc., discretis viris, magistro Simoni de Bekyngham, clerico nostro familiari, juris-perito, ac domino Thomæ Fox, custodi jurisdictionis nostræ spiritualis de Hextildesham, salutem. De vestris fidelitate et industria circumspecta plenam in Domino fiduciam optinentes, ad visitandum Prioratum de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis, statum, personas, et redditus ejusdem, tam in capite quam in membris; ac clerum et populum totius jurisdictionis nostræ de Hextildesham prædictæ; necnon ad corrigendum, puniendum, et reformandum crimina et excessus in hujusmodi visitatione compertos, ac in omnibus articulis incidentibus vel emergentibus quovis modo; si, et quatenus, judicalem indaginem seu causæ cognitionem requirant, ad cognoscendum, procedendum, statuendum, diffiniendum, et exequendum, aliaque omnia et singula faciendum, expediendum, et exercendum, quæ in præmissis, vel circa ea, necessaria fuerint, vel etiam oportuna; vobis committimus plenarie vices nostras, cum cujuslibet coercicionis canonicæ potestate. Proviso, quod nos de omni eo quod feceritis in præmissis, tempore opportuno reddatis plenius certiores, distincte et aperte per vestras literas patentes harum seriem continentes. Valete. Data apud Burton-juxta-Beverlacum, ultimo die mensis Augusti, anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} xlvij^o.

LVII.—ADMISSION OF JOHN DE BRIDEKIRK TO THE OFFICE OF PRIOR OF HEXHAM, AND HIS OATH OF OBEDIENCE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. [Reg. Zouche, 292 *a*.]

In Dei nomine Amen. Nos, Willelmus, etc.; exhibita coram nobis electione, et ejus forma facta, de fratre Johanne de Bridkirk, canonico et professo monasterii nostri de Hextildesham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, in ordine sacerdotali constituto, per suppriorem et conventum ejusdem, in futurum Priorem

^p This document occurs at fol. 259 *b* of archbishop Melton's register. The monks of Whitby were busily engaged in building their church.

^q The details of this visitation have not occurred to me.

ejusdem monasterii : et persona prædicti electi coram nobis præsentialiter constituta, factisque proclamationibus legitimis locis et temporibus oportunis, quod si quis quicquam opponere vellet contra personam dicti electi, seu ipsius electionis formam, compareret coram nobis, certo die et loco, propositurus si quid canonicum haberet, vel sibi competeret, contra personam vel formam supradictas : nulloque in hac parte comparente, seu quicquam proponente, examinata per nos persona electi in forma juris, habitaque aliquali discussione super forma electionis prædictæ ; nos, Willelmus, Ebor. archiepiscopus supradictus, defectus, si qui sint, circa formam prædictam auctoritate et potestate nostra ordinaria gratiose suplentes, ipsam electionem de dicto fratre Johanne factam in Priorem nostri monasterii antedicti, auctoritate prædicta canonice confirmamus eidem fratri Johanni administrationem bonorum dicti monasterii in spiritualibus et temporalibus, tanquam Priori ejusdem debite committententes.

Et, memorandum, quod *Te Deum Laudamus*, more solito, statim decantato, et dicta oratione solita per dominum super eum, dictus electus confirmatus, juratus, et fecit fidelitatem et obedientiam in hæc verba.

Ego, frater Johannes de Bridkirk, Prior monasterii Sancti Andreæ de Hextildesham electus, confirmatus, ero fidelis et obediens vobis venerabili in Christo patri et domino, domino Willelmo Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopo, Angliæ primati, sedis apostolicæ legato, vestrisque successoribus canonice intrantibus, officiali, et ministris, in licitis et canonicis mandatis. Sic me Deus adjuvet et sancta Dei Evangelia. Et hæc propria manu subscribo ✚.

LVIII.—PERMISSION FROM ARCHBISHOP ZOUCHE TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM TO ENCLOSE SOME GROUND AT THE EAST END OF THEIR CHURCH, TO ENABLE THEM TO MAKE THEIR PROCESSIONS.^r [Reg. Zouche, 294 b.]

Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerint, Willelmus, permissione Divina Ebor. archiepiscopus, salutem in sinceris amplexibus Salvatoris. Noverit universitas vestra, quod, ex parte religiosorum virorum Prioris et Conventus de Hextildesham, nostræ jurisdictionis et domini, nobis nuper extiterat intimatum, quod ipsorum ecclesia conven-

^r An interesting document. The space at the east end of the monastery is so small that the canons cannot make their processions around it. At their request, therefore, the archbishop gives them five feet off the market-place.

tualis de Hextildesham in loco adeo stricto et arto notorie situatur, quod illam cum processionibus suis faciendis et aliis devotionibus exercendis non poterunt circuire, nisi eisdem provisum fuerit de terræ spatio latiori. Nos, igitur, præmissa diligenter attendentes, ac considerantes ea tendere ad Divini cultus augmentum, ac dictorum religiosorum utilitatem; ac volentes propterea eis in hac parte uberius providere, eisdem Priori et Conventui, et eorum successoribus, ac Prioratui de Hextildesham, intuitu caritatis, damus, assignamus, et concedimus per præsentem, spatium quinque pedum terræ de vasto mercati nostri de Hextildesham, a muro constructo inter dictam ecclesiam conventualem, et dictum mercatum nostrum ibidem; et, in longitudine, a capella Beatæ Mariæ in eodem mercato situata, usque ad portam Prioratus ejusdem loci, prout spatium dictorum quinque pedum linealiter se extendit. Super quo quidem terræ spatio bene liceat eisdem Priori et Conventui quendam murum lapideum, æqualis altitudinis antiqui muri ibidem, erigere; servato spatio competenti inter dictum murum et dictam ecclesiam conventualem, in quo poterunt præfatam ecclesiam, ut prædicitur, libere circuire, jure, dignitate, libertate, honore, privilegiis, officio et jurisdictione nostris et ecclesiæ nostræ Ebor. nobis, et successoribus nostris, et ecclesiæ nostræ Ebor. prædictæ, in omnibus semper salvis. In cujus rei testimonium literas nostras fieri mandavimus has patentes, quas nostri sigilli appensione fecimus communiri. Data apud Cawode, xxviii die mensis Maii, anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo quinquagesimo.

LIX.—A LETTER TO THE PRIOR OF HEXHAM, ORDERING HIM TO FIND OR EXCOMMUNICATE TWO FRIARS WHO HAVE ESCAPED INTO HEXHAMSHIRE FROM THE HOUSE OF CARMELITES AT NEWCASTLE.^s [Reg. Zouche, 262 b.]

Willelmus, etc., privilegiorum Prioris-generalis et Fratrum ordinis Beatæ Mariæ de Monte Carmeli, extra regnum Franciæ, una cum venerabilibus patribus Norvicensi et Karliolensi episcopis, cum illa clausula, *quatinus vos vel duo aut unus vestrum, per vos, vel alium, seu alios, etc.*, conservator; et judex, aucto-

^s Two Carmelites residing in the monastery at Newcastle have robbed their house and escaped into Hexhamshire, where they were sheltered, probably, by the thieves and freebooters. The archbishop, as one of the conservators in England of the privileges of the order, directs the officials at Hexham to capture them, or at all events to excommunicate the culprits, their protectors and adherents.

ritate Apostolica, specialiter deputatus, dilectis filiis Priori de Hextildesham, ac custodi spiritualis jurisdictionis nostræ ibidem, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Gravem dilectorum nobis in Christo Prioris et Fratrum de Novo Castro-super-Tynam, ordinis antedicti, querelam recepimus, continentem quod quidam Johannes de Corbrigg, et Thomas Grene, dicti ordinis fratres, nuper in Conventu apud Novum Castrum morantes, instigante humani generis inimico, dimisso habitu regulari, a dicta domo sua animo apostatandi temere recesserunt, asportantes secum diversa bona tam in pecuniarum summis quam aliis rebus existentia, quæ de dicta domo, ausu sacrilego, manibus impiis, nequiter contractarunt; notorias injurias dictis Priori et Conventui et eorum ordini inferentes. Qui quidem fratres Johannes et Thomas, una cum bonis sic contractatis et asportatis, ad certa loca dictæ jurisdictionis nostræ de Hextildesham, se, ut dicitur, diverterunt, ubi per quosdam filios ecclesiæ degeneres eisdem, non absque scrupulo societatis occulto, improvide adhærentes, una cum bonis sic asportatis sunt recepti, et dampnabiliter occultati, ac etiam, ut refertur, temere impediti, quominus apostatantes hujusmodi, ducti forsitan nunc spiritu consilii sanioris, ad dictam domum suam a qua apostatando temere recesserunt, una cum bonis sic asportatis, redire valeant et viam agnoscere veritatis; in dictorum Prioris et Fratrum ac ordinis præjudicium non modicum et gravamen, animarum fautorum et adhærentium hujusmodi periculum, aliorumque Christi fidelium exemplum perniciosum. Quocirca, vobis, et alteri vestrum, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, qua sedi Apostolicæ ac nobis tenemini, mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatinus moneatis legitime et efficaciter, et alter vestrum moneat legitime, efficaciter, et inducat omnes et singulos hujusmodi fautores, adhærentes, seu dictos apostatas, vel eorum alterum detinentes, seu impediētes, aut criminis hujusmodi participes, quod infra sex dies a tempore monitionis vestræ, et alterius vestrum, continue numerandos, quorum duos pro primo, duos pro secundo, et reliquos duos pro tertio et peremptorio termino, ac monitione canonica eis per vos et alterum vestrum volumus assignari; præfatos fratres apostatas, et eorum alterum, una cum bonis sic asportatis, ab ipsorum comitiva ammoveant et expellant; nec eos aliquo modo detineant, impedian vel proturbent quominus ad dictam domum suam, una cum bonis hujusmodi, integre reverti valeant, et ordinis sui suscipere disciplinam: alioquin, omnes et singulos auctores, fautores, adhærentes, in præmissis culpabiles vel aliquo eorundem, post lapsum dictorum sex dierum monitionibus vestris et alterius vestrum legitimis non parentes, servato processu legitimo qui requiritur in hac

parte, excommunicetis, et alter vestrum excommunicet, ac excommunicatos fuisse et esse in grave, occasione præmissa, singulis diebus Dominicis et festivis intra missarum solempnia, dum major aderit populi multitudo, pulsatis campanis, accensis candelis, cruceque erecta, in singulis ecclesiis et capellis dictæ jurisdictionis nostræ publicetis, et alter vestrum publicet, et faciatis, seu faciat alter vestrum publicari. Ad quæ faciendum vobis, et alteri vestrum, committimus vices nostras : a publicatione hujusmodi non cessantes, nec cessans alter vestrum, quousque temerarii præsumptores hujusmodi, condigna satisfactione præmissa, ad gremium sanctæ matris ecclesiæ redierint, et absolutionis beneficium in forma juris meruerint optinere. Inquirentes nichilominus de nominibus fautorum, adhærentium, impredientium et occultantium hujusmodi, de quibus cum vobis aut alteri vestrum constiterit, una cum omni eo quod feceritis et inveneritis in præmissis, nos distincte et aperte certificetis, aut alter vestrum certificet, per literas vestras, aut suas, patentes harum seriem continentes, cum ex parte dictorum Prioris et fratrum fueritis requisiti, aut alter vestrum fuerit congrue requisitus. Valete. Data apud Ripon, quarto die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo quinquagesimo.

LX.—A LETTER OF SAFE CONDUCT TO EDWARD BALLIOL, KING OF SCOTLAND, WHO IS COMING TO HEXHAM.[†] [Rot. Scotiæ, 25th Edward III., memb. 5.]

Rex universis et singulis vicecomitibus, majoribus, ballivis, ministris, et aliis fidelibus suis, tam infra libertates quam extra, ad quos, etc.; salutem. Sciatis quod cum inter quosdam fideles nostros, ex parte nostra, apud Hextildesham, in proximo post

[†] This is one of the many meetings between the English and Scottish statesmen on the subject of peace, and the surrender of David king of Scotland, who had been a prisoner in England since the defeat at Neville's cross. For other documents connected with this meeting, I must refer my readers to the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i., 740-1, and *Fœdera*, iii., part i., n. e., 215.

On the 5th of March, 1351, Edward Balliol had letters of safe-conduct to carry him to the king of England, wherever he chanced to be.

On the 7th of March letters of safe-conduct were issued to the representatives of Scotland, to take them to Hexham, viz., to Patrick de Dunbar, earl of March, the bishops of St. Andrew's, Brechin, Aberdeen, and Dunblane, William de Levingstone, Robert de Erskine, Sir William Douglas, knight, Sir Walter de Haliburton, knight, and Sir David de Annand.

On the 8th of March the English commissioners were appointed, viz., Wm. de Bohun, earl of Northampton, Henry de Percy, Ralph de Nevill, Henry de Scrop, and Mr. Wm. Legat.

Soon after this another meeting was arranged at Newcastle.

festum Paschæ proximo futuræ, et quosdam alios de Scotia, super aliquibus regna Angliæ et Scotiæ specialiter tangentibus sit tractandum; ac dilectus consanguineus, et fidelis noster, magnificus princeps, Edwardus, rex Scotiæ, ad dictam villam de Hextildesham, ex dicta causa, ut accepimus, sit venturus; nos volentes securitati ipsius regis et suorum, si ad dictum tractatum venire voluerint, providere, suscepimus ipsum regem, homines, equos, hernesia, et res, sua quæcumque, veniendo apud eandem villam de Hextildesham, ibidem morando, et exinde redeundo, in protectionem et defensionem nostram specialem, necnon in saluum et securum conductum nostrum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem regi, hominibus, equis, hernesiiis, et rebus suis, veniendo ad dictum tractatum, ibidem morando, et exinde redeundo, sicut prædictum est, in personis vel rebus suis, non inferatis, seu quantum in vobis est ab aliis inferri permittatis, injuriam, molestiam, dampnum, impedimentum aliquod seu gravamen, set eis potius saluum et securum conductum suis sumptibus habere faciatis, cum per ipsum regem aut suos super hoc ex parte nostra fueritis requisiti. Et si quid eis forisfactum vel injuriatum fuerit, id eis sine dilatione reformari et corrigi faciatis. In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, quinto die Martii. Per ipsum regem.

Usque ad festum Pentecostes proximo futurum duratur'.

LXI.—A GENERAL LETTER FROM EDWARD III. THAT NOTHING DONE OR SAID AT THE MEETING AT HEXHAM SHALL BE TO THE PREJUDICE OF EDWARD KING OF SCOTLAND, IF THE MEETING IS UNSUCCESSFUL." [Rot. Scotiæ, 25th Edward III., m. 3.]

Le roi a touz ceux qui cestes lettres verront ou orront salut. Come notre trescher cousyn et foial, monsieur Edward de Baileoll, roi d'Escoce, ad eutz une certeine parlance et treetee ovesques notre trescher cousyn le counte de Norhampton, et autres noz foialx, en notre noun, es parties de Hexham, en la simaigne prochein apres les octaves de Pasque, en l'an de grace mille trescentz cinquante et primer, sur diverses choses chargeantes si bien l'estat et bosoignes de deux roialmes d'Engleterre et d'Escoce, come son estat et bosoignes propres et s^r ceo lui voilantz tut dis prisuir noz voluntés et plesaunces, en ceo qui lui attient bonement eit liveres en escript partie de ses voluntés;

* One of the cautious diplomatic documents which were indispensable in the negotiations between England and Scotland.

en condicion a notre dit cousin le counte au fyn del monstren par devers nous et notre conseil parensi tut voies qui rienz preparlez tretez, ne faites illeoques d'entre lui et eux, ne lui torne en prejudice de sa alliance par devers nous, ne de sa querele d'Escoce a toutz jours, en cas qui bon et effectuel acord ne se preigne parentre nous et lui, et ceaux du dit roialme d'Escoce. Nous, par l'assent de notre dit conseil, volons et grantons, pour nous et pour noz heirs, q' en cas qui l'acord ne se preigne entre nous et lui, et ceaux d'Escoce avantditz, qui rienz preparlez trettez ne faites parentre lui notre dit cousin et les autres noz foialx illeoques, tretantz en notre noun, come desus est dit, ne lui torne en prejudice de sa alliance par devers nous, ne de sa querele d'Escoce a toutz jours einz qil soit demorantz apres en mesme l'estat, qil avoit en touz pointz noun-contreesceant la dite parlannee et treetee illeoques. En tesmoignance de quele chose, nous avons fait faire testes noz lettres patentes enseales de notre grant seal. Donne a Westm', le quart jour de Juyn.

LXII.—A GENERAL LETTER IN BEHALF OF THE COLLECTING OF MONEY FOR THE FABRIC OF THE CHOIR OF CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.⁷ [Reg. Welton, at Carlisle, 54 b.]

G., etc., dilectis filiis, abbatibus, etc.—Per nostram diocessin constitutis, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Cum dilecti in Christo filii, Prior et Capitulum ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis B.M. Karliol., chorum dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ, ad decorem domus Domini, opere construere inceperint sumptuoso, ad quod novimus fidelium subsidium opportunum; devotionem vestram studiose rogamus, et in Domino exhortamur vobis omnibus et singulis nihilominus in remissione peccaminum, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quatinus quotienscumque Willelmus dictus Bell, procurator seu nuntius per eosdem Priorem et Conventum ad hoc specialiter deputatus, cum hiis literis ad vos venerit, fidelium elemosinas ad tam sumptuosi operis fabricam petiturus, ipsum in hoc pio negotio, omnibus aliis negotiis, quousque prædictum ecclesiæ nostræ

⁷ Another document relating to the fabric of Carlisle cathedral. The building of the choir must have extended over a long period, covering the Early English as well as the Decorated styles of architecture. The canons, from some cause or other, were unable to proceed farther westward with the restoration, and the choir is strangely out of proportion with the transepts. The Norman nave was standing till the middle of the seventeenth century, and it was reserved for the Puritans to destroy what even the Scots had spared.

There are other indulgences at Carlisle issued in the fourteenth century on behalf of the choir. The date of one of them is the 20th of January, 1359-60.

negotium expeditum fuerit, interim cessantibus, sine impedimento quolibet, cum favore benevolo, admittatis; vestrosque parochianos et subditos, Dei et gloriosæ V.M. matris ejus, in cujus honore dicta ecclesia est constructa, ac nostri, intuitu, in ecclesiis vestris, et capellis, ac aliis locis,—per vos et alios inducatis, ut ad præfati chori ejusdem ecclesiæ nostræ larga conferant subsidia caritatis.—Et nos omnibus de peccatis suis vere contritis et confessis, qui de bonis ad fabricam ejusdem chori grata contulerint subsidia caritatis, quadraginta dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia, Deo propitio, misericorditer relaxamus, per unum annum duratur'. Data apud manerium nostrum de Rosa, vicesimo primo die mensis Aprilis, MCCCLIII.

LXIII.—A MANDATE FROM ARCHBISHOP THORESBY AGAINST A CANON OF HEXHAM WHO HAS MADE SOME BALLADS IN DERISION OF THE MENDICANT ORDER.^w [Reg. Archiep. Alex. Neville, pars ii., 52 a.]

J——, salutem. Inter cæteras sollicitudines, ex pastoralis officii debito nostris humeris incumbentes, illud summo gerimus desiderio, ut subditos nostros, et præsertim viros ecclesiasticos, in sanctæ religionis odore, et conservationis honestæ munditia conservemus, et scandalis et obloquiis, quæ famæ suæ obviare valeant, oportunis remediis, quantum cum Deo poterimus, occurramus. Sane non sine gravi turbatione mentis pridem audivimus quod quidam frater, J. de W., monasterii vestri canonicus, linguam suam laxans, improbra rimos, et carmina famosa, de fratribus quatuor ordinum Mendicantium, in gravem derisionem eorumdem, et aliorum virorum ecclesiasticorum, ad excitationem fratris U., monachi Devoln',^x nequiter et inconsulte composuit et dictavit; ipsis viris ecclesiasticis in eisdem rimis et carminibus nonnulla turpia imponendo: per quæ dictamina scandalosa, propelares et laici, qui, sicut satis scitis, clericis opido sunt infesti, ipsos religiosos, et alios viros ecclesiasticos, cotidianis derisionibus, ut dicitur, detestantur, de quo plurimum con-

^w A curious and amusing document. It occurs among the letters of archbishop Thoresby, dictated no doubt by himself, which occur in what is called the second part of the register of archbishop Alexander Neville.

A person, whom I believe to have been a canon of Hexham, has been writing verses or ballads against the begging friars, who resent the insult and appeal to the primate for his protection. This is his response.

The friars met with much abuse in this century both in poetry and prose.

^x Probably a clerical error for Dunelm'—Durham. It is impossible to say who this person was. I may observe, however, that Uctred de Bolton, a monk of Durham, became prior of Finchale in 1367. He was an author and a person of great learning.

turbamur; et eo intimius quo inter viros ecclesiasticos, qui in ecclesiæ speculo constituti, sanctitatis et honestatis debent tribuere formam gregi modernis temporibus, refrigescit caritas, honestæ conversationis decor tenebrescit, et dissolutio, proth dolor! nimium dominatur. Ut igitur vestri, et domus vestræ, cui specialiter afficimur, consulatur comodo et honori, et exempla mala, quæ ex hiis laicis ad perpetrandum contra clerum similia vel pejora accrescere poterunt, penitus amputentur, vobis firmiter injungendo mandamus, vosque in Domino devotius exhortamur, quatinus, visis præsentibus, injungatis præfato J., canonico vestro, vice nostra, in virtute obedientiæ, et sub pœna excommunicationis, ut ab hujusmodi truffis et erroribus de cætero penitus se absteineat: et si qua talia sint per eum gesta, ea subiret; et quod religionis honestati ac contemplationi, juxta professionis suæ debitum, se conformet, ne, in vestro defectu vel ipsius culpa, materiam habeamus manum acerbiores contra eum iteratis provocati pulsibus extendendi. Vale.

LXIV.—A LETTER FROM THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM TO ARCHBISHOP THORESBY SOLICITING A FAVOR IN BEHALF OF A REFRACTORY CANON.^y [Reg. Alex. Neville, pars ii., 52 b.]

Venerabili in Christo patri et domino, domino J., Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopo, Angliæ primati, et Apostolicæ sedis legato, sui humiles et devoti filii Prior et Conventus de H(extildesham), vestræ diocesios, obedientiam, reverentiam, pariter et honorem debita tanto patri. Pium fore credimus, atque Deo gratum, testimonium perhibere veritati, ne ipsius occultatio cuiquam, quod absit, in agendo pareat nocumentum. Vestræ igitur paternitati duximus intimandum quod frater J. de K., confrater et concanonicus noster, a tempore quo relictis mundanis vanitatibus ad domum regressus est, ibidem intendens inter nos, ut asserit, omnium Domino pro viribus devotum præbere famulatum, bene et honeste atque religiose se gessit, geritque in præsentī, intime affectans Missarum solempni(i)s se immiscere.

^y A canon of Hexham has been in disgrace and has been suspended. The Prior and Convent report favourably of his conduct, and beg that he may be restored to his former position.

The culprit seems to have held some parochial charge, and in consequence of the effects of the plague in 1349, there being a scarcity of clergy, the Prior and Convent wish to have him again in active work. This is a valuable testimony to the extent of the ravages of the pestilence in Northumberland. In my life of archbishop Zouche I have shewn what mischief it did in the North.

Recepimus etiam, ex fidedignorum testificatione plenaria, quod tempore quo extra domum suam certis de causis licentiatuſ conversabatur, debite et morigerate se habebat. Arbitramur utique quod quanto ferventius et devotius Divinum obsequium in nostro monasterio possit ampliari, tanto gratiosius apud Altissimum augeretur merces nostra. Vestram idcirco paternitatem humiliter imploramus, quatinus ad Dei laudem, eidem Johanni, confratri et concanonico nostro, licentiam se immiscendi in Divinis annuere dignetur pietas paternalis, in subsidium oneris nostri, ad cujus supportationem, causante pestilentia, magna apud nos est paritas (*sic*) capellanorum; inhibitionem per vos alias inde sibi factam, si placeat, gratioſe relaxantes, ut nobiscum jugum Dominicum subire valeat; et si qua exterius omiserat, interius, favente Altissimo, indies supplere nitatur. Ad condignum sui gregis regimen vos diu conservare dignetur in prosperis ipse Deus. Data in domo nostra capitulari de H(extildesham) sub sigillo officii Prioris, xiiij^{to} die mensis Novembris, anno, etc.

LXV.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP THORESBY IN BEHALF OF A PERSON WHO HAD BEEN REGARDED AS AN APOSTATE CANON.^z
[Reg. Alex. Neville, part ii., 55 b.]

J., etc., domino T. de B., custodi spiritualitatis jurisdictionis nostræ de H(extildesham), et fratri J. de W.,^a canonico monasterii de H(extildesham), salutem, etc. Accedens ad nostram præsentiam Ricardus W. de H., nobis exposuit conquerendo, quod vos, asserentes ipsum Ricardum religiosum, videlicet fratrem Augustinensem professum fuisse et esse, et ab ordine, et religionis prædictæ habitu dimisso regulari, appostatando recessisse, sibi tanquam ea occasione excommunicato ingressu ecclesiæ et communionem fidelium nimis voluntarie denegatis, in ipsius Ricardi scandalum et obprobrium, dampnumque non modicum et jacturam; unde præfatus Ricardus super ingressu suo in religionem et ordinem supradictos, ac etiam super recessu suo ab eisdem, coram nobis instrumenta publica, et evidencias alias, exhibuit et ostendit; super quibus, habita cum jurisperitis deliberatione pleniori, eidem Ricardo ad exhibendum

^z A person, whose name is not given, has been treated at Hexham as a deserter from the Augustinian order. He has proved his innocence of this charge, and this letter exculpates him. Another charge against him is mentioned which seems to be passed over somewhat leniently.

^a Is this the canon who is mentioned in No. LXIII. as the writer and publisher of scurrilous verses?

plura instrumenta, præmissam materiam tangentia, quæ se habere asserit, et ad informandum nos plenius in hac parte usque proximum diem juridicum terminum duximus assignandum: et interim ipsum Ricardum carnalem copulam cum quadam Agnete de F., et omnem accessum in locis suspectis ad eandem, sub gravibus pœnis et censuris sibi impositis, fecimus abjurare. Quocirca vobis mandamus, quatinus a quacumque impetitione seu improprio eidem Ricardo, prætextu recessus sui de ordine supradicto, aut alia occasione detentionis dictæ Agnetis, pro tempore elapso facienda, visis præsentibus, supersedeatis; quousque aliud super hoc habueritis in mandatis, ipsum ad Divina obsequia in ecclesiis audiendum communione fidelium, sicut decet catholicum, interim admittentes.

LXVI.—THE TRANSMISSION OF WALTER DE EGLESTON, A DISOBEDIENT CANON OF HEXHAM, TO THE PRIORY OF NOSTELL.^b
[Reg. Archiep. Thoresby, 302 a.]

Johannes, etc., dilectis filiis Priori et Conventui monasterii de Hextildesham, nostræ diocesis, salutem. Cum subditorum nostrorum quieti prospicere cupimus pariter et honori, offendiosa quæque, quæ nostro proposito in hac parte novercari conspiciamus, pro viribus volumus amovere. Considerantes itaque quanta quamque dampnosa dispendia monasterio vestro, tam in personis quam rebus ejusdem intulerunt, retroactis temporibus, inter vos et aliquos de Conventu vestro, continuata perperam, quod moleste ferimus, nephanda contentio, dissidium, et tumultus; ut verisimiliter, formidamus, graviora parient in futurum pericula, nisi celerioris oppositione remedii ex adverso cautius obtinetur; quendam fratrem Waltherum de Egleston, ejusdem vestræ domus concanonicum, qui nuper, pacis æmulo procurante, hujusmodi dissentioni et tumultui, dum inter vos fuerat, præbuit occasionem, ut comperimus, et fomentum, ad tempus, extra Conventum vestrum, in conventu domus Sancti Oswaldi de Nostell, loco a vobis remoto et honesto, ad expensas domus vestræ, prout vos et Prior dictæ domus Sancti Oswaldi super hoc concordare poteritis, cum provida deliberatione per quadriennium, datam præsentium proximo sequens, ordinavimus

^b A refractory canon is sent to Nostell, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, as a punishment. We may gather from this document that the peace of the convent of Hexham had for some time past been very seriously disturbed.

On the 13th of March in the following year the primate desired that Egleston may be received in his old home, as he has shewn a penitent spirit during his residence at Nostell.

moraturum. Sperantes quod loci mutatio, ac inter externos conversatio, turbatos animos temperabit, et inter vos et ipsum lesæ redimeat dispendia caritatis. Quocirca, vobis, in virtute obedientiæ, mandamus, quatinus eidem fratri W. expensas pro esculentis et poculis suis, in pecunia numerata, vel alio modo quo poteritis cum dicto Priore Sancti Oswaldi convenire, faciatis debite ministrari, et, ultra expensas hujusmodi, eidem fratri W. pro indumentis suis, et aliis necessariis privatis, tantam pecuniæ summam, vel saltem ipsas res competentes, prout alii confratres sui percipiunt singulis annis, quamdiu absens fuerit, honeste, prout convenit, volumus, et vobis injungimus peremptorie transmitti et debite liberari; taliter vos in hac parte habentes, ut vestra fraternalis dilectio sibi in sua absentia amicabiliter ostensa, animum suum aliciat, et sibi pro vobis orandi, et vestris obediendi monitis et mandatis, materiam præbeat, ut optamus; certificantes nos oportuno tempore de omni eo quod facere decreveritis in præmissis per literas vestras harum seriem continentes. Valete. Data apud Cawode, xxiiij die Aprilis, anno Domini, etc., lix^{mo}.

LXVII.—A COMMISSION TO A FOREIGN BISHOP TO ACT AS SUFFRAGAN IN HEXHAMSHIRE.^c [Reg. Archiep. Thoresby, 307 a.]

Johannes, permissione, etc., reverendo in Christo patri domino Philippo, Dei gratia Lexlinensi episcopo, salutem, et fraternæ dilectionis in Domino continuum incrementum. De vestra devotione sincera plenam in Domino fiduciam optinentes, vobis cum per jurisdictionem nostram spiritualem de Hexthildesham transitum facere vos contigerit, vel in eadem ubilibet commorari, primam tonsuram ordinis clericalis personis idoneis dictæ nostræ jurisdictionis literatis, quas ad dictum ordinem suscipiendum sufficientes inveneritis, conferendi; parvulos et adultos confirmandi; altaria portatilia, quæ superaltaria vulgariter nuncupantur, dedicandi; ecclesias et cimiteria sanguinis vel seminis effusione poluta reconciliandi, feodis pro hujusmodi reconciliationibus solvi consuetis nobis specialiter reservatis; calices et patenas conferendi; indumenta sacerdotalia et Levitica, ac alia ornamenta ecclesiastica benedicendi; licentiam, tenore præsentium, concedimus specialem, pro nostro beneplacito duraturam. Nostræ tamen intentionis non existit licentiæ et commissioni nostris, reverendo fratri nostro, fratri Ricardo Dei gratia Sermensi episcopo, suffraganeo nostro, alias per nos con-

^c One or two similar commissions have already been given.

cessis, cum per dictam jurisdictionem nostram transitum fecerit, vel ibidem moram traxerit, per præsentes in aliquo derogare. Fraternitatem vestram reverendam Domini conservet in prosperis clementia Salvatoris. Data apud Thorp juxta Ebor., xxv die Junii, anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} lxx^{vo} secundo.

LXVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS TAKEN BY THE BISHOP AND PRIOR AND CONVENT OF CARLISLE AGAINST THE CLERGY AND PARISHIONERS OF ST. NICHOLAS, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, FOR REBUILDING THE CHOIR OF THEIR CHURCH WITHOUT LEAVE.^d [Reg. Appleby at Carlisle, 21.]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum appareat evidenter, quod, anno Domini, 1368, mensis Augusti die penultima, in cimiterio ecclesiæ S. Nicholai, villæ Novi Castri-super-Tynam, ex parte australi ejusdem ecclesiæ, in mei, notarii publici,^e et testium subscriptorum præsentia, personaliter constitutus discretus vir dominus Thomas de Salkeld, rector ecclesiæ de Clifton, Karl. dioc., procurator,—Thomæ —, episcopi Karl., ac Prioris et Conventus eccl. cath. B.M. Karliolensis, ad infrascripta specialiter deputatus, quemdam dominum Robertum de Merlay, capellanum, prope quoddam novum opus choro eccl. S. Nich. prædictæ contiguum, ut apparuit noviter in parte constructum, invenit sedentem, et super quodam lapide percutientem et operantem; et quæsivit idem procurator a dicto

^d A document, in many respects, of much value. The parishioners of the fine church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, begin to rebuild the choir of that fabric without asking the permission of the authorities at Carlisle, to whom the living belonged. A person, therefore, is sent from Carlisle to see what was being done, and to inhibit the progress of the work.

This person gives a most graphic account of his visit to Newcastle. He finds one of the clergy of the parish, who seems to have had the charge of the restoration, chipping stone in the churchyard like any ordinary labourer; for in those days men were not ashamed to do the most menial work, if they could thereby do God honour. He orders him to desist from his undertaking, indicating the places that were not to be touched by throwing a pebble at them.

Later in the same day he meets two of the burgesses of the town on the Sandhill, and gives them the same injunction, as they had been the principal movers in the work.

This inhibition, of course, would be only intended to guard the rights of the patrons, and the work would soon go on again as it did. Brand, in his *History of Newcastle* (i., 244-6), makes several allusions to the restoration of the work, but this document was unknown to him, and he gives no exact dates.

On the 30th of April, 1435, cardinal Langley of Durham granted an indulgence of forty days in behalf of the fabric, lights, books, etc., of the church (Reg., at Durham, 219 a).

^e The notary was a person of the name of William de Stirkeland or Strickland. Was he the ecclesiastic who afterwards became bishop of Carlisle?

domino Roberto, cujus nomine, et per quem vel quos, prædictum novum opus pro tunc fuerat inceptum, procuratum, et constructum, et etiam ad sui finalem expeditionem construendum. Prædictus vero Robertus eidem procuratori nullum actorem vel factorem novi operis antedicti tunc temporis nominavit. Et quia dicto procuratori videbatur, ut dixit, nullam responsionem domino Roberto congruam recepisse, quoddam procuratorium sigillo dicti domini episcopi, ac sigillo communi dictorum Prioris et Conventus, michi, notario publico, satis notis, sigillatum ostendit ibidem, et michi notario publico tradidit inspiciendum; cujus tenor subsequitur; et dixit, quod, quia invenit ipsum ibidem operantem, et communiter reputabatur actor et factor, et etiam procurator dicti operis, sibi nomine dictorum dominorum suorum et eorum cujuslibet, novum opus voluit nuntiare; et quemdam lapillum ad novum opus prædictum projecit, et eidem domino Roberto de omnibus aliis quorum intererat in hac parte, novum opus nuntiavit, et inhibuit dicto domino Roberto ne ulterius in dicto novo opere construendo, vel in antiquo choro demolliendo, procederet quoquo modo, et quamdam lapillum ad opus antiquum projecit. Acta sunt hæc præsentibus Johanne de Odysolke, Ebor. dioc., literato, et Johanne Sawyer, Karl. dioc., testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis et rogatis.

Subsequenter vero, die et anno Domini supradictis, habito aliquali intervallo, in mei notarii publici, et testium subscriptorum præsentia, personaliter constitutus dictus dominus Thomas, procurator antedictus, in quodam loco villæ Novi Castri prædictæ, vulgariter nuncupato ye Sandhill, Roberto de Angirton et Johanne del Chanbre, dictæ villæ Novi-Castri burgensibus, retulit, qualiter dicto domino Roberto Merlay, procuratori novi operis supradicti, novum opus nuntiavit; et quia, ut dixit, veraciter intellexit, quod, per consilium et auxilium eorum, dictum novum opus fuerat inceptum, ædificatum, et constructum, eis, et eorum alteri, novum opus nuntiavit et inhibuit eis et eorum cuilibet, ac omnibus aliis quorum intererat in hac parte, ne ulterius in dicto novo opere construendo, vel in choro antiquo demolliendo, procederent, in dictorum dominorum suorum et eorum cujuslibet præjudicium et gravamen. Acta sunt hæc die, mense, et loco prædictis, præsentibus Roberto de Merlay prædicto, et Ricardo de Stanhopp, Dunolm. dioc., testibus ad præmissa vocatis et rogatis. Tenor vero dicti procuratorii talis est.

Noverint universi, quod nos, Thomas, permissione Divina Karl. episcopus, ac Prior et Conventus ecclesiæ cath. B.M. Karliol., ecclesiam par. Novi Castri-super-Tynam, Dunolm. dioc., in usus proprios optinentes, quia ad aures nostras noviter

jam pervenit quod quidam dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ parochiani, et nonnulli alii, quoddam novum opus ecclesiæ prædictæ contiguum, in cimiterio ejusdem, præter et contra voluntates nostras construunt et ædificant, chorumque antiquum ecclesiæ prædictæ destruere et demollire proponunt, in nostri grave præjudicium et gravamen, dilectum nobis in Christo magistrum Thomam de Salkeld — nostrum — procuratorem — facimus, — dantes — eidem potestatem generalem, et mandatum generale, et speciale, nomine nostri, et ecclesiæ nostræ Novi Castri prædictæ, quibuscumque operariis ibidem in solo ecclesiæ Novi Castri, vel cimiterii ejusdem, quodcumque novum opus operantibus et construentibus, ac aliis dictum opus construi et ædificari mandantibus, novum opus legitime nuntiandi, ipsisque — inhibendi, ne ulterius in dicto opere procedant, chorumve antiquum ecclesiæ nostræ prædictæ destruant vel diruant, in aliqua sui parte. Aug. xx, 1368.

LXIX.—A LETTER TO ALEXANDER DE MARTON, PRIOR OF HEXHAM, AUTHORIZING HIM TO PUNISH WILLIAM DE BOLTON, A DISOBEDIENT CANON. [Reg. Archiep. Waldbby, 2 a.]

Willelmus (de Cawode, etc., in spiritualibus vicarius generalis), etc., venerabili viro, Alexandro, Priori Prioratus de Hexham, salutem in Eo, per Quem est vera salus. Exposita nobis quærimonia, pro parte vestra, inter cætera continebat, quod quidam frater, Willelmus de Bolton,^f vester concanonicus, spiritum rebellionis in se assumens, immemor illius quod dicit Apostolus “*Subjacite præpositis viris,*”^g se vobis in fervore nimio opposuit, in verba probrosa et contumeliosa perrumpens, quæ vobis, ratione status, ad verecundiam non modicam, sibi quoque ad præsumptuosam perniciem, et ordini ad scandalum cesserant manifestum. Quocirca discretioni vestræ injungimus et mandamus, quatinus præfato fratri Willelmo, pro sic præsumptis pœnitentiam injungat, prout regulari disciplinæ convenit, salutarem; sic vestrum in hac officium exercentes, ut consimilia attemperare alii de cætero non præsumant. Diu et feliciter in Domino valeatis. Data Ripon., undecimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo nonagesimo septimo.

^f On the 6th of October, 1354, archbishop Thoresby granted letters dimissory, for all the minor orders, to William de Bolton, a canon of Hexham, who had received the first tonsure (Reg. Thoresby, 299 a). He was ordained deacon in the diocese of Durham at Pentecost, 1355 (Reg. Hatfield, 101 a).

^g Hebr. xiii. 17.

LXX.—A COMMISSION TO ENQUIRE INTO THE STATE OF THE PRIORY OF HEXHAM, TO REPORT UPON THE DEFECTS AND OFFENCES, AND TO CORRECT THEM.^h [Reg. Waldby, 2 b.]

Willelmo de Cawod, etc., dilecto nobis in Christo magistro Radulpho Oudeby, in legibus bacallario, salutem in Auctore salutis. Cum reverendus in Christo pater et dominus, dominus Thomas, nuper Ebor. archiepiscopus, et domini nostri immediate prædecessor immediatus, ad visitandum et supervidendum statum Prioratus de Hextildesham, crimina et defectus, si quæ fuerint in capite vel in membris, debite reformandum, nonnullasque injunctiones et monitiones fratri Alexandro de Marton, Priori dictæ domus, sub certis modo et forma faciendis, ex parte dicti venerabilis patris intimandis, et notificandis, provido et circumspecto viro magistro Johanni de Suthwell dederat in mandatis; quia tamen, prout in partibus vicinis se habet propalaris oblocutio, ac valde plurium fidedignorum clamore deferente recepimus, quod, a tempore visitationis antedictæ, nonnulla in ordinis scandalum, religionis detrimentum non modicum, per dictum Priorem et quosdam suos concanonicos sunt attempata et præsumpta, in perniciosum exemplum plurimorum, dictique Prioratus subversionem manifestam: de vestris igitur fidelitate et industria circumspectis plenius confidentes, ad supervidendum statum Prioratus prædicti, et per cujus seu quorum defectum et incuriam bona et facultates ejusdem sunt exhausta et colapsa, quomodo etiam, et per quem status illius Prioratus melius poterit reformari; ac etiam ad inquirendum de defectibus et excessibus in personis illius Prioratus, tam in capite quam in membris; necnon de locis et rebus aliis ad eundem Prioratum qualitercumque spectantibus; et an dictus Prior

^h A document which presents a very unfavourable picture of the monastery of Hexham. It appears that in the time of archbishop Arundel, who was famous for the frequent exercise of his visitatorial power, the Priory of Hexham had been inspected, and a set of injunctions given to the inmates. This, I regret to say, has not been preserved.

In 1397, soon after the accession of archbishop Waldby to the see, many complaints are made to him about the discipline of the house and the conduct of its superior; that the recently-made injunctions have not been observed, and that new offences have been committed. The primate, therefore, issues this commission, but we know nothing, officially, of its result. After 1350, the number of documents entered on the archbishop's registers relative to monastic discipline is very few indeed, and the religious houses seem to have been left, to a great extent, to their own self-government. This bore very bitter fruits.

Alexander de Marton, the offending Prior, resigned his office soon after the issuing of this commission. He had been the superior over the house for more than thirty years. The commission had something to do, in all probability, with his resignation, but the condition of the house was by no means bettered by the change.

injunctionibus et monitionibus in dicta visitatione sibi factis paruerit, secundum vim, formam, et effectum earundem; dictasque injunctiones impleret, prout debuit, humiliter et devote; et de aliis articulis et circumstanciis, quæ nos magis informare poterunt in præmissis, et ea quæ sic comperta fuerint ibidem, pro bono regimine ejusdem Prioratus et bonorum ad eundem spectantium, ac utilitatem dicti Prioratus, debite certificandum, prout magis videbitur expedire; vobis committimus vices nostras, cum cujuslibet coercicionis canonice potestate; proviso quod nos de omni eo quod feceritis et inveneritis in præmissis, oportuno tempore, distincte et aperte certificetis, per literas vestras patentes harum seriem continentes. Data Ripon, vicesimo quarto die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini m^o ccc^{mo} nonagesimo septimo.

LXXI.—THE CORRECTION OF TWO CANONS OF HEXHAM FOR THE CRIME OF INCONTINENCY.ⁱ [Reg. Waldby, 5 *a*.]

Memorandum, quod vicesimo quinto die mensis Maii, anno Domini supradicto (1397) comparuerunt personaliter frater Ricardus Hemeswell, et frater Willelmus Woodhorn, canonici regulares Prioratus de Hexham, apud Ripon; et articulos eisdem super crimine incontinentiæ, ex officio mero ministratos et obiectos, fatebantur; super quibus dictus vicarius generalis ipsos canonice correxit; et pro commissis pœnitentiam injunxit salutarem; et certis de causis ipsum moventibus, et de bona gestura eorundem in futuro pœnitentiam hujusmodi in suspenso posuit. Sub data apud Ripon.

ⁱ The last document entered on the York registers relating to any particular act of discipline in the case of a canon of Hexham. The offenders are very leniently treated.

Richard de Hemeswell was a native, probably, of Elmswell in the East Riding of Yorkshire. He was ordained priest in 1378 in the diocese of Durham (Reg. Hatfield, 113 *a*). In 1398 he and the Prior were made keepers of the spiritualities at Hexham (Reg. Dec. and Cap. Ebor., sede vacante, 214 *b*). In 1398, when Marton resigned the post of Prior, Elmswell and Woodhorn came to York to ask leave to proceed to a new election (Reg. Scrope, 106 *b*).

It will be seen elsewhere that within a few years Woodhorn became Prior of the monastery, so that his shortcomings were no bar to his promotion.

LXXII.—A COMMISSION FROM ARCHBISHOP BOWET AUTHORIZING THE DEPRIVATION OF JOHN DE HEXHAM, PRIOR OF HEXHAM, FOR HIGH TREASON IN DESERTING HIS MONASTERY AND JOINING THE SCOTS.^j [Reg. Archiep. Bowet, pars ii., 4 b.]

Henricus, etc., discretis viris magistris Johanni Dalton in legibus baccalario, Johanni Haglethorp, Thomæ Laundels, et Roberto Birall, juris-peritis, filiis in Christo sincere dilectis, salutem, etc. Ad cognoscendum et procedendum in negotio privationis fratris Johannis Hexham, pro Priore monasterii de Hextildesham nostræ diocesios se gerentis, et amotionis ejusdem ab ipso Prioratu, occasione notoriæ dilapidationis in bonis dicti monasterii, et aliorum subscriptorum, per ipsum execrabiliter commissorum, ut asseritur; videlicet, proditoriae factionis ratione per ipsum nuper perpetratae, in recipiendo et favendo Scotos et alios domini nostri regis ligeos falsos, tam suos quam regni Angliæ inimicos capitales, et notorios proditores, ipsum dominum regem et regnum prædictum de præcogitata malicia invadentes; nec sui solum, quinymmo et liberorum suorum, ac aliorum ipsius regni procerum nonnullorum exterminium inauditum; necnon regni Angliæ destructionem manifestam. In quibus crimen lesæ magestatis ipsum notorie perpetrasse dubium non existit; prætextuque communionis et conversationis cum Scotis prædictis sacrosanctæ sedi Apostolicæ contrariis, scismaticis notoriis, et hæreticis manifestis, ad quos monasterio prædicto pastoris solatio neglecto, et ipsius cura et regimine, quod dolenter referimus, desperate dimissis, se divertit cum eisdem, ut unus ex ipsis, continue conversando; in prædicti Prioris prætensi animæ periculum grave nimis, ac ipsius monasterii dampnum non modicum et gravamen: ipsumque negotium cum omnibus suis emergentibus, incidentibus, et connexis, juris ordine in omnibus observato, decidendum, et fine debito terminandum. Et in eventu quo præfatum fratrem Johannem in præmissis, aut eorum aliquo, cum, juris habito legitimo processu, fore contigerit convictum, ipsum realiter amovendum a cura,

^j A startling document, which shews how thoroughly disorganized was the state of society on the Borders. We have already shewn what a deplorable condition the monastery of Hexham had been in for some time past, but it was now in a worse case than ever. The Prior had actually, as it is said, deserted his charge, and had allied himself to the Scots. For this he had rendered himself amenable to the heaviest punishments from his ecclesiastical and temporal superiors. The Prior had probably joined the Percies in their rising.

That punishment, for some reason or other, did not fall upon him to its full extent. On the 30th of May the archbishop revoked his commission "ad instantem petitionem domini nostri regis," and reserved any farther proceedings in the matter to himself (Reg. Bowet, pars ii., 7 a).

The formal pardon granted by the king to the Prior follows next in order.

regimine, et prioritate monasterii supradicti; ac de facto privandum juxta canonicas sanctiones; cæteraque omnia et singula in hujusmodi negotio de jure requisita, usque finalem sententiæ in eodem negotio promulgationem, inclusive faciendum, exercendum et expediendum, in loco dumtaxat monasterii prædicti, vices nostras, sicut alias, harum tenore, quas propter viarum discrimina fecimus duplicari, vobis aut duobus vestrum, quorum vos, magistrum Johannem Dalton, volumus esse unum, insolidum committimus, cum cujuslibet coercionis canonicæ potestate. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos, dicto negotio debite expedito, reddatis literis vestris harum seriem, et totum processum coram vobis in dicto negotio habitum, continentibus, sigillis vestris consignatis, debite certiores. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum quo nuper præsidentes ecclesiis Bathon. et Wellen. utebamur, quod nunc ad manus habemus, præsentibus est appensum. Data in hospitio nostro juxta Westm', London. diocesios, ultimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini m^o cccc^{mo} octavo.

LXXIII.—A PARDON FROM HENRY IV. TO THE PRIOR OF HEXHAM AND HIS CONVENT.^k [Fœdera, viii., 545.]

Rex, omnibus ballivis, et fidelibus suis, ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod, de gratia nostra speciali, pardonavimus, dilecto nobis in Christo, Johanni Priori de Hexham, (alias dicto Hextildesham,) et toti Conventui ejusdem Prioratus, sectam pacis, quæ ad nos versus ipsos pertinet, pro omnimodis prodicionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, felonis, transgressionibus, mesprisionibus, adhæSIONibus, conceclamentis, forisfacturis, conspiracyonibus, confœderationibus, fugis de regno nostro, offensis, et contemptibus quibuscumque, per ipsos vel eorum aliquem, contra nos ante hæc tempora, tam infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, quam extra, aliquo modo factis, perpetratis, procuratis, consultis aut locatis; unde ipsi, seu eorum aliquis, indictati, rectati, impetiti, appellati, vel utlagati existunt, ac etiam utlagarias, si quæ in ipsos vel eorum aliquem, hiis occasionibus, fuerint promulgatæ; et firmam pacem nostram eis inde concedimus. Ita tamen quod stent recto in curia nostra, si qui versus eos loqui voluerint de præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum. In cujus, etc. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, secundo die Augusti. Per breve de privato sigillo.

^k This pardon is entered on the patent roll for the 9th of Henry IV., membrane 6. It would set the minds of the erring Prior and his monks at rest. There is no notice of this offence of theirs recorded in the rolls of parliament.

LXXIV.—AN INDULGENCE FROM ARCHBISHOP BOWET IN BEHALF OF THE PRIORY OF LANERCOST, WHICH HAS BEEN REDUCED TO THE GREATEST POVERTY AND DISTRESS.¹ [Reg. Bowet, pars i., 292.]

Henricus, etc.; dilectis in Christo filiis, universis in Christo fratribus coepiscopis nostris suffraganeis, etc., salutem in sinceris amplexibus Salvatoris. Inter alias sollicitudines, quibus ex suscepti regiminis onere astringimur, ipsam cernimus fore piam, qua religiosæ contemplationi deditis in hiis prospicimus, quæ subventionem necessariam exigunt; ut Deo, secundum sui ordinis exigentiam, placitum exhibeant famulatum. Convertentes igitur intuitum ad dilectos in Christo filios pauperes canonicos, Priorem et Conventum de Lanercost, ordinis Sancti Augustini, Karliolensis diocesios, quorum monasterium cum majoribus ædificiis ejusdem, prout voce lamentabili Prioris dicti loci jam nostris auribus insonuit, gravem minatur ruinam; eorumque ædificia et possessiones, quibus olim laudabiliter dotabantur, per crebros Scotorum inimicorum regni Angliæ notorie capitalium incursus, quibus resistere sua non dubium facultas minime suppetebat, dilapidantur; et per incendia consummantur; ac eorum terræ, eo prætextu, præsertim cum in dictorum Scotorum confinio sitæ consistent, jacent incultæ, et sic eis efficiuntur inutiles; cum aliis sarcinis et gravibus dispendiis, quibus subjiciuntur temporibus modernis, adeo quod iidem Prior et Conventus, prætextu tantæ perditionis et tanti, ad depressionem et ultimam quasi inopiam sunt redacti; et absque aliorum suffragio Christicolarum vivere non possunt hiis diebus; neque Domino in ordine quem sunt professi votive nec debite famulari: eisdem in miserabili depressione, ad tædiorum relevationem, utinam accomodam! prædictorum, prout placere credimus Altissimo, in compassionis visceribus sensuimus subvenire. Devotioni itaque vestræ injungimus, et rogando mandamus, quatinus cum veri procuratores sive nuntii dictorum Prioris et Conventus ad vos accesserint, pro fidelium elemosinis in ipsorum

¹ Lanercost was the nearest neighbour that Hexham had on the road to Carlisle. The two were of the same order, and were so interconnected in feeling and position that the archbishop of York would have a peculiar pleasure in aiding a monastery, which was so closely allied with his own, in its misfortunes.

The beautiful remains of Lanercost are well known to the visitor to Naworth castle, and to the pilgrim to the Roman wall. There are many materials for the history of the place. The Chronicle of Lanercost has been edited for the Bannatyne Club by Mr. Stevenson, and there is a chartulary, still unpublished, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

Lanercost and Hexham were partners in misfortunes as well as in prosperity. They suffered in the same incursions of the Scots, and, at the Dissolution, they fell in the same insurrection.

subsidium colligendis, ipsos in mansuetudinis spiritu benignius admittatis; ipsorumque negotium per parochiales presbiteros vobis subditos, in singulis vestris ecclesiis facientes diligenter exponi, collectam pecuniam eisdem fideliter et integre liber(ar)i absque diminutione aliqua pacifice permittatis. Nos autem, de Dei Omnipotentis immensa misericordia, et beatissimæ V.M., matris ejusdem, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, necnon beatissimorum Confessorum Willelmi, Johannis et Wilfridi, patronorum nostrorum, necnon beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in cujus honore dictum monasterium est constructum, Omniumque simul Sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes, cunctis parochianis nostris per nostras civitatem, diocesin, et provinciam ubilibet constitutis, et aliis, quorum diocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint pariter et acceptam, de peccatis suis vere contritis, pœnitentibus, et confessis, qui ad reparationem et refectionem monasterii et ædificiorum prædictorum, vel ad sustentationem pauperum canonicorum ejusdem, de bonis sibi a Deo collatis contulerint subsidia caritatis, xl dies indulgentiæ—totiens quotiens—; Deo propitio, concedimus per præsentem, per quadriennium a data eorumdem continue numerandum tantummodo duraturæ. In cujus, etc. Data in palatio nostro Ebor., xvij die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini m^o cccc^{mo} nono.

LXXV.—A DISPENSATION TO WALTER MARTON, CANON OF HEXHAM, FROM THE VICAR-GENERAL OF ARCHBISHOP BOWET.^m [Reg. Bowet, pars i., 25 a.]

Noverint universi quod nos Ricardus Pittes (vicarius-generalis), etc., receptis per nos, cum ea qua decuit reverentia, literis Apostolicis præsentibus annexis, per fratrem Walterum Marton presbiterum, canonicum professum Prioratus de Hexildesham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, de quo in eisdem fit mētio, nobis præsentatis; quia per probationes legitimas sufficienter nobis constat ipsum fratrem Walterum esse bonæ conversationis et vitæ, aliaque sibi merita ad hujusmodi dispensationis gratiam obtinendam suffragari cum eodem fratre Waltero super defectu natalium, quem patitur de conjugato genitus et soluta, quod hujusmodi non obstante defectu possit in susceptis ordinibus licite ministrare, et ad omnes administrationes ac officia sui ordinis dumtaxat, citra tamen prioratum provincialem, necnon beneficium ecclesiasticum, cum cura vel sine cura consuetum

^m There are many documents of this kind in episcopal registers. We learn from this to what extent such a dispensation could benefit an Augustinian canon.

per canonicos dicti ordinis gubernari, licite præfici et assumi, dum modo beneficium ipsum collegiatum non sit, nec nomen habeat prælaturæ; juxta omnem vim, formam et effectum dictarum literarum Apostolicarum, auctoritate prædicta, dispensavimus, et tenore præsentium dispensamus. Data Ebor., xiiij die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} duodecimo.

LXXVI.—AN INDULGENCE FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE IN BEHALF OF A RICHLY DECORATED STATUE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, WHICH IS TO BE ERECTED IN THE CATHEDRAL AT CARLISLE." [Reg. Archiep. Kempe, 152 *b*.]

Universis, etc., Johannes, miseratione Divina, etc., et Nicholaus Carliolensis episcopus, salutem, etc. Ineffabilis Reparator humani generis, Christus Jhesus, pia vota fidelium eo clementius favore benigno prosequitur, quo ad Ipsius laudem, gloriosissimæque V.M. matris suæ venerationem, gloriam, et honorem, pietatis operibus multiplicius adornantur. Cum igitur dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et Capitulum ecclesiæ cath. gloriosæ Virginis prædictæ Karliolensis, zelo piæ devotionis accensi, ymaginem sive statuam ejusdem Virginis laminis argenteis, superornandis auro, gemmis, monilibus, multisque aliis ornamentis pretiosis, ad Dei laudem, augmentumque venerationis, gloriæ, et honoris prædictæ Virginis gloriosæ; necnon ad accendendum devotiones Christi fidelium, illuc peregrinationis causa indies confluentium, opere quodam artificioso

" Another indulgence in behalf of Carlisle cathedral; but although registered it was not issued. "Non emanavit," says a note in the margin. The document solicits the alms of the faithful for a gorgeous image of the Virgin, which was to be decorated in a most sumptuous manner.

The following notices of the cathedral will be read with interest.

Sept. 4, 1421. An indulgence in behalf of Carlisle cathedral and its fabric (Reg. Langley at Durham, 111 *b*).

July 15, 1462. Licence to Edmund Sudeby, proctor for the fabric of Carlisle cathedral, empowering him to collect alms for the same within the province of York (Reg. Will. Booth, 410 *a*).

1 Ric. III. The king grants to the "Priour and Chanons of Karlill two tonnes of rede wyn, by the hands of the cheife buttelere of Englande—for using Divine observances: and also to have the tithes of the mylles of Karlil, and al things within the Cite of Karl;" with other new privileges (MSS. Harl., ccccxxxiii, 48 *b*).

Ibid., Oct. 10. A grant of 5*l*. to the Prior of Carlisle for the making of glass window there (ibid., 119 *b*).

Ibid., May 15. Warrant to pay the tithes of the king's mills at Carlisle to the Prior and Convent, the king having given them "for the reliefe and socour of the said Priory" (ibid., 174 *a*).

sumptuosoque desuper contigi cooperirique et decorari facere, Divina favente gratia, dispositi sint et intendant : cumque prædictis Priori et Capitulo ad opus tam insigne, tam celebre, tamque sumptuosum perficiendum et perimplendum, opes non suppetant aut facultates, nisi a Christi fidelibus et Deo devotis elemosinarum largitionibus caritative subveniatur eisdem. De Dei Omnipotentis immensa misericordia ac beatissimæ Virginis antedictæ matris suæ, necnon beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus, Omniumque Sanctorum sacris meritis et precibus confidentes, cunctis Christicolis per provinciam Eboracensem ubilibet constitutis, et aliis quorum, etc., de peccatis suis vere pœnitentibus, contritis et confessis, qui ad prædictum opus tam sanctum, tamque pium et salutiferum, aliqua de—etc., subsidia caritatis ; nos Johannes, cardinalis antedictus, centum ; et nos Nicholaus, Karliolensis Episcopus, quadraginta dies, indulgentiæ, totiens quotiens præmissa, etc., gratiose concedimus per præsentis, ad biennium post dat' præsentium tantummodo duraturæ. In cujus.—Data primo die mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} quinquagesimo primo.

LXXVII.—A GRANT OF A RETIRING PENSION TO THOMAS FERROUR, PRIOR OF HEXHAM.^o [Reg. Archiep. Will. Booth, 132 b.]

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Willelmus, permissione Divina Ebor. archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, ipsum Deum præ oculis habentes, ex causis præmissis, aliisque legitimis nos in hac parte moventibus, pro statu et sustentatione dicti fratris Thomæ Ferroure, nuper Prioris dicti Prioratus, ordinamus, disponimus, assignamus, statuimus, atque decernimus, per præsentis, quod idem frater Thomas Ferroure, durante vita sua, habebit et occupabit unam cameram vocatam Aldechawmbre juxta fermariam pro inhabitatione sua, infra situm Prioratus sive monasterii prædicti situatam ; una cum liberis ingressu et egressu ; et cum cameris altis et bassis ad dictam cameram vocatam Aldechawmbre pertinentibus. Item ordinamus, statuimus, et decernimus, quod dictus frater Thomas Ferroure, et assignati sui, habebit et habebunt, percipiet et percipient, pro ipso fratre Thoma, durante vita sua, sustentationem suam et sumptus in esculentis et poculentis pro seipso, juxta status seu gradus sui decentiam, et capellano suo canonico regulari, cum duobus servi-

^o Two grants of a similar nature have already been printed.

Ferroure resigned "propter senium, impotentiam, infirmitatesque continuas, et corporis debilitatem, se inhabilem ad regendum et gubernandum se-ipsam, et curam ac regimen et administrationem monasterii."

entibus, prout gradui singulorum rite convenit; cum rationabilibus petitionibus suis pro se et aliis ad ipsum venientibus, sumptibus communibus monasterii sive Prioratus prædicti; una cum candelis et focali pro camera sua hujusmodi, sumptibus et expensis bursarii dicti Prioratus, totiens quotiens necesse fuerit, ad ostium dictæ cameræ per ipsum fratrem Thomam Ferroure et assignatos suos percipiendis, providendis, et cariandis. Item volumus—quod præfatus frater Thomas Ferroure, pro termino vitæ suæ, ad usum suum habebit et tenebit annuatim de dictis Priore et Conventu, et successoribus suis, omnia mesuagia, terras, tenementa, redditus, et servitia, cum suis pertinentiis, quæ iidem Prior et Conventus habent in villa de Aynewik, infra libertatem nostram de Hextildeshamshire, absque contradictione, inquietatione, seu perturbatione aliquali dictorum Prioris et Conventus de Hextildesham, et successorum suorum. Ordinamus, etiam—quod tam præfatus frater Johannes Welles, Prior dicti Prioratus sive monasterii modernus, juret, quam quilibet ejus successor in eodem Prioratu, tempore confirmationis suæ, tactis sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis, corporale præstet juramentum, quod præmissa omnia et singula per nos superius assignata—observet—temporibus suis successivis, durante vita fratris Thomæ Ferroure supradicti. Præterea ordinamus—de unanimi consensu dictorum Prioris et Conventus, quod dictus frater Johannes Welles, nunc Prior dicti monasterii sive Prioratus de Hextildesham, ac singuli successores sui in eodem Prioris (officio) futuri, suis temporibus successivis, auctoritate nostra et successorum nostrorum archiepiscoporum ordinaria, ac officialium curiæ nostræ Ebor., qui pro tempore fuerint, ad conservationem et completionem omnium et singulorum præmissorum, per quascumque censuras ecclesiasticas, summarie et de plano, absque strepitu judiciali, coerceantur, ac canonice compellantur; reservata tamen nobis et successoribus nostris canonica obedientia præfati fratris Thomæ Ferroure, ac potestate et auctoritate prædictam portionem, pensionem, sive corrodium diminuendi, eidem addendi, et ab eadem subtrahendi, prout nobis et eis videbitur expedire, ac pietas vel necessitas, merita seu demerita dicti fratris Thomæ Ferroure, id exigant et requirant. In quorum omnium et singulorum præmissorum testimonium atque fidem, sigillum nostrum, una cum sigillo communi dicti monasterii sive Prioratus de Hextildesham, præsentibus literis nostris, sive nostro decreto, apponi fecimus. Data in manerio nostro Suthwell, vicesimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini m^o cccc^{mo} lvij^o.

LXXVIII.—A LETTER FROM EDWARD IV. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, ORDERING HIM TO ARRAY THE CLERGY OF HIS DIOCESE AGAINST THE SCOTS.^p [Reg. Archiep. Will. Booth, 336 b.]

Most reverende fadre in God, oure ryght trusty and wel-beloved, we grete you hertely wel. And for certane causes and matiers suche as moeve us, we wil pray and neverthelesse charge you, that in all goodly haste ye comme unto us to oure citee of London to understande oure entente in this partie. And, overe this, we wol, and also straitely charge you, that, before yo^r saide commyng to London, ye do make open proclamacons that all yo^r clergie be redy upon a day warnyng, in moost defensable wyse, to goo forth for the resistance of oure auncienne ennemyes the Scottes, that, as is saide, besie thaim to entre this o^r lande, and to do the hurte thai may therto: and that ye ordeigne and depute suche persones as shall have the rule of yo^r saide clergie in yo^r absence, certifyng o^r right trusty and wel-beloved uncle and cousin, the lordes Faucomberge and Mowntagewe, of the names of suche as in this behalf ye shall so depute, to th'entente, that, when the cas shall require, thay, havyng warnyng, maye w^t yo^r saide clergie goo forth, and entend upon o^r uncle and cousin, for the resistance and w^t standyng of the malice of o^r ennemyes above saide; and that ye faille not herein in any wyse, as o^r special trust is on you, as ye desire the conservacon and defense of all oure lande. Yeven undre oure pryve seal at o^r citee of Coventre, the iij day of Juny.

^p I shall now print several letters and documents of much historical importance, which throw light upon the politics of the North, and the events which preceded the battle of Hexham in 1464.

On the 29th of March, in the year in which this letter was written (1461), the battle of Towton was fought, and Henry VI. and his queen fled in dismay into the North, halting probably at Durham and Newcastle. Edward IV. seems to have gone into the same district soon afterwards.

On the 3rd of June, Edward writes from Coventry desiring the archbishop of York to array his clergy and send them against the Scots under the command of lords Fauconberge and Montague. The letter had reached the Northern primate in three days, as, on the 6th, he writes from Southwell, making Adam Copindale, doctor of laws, official of the court of York and vicar-general, and John Worsley, commissary-general of the court of York, the leaders of the clergy.

On the 20th of August, he desired the official of the archdeacon of Cleveland to give him the names of those who had not come to go with the lords Fauconberge and Montague (Reg. Booth, 337 a).

In the preceding year the Scots had captured Roxburgh, and now they had allied themselves to Henry VI. and his cause.

LXXIX.—A LETTER FROM JOHN, PRIOR OF DURHAM, TO RICHARD EARL OF WARWICK, ABOUT HUMPHREY NEVILLE, BAILIFF OF HEXHAM, AND HIS MISDEEDS.⁷ [Reg. iii. parv. Prior et. Conv. Dunelm., 97 b.]

Right noble, and worshipfull, and my singuler lord, I recomende me in my most humble wise unto your lordship. To the which, please it witt, that a pore kynnesman of myn, Richard Billingham, hath inherid and accompayned with Humfray Nevill, supposyng, and verrely hade trist and affiaunce, that ye said Humfray hade stonde trew liegeman to kyng Edward and to yow; and oyerwise he drew nocht unto him but by grete compulsion and fere of his life or oyer bodely harme, as I am enformed. Wharefore I beseke your lordshipp, yat yf any informacion be made unto you of ye contrary, yat it might like youre goode grace for to be right tendre and gracieux lord unto ye said Richard, unto ye tyme yat he may come unto youre gracieux lordshipp for his excuse. And our Lord Jhu Crist have you in His blissyde keping. Writen at Duresme, the last day of Junii [1461].

By your awen trew and continuell bedeman,

JOHN, ye Priour of Duresme.

To ye right noble, and worshipfull, and my singuler lorde, Richard, ya erle of Warwike.

⁷ Sir Humphrey Neville is a person whom I shall have occasion to mention more than once. An account of him will be given among the bailiffs of Hexham in Vol. II.; but I shall print one or two documents connected with him in this volume rather than in the second, as Neville's exploits fill a place in the general history of the time. He was a wild impetuous man, generally involved in political warfare and on the unsuccessful side. He seems to have been a captain of freebooters, such as the Hexhamshire men would love and follow, and yet the blood of the Nevilles was flowing in his veins in all its fulness and pride.

Neville seems to have annoyed on many occasions the Convent of Durham. On the 8th of August, 1463, the Prior writes to lord Montague, with the present of a clock, and says, "I undrestonde yat Umfray Nevill pretendith querellȝ against me. What he will do or say I wott nocht. Neverthelesse, when I may come unto your presence, I shall opyn my hert unto your lordshipp" (Reg. iii. parv. Prior and Conv. Dunelm., 118 b.)

Richard Billingham was a person closely connected with the monastery of Durham and its affairs.

This letter and several others are extracted from the original correspondence of the Prior and Convent of Durham, which is still preserved. I have copies of the greater part, and it throws no little light upon the history of that noble house of Benedictines and upon the annals of the country. Almost every paper, letter, and deed in connection with the monastery of Durham is still preserved.

LXXX.—A PETITION FROM THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF DURHAM TO EDWARD IV. ABOUT SOME MONEY BORROWED OF THEM BY MARGARET OF ANJOU.* [Reg. iii. parv. Prior and Conv. Dunelm., 96.]

Most humbly besekith unto your gracieux highnesse your cotidian oratours, ye Priour and ye Covent of Duresme, of your fundacion, that where as the quene, late callid quene Margaret, borrowed of youre said oratourz cccc marc, agaynst yaire good will, by might and grete power, the which yai might never worse have spared in all yaire daies, as God knawith; for ye which some, to be paied againe, yere be bounden by obligacion maistre John Moreton,^s Thomas Tresham, Willyam Grymesby, squiers, and S^r John Qwhelpdale, prest. Moreover, oyer diverse personnez, late decessid, awe unto yaim notable sommez, that is to say, ya erle of Northumbrelond^t xxijl. xiijs. iiijd., S^r Willyam Bartram xxvl. xijs. viijd., Sir John Heron xxiijs., Thomas Hilderton viijl. xiijs. iiijd., Robert Fenkill ls., Robert Macson and Thomas Butre ijvl. vjs. viijd., Robert Rokeby xxxijs. iiijd., so yat now your said humble oratours shall never mowe to be restored, or to have any maner of remedy, withoute your speciall grace be shewid unto yaim in yat partye. Please it yerfor your gracieux highnesse, of your most noble and blissid disposicion, that such a remedy may be hade in yat behalfe that ye lifelode and goodis of ye said persones may content and satisfie your said humble oratours of ye said sommez, and yai shall pray God hertly for the perfite conservacion of youre highnesse [1461].

* The Prior and Convent of Durham beg the king to secure for them, in some way or other, the payment of certain debts of theirs; among these was one of 400 marks, which was due to them from Margaret of Anjou. It was absurd in the writers to imagine that the king would reimburse them in the money which they had given to his adversary, and the other debtors, whom they name, seem also to have been stout Lancastrians. In the case of some of them, a royal mandate might perhaps bring what they had borrowed back again into the chests of the Convent.

It is probable that Margaret carried this money away from Durham, as she fled Northwards after the fight at Towton: as will be seen afterwards, it was never repaid.

In 1448 Henry and his queen were at Durham under very different auspices, amid pomp and splendour, and the king calls the cathedrals of York and Durham "as noble in doing of Divine service, in multitude of ministers and in sumptuous and gloriouse buildinge, as anie in our realme" (Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, 159).

* Afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

^t This nobleman was killed at Towton.

LXXXI.—A LETTER FROM JOHN BURNABY, PRIOR OF DURHAM, TO GEORGE NEVILLE, BISHOP OF EXETER AND LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, RELATIVE TO A VISIT OF EDWARD IV. TO DURHAM, AND THE ABOVE-MENTIONED DEBT." [Reg. iii. parv. Prior. et Conv. Dunelm., 105.]

Most reverent, noble, and my singuler goode lord, I recomende me unto youre goode lordshipp of my most humble wise, thanking you for your goode grace shewid to me at all tymes in all my needis, besekyng you of your gracieux continuaunce; and, in especiall, of your goode helpe for ye goode spede of ye bill yat I put up to the kingis highnesse, when he wase at Duresme, whare of I sende you a copy by my brothir dan Thomas Cale; the whilk can enforme youre lordshipp of ye grete costis and losse that oure house hath hade of late, whereby we are of unpower to bere our chargis, as we were wont. And we are in dispayre to recover oure goodis, and to be of power, as we were, but only yat my trist and comforth is in you chefely, and my lordis, your breyer, and my goode ladie, my lady your moder; my lady Fitzhew, and my lady Stanley, and my goode lord Fauconbrige, my lord Fitzhew, and my lord Stanley; by ye meane of whome I trist oure lyege lord the king will be inclyned to grace to graunt me myn asking. For, what tyme he toke his lefe at Saynt Cuthbert, my lord of Duresme toke me in his honde, and satt doon uppon his knee befor ye king; and so dyd my lord Warwic, and I beside yaim. And thay prayed ye king to be my goode lord; and ye king answerd and said, "Priour, I will be youre goode lorde, and I shall remembre your bill." I am his trew liegeman and his trew bedeman, and yf it happyn this grace to be grauntied, and any man assigned to make ye payment, othir in part or in ye hole, I wold, and ye thynk so, yat he shuld be chargied bi you in ye kingis name to bring up to yow acquitaunce undre my seal of such commez as I shall recover, and within sich tyme as ye will think; ellez, I drede that sich men may be assigned to make me payment yat oyer wil-

" Another letter about the debt due from queen Margaret. The Prior, knowing well the importance of having influential friends, tries to interest the Nevilles, who were the great patrons of his church, in his case. He would not appeal in vain.

George Neville, to whom the letter is addressed, lived to be archbishop of York, and shared in all the misfortunes of his princely family. Several members of it are mentioned by the Prior. "My lady, your moder," was Alice, countess of Salisbury, the heiress of the Montagues; Wm. Neville, lord Fauconberge, was bishop Neville's uncle; Richard, earl of Warwick, was his brother; Alice, wife of Henry lord Fitzhugh, and Eleanor, wife of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, were his sisters.

The picture of the Prior on his knees before the king is a striking one.

noght paye, or ellez yat I dar noght aske it of yaim. My lorde of Duresme^v is my goode lord, God thank you yerof. Umfray Nevill hath ben a cummerouse man to me and my brethir, and if he come agayn to our cuntry to have liberty and rule, as he hade afore, I drede that I and my brethir shall nogt rejoyce oure goodis in pease. I trespass never to him, as I will make goode. I beseke you to see for sich a remedy that he do us no more harme. And our Lord Jhesus Crist have you in His blissid kepyng. Writen at Duresme, ye xxvij day of Octobre [1461],

By your devoute oratour,

JOHN,^w Priour of Duresme.

LXXXII.—A LETTER FROM JOHN BURNABY, PRIOR OF DURHAM, TO ALICE LADY FITZHUGH, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRECEDING LETTER. [Reg. iii. parv. Prior. et Conv. Dunelm., 105 b.]

Right noble, and worthi, and my singuler goode lady, I recomende me unto your goode ladyshipp in my most humble wise, thankyng you of your goode grace shewid unto me at all tyme, beseking yow of goode continuaunce. And for asmuch as I put up a bill unto ye kingis highnesse, ye last tyme y^t he was at Duresme, for a recovery of certayn money that Margarett, late quene of Englund, hade of me, utterly against my will, thorow drede and feer of hir and oyer lordis of hir counsaill, at y^t tyme haveyng rule of thiez North partie, and oyer parcell, contyned in ye same bill; of ye which I sende you a copy w^t ye bringer here of, a broyer of myn, wardeyn of oure colage in Oxenford; beseking your good ladishipp of help and furtheraunce, and y^t it might please your goode grace to be meane unto my lady, your modre, to whose ladyshipp I recommend me in my most humble wise; so y^t thorow ye meane and mediacion of hir and you, and my lordis, your brethir, and oyer, yat may or will be movyd by you, I might be satisfied of ye said bill affir myn entent, as my singuler trist is in you. And our Lord Jhesus Crist have you in His blissid kepyng. Writen at Duresme, ye xxvij day of Octobre,

By your devoute oratour,

JOHN, Priour of Duresme.

^v Laurence Booth, afterwards archbishop of York.

^w Of the writer, John Burnaby, there is a long account by my father in the Preface to the *Durham Obituary Rolls*, Vol. XXXI. of the publications of this Society.

LXXXIII.—A LETTER FROM THE PRIOR OF DURHAM TO JOHN MORTON, MASTER OF THE ROLLS.^x [Reg. iii. parv. Prior. et Conv. Dunelm., 159 b.]

Right worshipful and reverent S^r, I commende me unto you, latyng you wit y^t is don me to undrestond, now of late y^t what tyme ye king, our most soverayn lord, of his most special and habundant grace stod, and as I trist yitt stondith, my good and gracieux lord in a special mater concernyng my well and my worship, ye withdrew from me your good and favour, and shewyd grete unkyndnesse, owerwise yan I supposid ye wold have don, consideryng ye trew and faithful hert y^t I have born unto you afor tyme aftre my power, and specially in your most tribulacion, what tyme I toke uppon me for to present your lettregz, after your hertis desire, unto ye right noble and worthy lord, my lord of Duresme,^y and my lord Montagew, at y^t tyme bering

^x Another letter in connection with the preceding subject; and some will read it with interest, as it refers to the history of a very great man, John Morton, who afterwards became primate of England, and a cardinal. When queen Margaret borrowed so large a sum from the Convent of Durham, Morton was one of her bondsmen for its repayment, and as the Prior had received some slight at his hands, he now calls upon him strongly and urgently for the debt. The defaulter, however, was now master of the rolls, and had transferred to Edward IV. the allegiance which he once paid to the house of Lancaster; but still he did not forget his old friends.

The history of Morton's life is a little romance. He was very shrewd and fearless, a man who had strong affections, and could bear and suffer much for his party and friends. Like all the clerical politicians of that century, he had great successes and reverses. He clung to Henry VI. to the last, going through many perils for that cause, and it was with difficulty that Edward IV. could win him. In the days of the tyranny of Richard III. he escaped from the prison into which he was thrown, and fleeing beyond the seas was one of the chief agents in bringing Henry VII. to the throne; and, after that, he was the means of bringing about the royal marriage which united the two hostile houses of York and Lancaster. "*If blessed be the peacemakers,*" says Fuller, "he pronounced of such as reconcile party and party; how much more must it be true of his memory, the happy instrument to unite those houses, to the saving of the effusion of so much blood." Morton's sagacity was conspicuous during the remainder of his life. No one could vie with him in that respect, Polydore Vergil tells us; and Bacon, no mean judge, when speaking of Morton's connection with Henry VII., observes that he was "a vigilant man and secret, and such as kept watch with him (the king) upon almost all men else." He was, however, not popular.

There is a curious story about the desecration of his remains at Canterbury. "Over his stone coffin was a marble stone, laid even with the surface of the pavement: which stone being afterwards crack'd and broken, several parts of his body wrap'd up in divers cear-cloths were taken away by certain rude and barbarous people. At length the head only being in a manner left, it was begged out of a pious mind (purposely to save it) of archbishop Sheldon in 1670, by that truly noble and generous Ralph Sheldon of Beoly in Worcestershire, Esq., who esteeming it a choice relique, provided a leaden box to preserve it, with its cear-cloths about it, and with great devotion kept it to his dying day."

^y Lawrence Booth, afterwards archbishop of York. He was great in his preferments and his offices, and yet he seems to have been a person of no great

grete rule within yis land, as ye knaw wel. Never the lesse, in satisfaccion and amendement of sich maner of unkyndnesse, I pray you hertfully to call unto your remembraunce twa obligacionz, wherin ye stond straitly boundyn, to make full payment unto me and my breyer and unto oure poore monastery of Duresme of cccc marc, afortyme lent unto dame Margaret, late quene of Englund; so that aftir a consideracion of the grete necessite, y^t we stond in at yis tyme, thorow ye importable costis y^t we have made in plee at ye court of Rome for our celle of Coldingham within Scotland,^z and subtraccion of our catall by ye thefez of Tyndale,^a lone also of notable sommez of money, and re-edificacion of our steple,^b begon but nogt fynnysshid, in defaute of goodis, as God knawith, ye wold wouchsafe to see some hasty meane how, and in what wise, I and my said breyer may be fully content of ye said somme in easy maner, without any plee, now at our nede, at ye reverence of God and by way of right; so y^t we have no cause hereaftir, in defaute of payment, to complayn unto right high estatez abon, ne yitt to pursew yerfore in placez where justice may be hade. Of your toward disposicion, and of a conformable answer herin, I beseke to certifie me by writyng by S^r Geffray Bukley, brynger hereof, to y^aintent that I may demeane me thereaftir. And the haly Trinite have you ever in His most gracieux proteccion. From Duresme, the xvj day of May [1474].

brilliancy or genius. The antiquary Cole says of him, "Whatever year he was born in, the stars were in an happy conjunction at his birth; for his preferments came so thick upon him, that he had nothing to do but to sort them so as to be able to hold them." And yet he was acquainted with calamity. He was so strong a Lancastrian in politics, that soon after the battle of Towton he was superseded at Durham, and was in disgrace for two years. He soon, however, forgot his old friends to shine in the court and councils of Edward IV.

^z An account of this long and costly dispute will be found in the volume on the Priory of Coldingham which the Surtees Society has published.

^a There are several letters on this subject. On the 26th of August, 1450, the Prior writes to Sir Robert Ogle, "For als mykill as I am enformed yt certayn personnes of Riddesdale undre your rewle and governaunce, has drewen away certayn catall of ours fro our parke of Mugleswike, to our grete hurt and hyn-deraunce, I pray you therfor specially that yhe walde do your diligent labour, and shew your tendir favour so that we myght have ye same catall agayn" (Reg. iii. parv. Prior. et Conv. Dunelm., 42 b).

In 1446 the Riddesdale thieves made another raid upon the Prior's cattle, about which a complaint was made to John Heron, Esq. (*Hist. Dunelm. Scr. Tres*, Appendix, 309).

^b See Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, 148, 161.

LXXXIV.—A MANDATE FROM EDWARD IV. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, ORDERING HIM TO ARRAY HIS CLERGY AGAINST THE SCOTS, ETC.^c [Reg. Will. Booth, 341 *a*, *b*.]

Moost reverente fadre in God, we grete yow welle. And for soo moche as we ben certainly assured y^t oure ennemyes of Scotland, in as grete nombre as yei can assemble, as well of the clergie as of the temporaltie of that land, been fully determinede to entre oure land upon Monday next commyng to th'entent nat onely to rescue oure ennemyes of Fraunce closede wthin oure castell of Alnewik, but also to yeve us bataile, which w^t Goddes grace we be concludede to resiste, and to joyne oure personne to the defence of oure said land, and of oure subgittes yerof ayeinst the malice of oure said ennemyes, presumyng of their custumable pride to have dominacion upon oure said land; we yerfore pray, and also charge you that, w^t all diligence possible, ye yeve straitte warnyng and charge to all the clergie generally of youre province, that yei be w^t us in defensible arraye upon the Newcastle more, on Tuysday next commyng, to assiste us in batell ye morne next aftre in the saide defence, commyng youreself w^t theime; nat failyng therof as ye desire to stande in the favoure of oure good grace, and upon the duetic of youre feith and ligeaunce to us. Yeven undre oure signet at Duresme, the last day of Decembre.

LXXXV.—A LETTER FROM RICHARD EARL OF WARWICK TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, DESIRING HIM TO ARRAY HIS CLERGY AGAINST THE SCOTS.^d [Reg. Archiep. Will. Boothe, 341 *b*.]

Most reverent fadere in God, right worshipfull and my gode lorde: after due recommendacion to yo^r gode lordship, please hit the same to witte y^t I knowe for certain that the

^c The Northumbrian strongholds were at this time in the possession of the Lancastrian party, although they were closely beleaguered. Henry VI. and queen Margaret were in Scotland, but many of their French allies were now in Alnwick castle with lord Hungerford, Sir Thomas Findern, and Sir Robert Whittingham.

The Scots, mentioned in this letter, came to Alnwick with their French comrades, and the garrison was rescued without any engagement, the Yorkists not venturing to come to close quarters (cf. *Paston Letters*, *n. e.*, i., 172; *Excerpta Historica*, 365; *Lel. Coll.*, ed. 1774, i., 499; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, part i., 326.)

On the 4th of January, 1462-3, the archbishop wrote from Southwell to his archdeacons ordering the array of his clergy. A similar array had been ordered by him on the 30th of October, 1462 (Reg. Booth, 341 *a*).

^d On the 12th of July, the archbishop wrote from Cawood to his archdeacons, giving the desired order. On the 16th of August, he requested the archdeacon

Scottez, the kynges auncien grete enemyes, with his traitours and rebellez, have entred this lande w^t grete puissance, entendyng to do therto, and to the inhabitantez of ye same, all the hurt and damage that they can ymagine; wherfore I, as the kinge's lieutenant, charge you on his behalfe, and besecche and require yow on myn own, that ye doo ordeine yo^r clergie of yo^r diocise and province of York to come forth in all hast possible, in thaire moost defensible arraie, in as grete nombre as thai godely may be, to assiste me, to the resistence of the malice of the saide enemyez, traitours, and rebelles; so that thai be with me at Duresme on Friday next comyng, as ye woll ansuere to the kynges highnesse, and upon all pirill that ther of may falle. And our Lorde have you in His blessed kepyng. Writen at my castell of Midelham, the xjth day of Juill'.

LXXXVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF HEXHAM.^e [From the Year Book, de termino Paschæ, anno iiii Edwardi IIII., fol. xxi. Imprinted at London in Flete Strete at the sygne of the George, nexte to Saynt Dunston's Church, by Wylliam Myddylton.]

Enter le fest de Pentecost, prochein devant c'est terme de Saint Trenite, le roy H. le. VI. fuit en le counte de Northumberland, en le chastel de Anewyke,^f et oue luy le duke de Somersette, et les seignours de Ros, Moleins, Hungeford, le Roigne, oue le prince Edward de lour fitz, et alters, seignours de Fraunce, Syr Pers de Brace, oue luy plusours seignours et chivalers del Fraunce myse par le roy del Fraunce, pur eider' le

of York to give him the names of such of the clergy within his district as had neglected the order (Reg. Booth, 342 b).

On the 1st of September, at a provincial council held at York, the clergy contributed a moiety of a disme for the furtherance of the war on the Borders (ibid., 342).

There is very little known about affairs in the North during the autumn of 1463. In the early part of the year, the king returned Southwards, leaving Northumberland to the charge of Warwick, and that stout warrior would be kept constantly on the alert. Queen Margaret is said to have left the country in April, 1463, but in the following month Sir Ralph Gray seized Alnwick castle for the Lancastrians, and, soon after, the duke of Somerset joined the same side and retired to Scotland. It was probably some rumour of his return at the head of an invading force that aroused Warwick in his quiet castle in Wensleydale.

It is not known exactly at what time Henry and his queen came back into Northumberland.

^e An historical paper of great importance, giving an account of the battle of Hexham. As I shall speak about that fight in the Preface, it will merely be necessary to make a few observations in this place upon some of the persons engaged in it.

^f About Pentecost, 1464, Henry VI. was at Alnwick with his lords. The castle had been given up to him by Sir Ralph Gray in May, 1463.

roy Herry et ses seignours : Et puis fuer' preses toutz les seignours de Fraunce, except le avandit Pers, a Holyland, par Robert le seignour de Ogeils, et auters chivalers et esquiers de la counte de Northumberland ; et fier' lour fine s. ranson.^g Et puis apres vient en m(esme) le counte, le senieur de Mountegue, le frere le senieur de Warwyke, le roy et ces seignours esteant a Everwyke, et le roy Herry, oue s(es) seignours ; s. le sieur de Roos, Molins, Taylboys, Raufe Gray chivaler, Fyndern, Humfra de Nevil, le duke de Somerset, oue plusours autrez ; mez Raufe Percy chivaler fuit mort en un auter champe, q' est apelle Heggely More, que fuit pris par le seignours avandit envers le dit senieur de Montegue ; et toutz les autres seignours fugaver', except le dit Raufe ; et la, comme home, fuit^h occise. Et puis lez sieur avandit pristeront lour roy Henry, oue tout lour power de pepyl, et pristeront lour champ' en Hexhamshire, en un lieu appelle Livels,ⁱ sur le ewe Devyls, envers le avantdit sieur de Mountage, qui joyndr' batel oue eux, et avoit le victore de s(es) ennemeys avantdit. Et la le sieur de Somerset fuit prise,^j et son teste coupe a Hexham, et la git ;

^g The capture of the Frenchmen took place at Holy Island in October, 1462. They had been wrecked in all probability among the Farne Islands, off Bamborough, and were making their way to Holy Island when lord Ogle pounced upon them.

^h Sir Ralph Percy, one of the many younger sons of the earl of Northumberland, died at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooller, having been deserted by his companions in arms, the lords Hungerford and Ros. Lord Montague overwhelmed him with superior numbers, and the gallant Percy fell "like a man," as the chronicle says, and "saving the bird," or his loyalty, "in his breast."

In the Act of Attainder he is thus mentioned (Rot. Parl., v., 511), "Where Raulf Percy, knyght, after his long abode in rebellion, was also by oure seid soverayne lord taken benignely unto his grace, reseceyved after that grete benefittez of his highnes, and taken in grete trust ; yet netherles after that, unkyndely and falsely ayenst the duete of his ligeaunce, the seid castels of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, to his keypyng delyvered by oure seid soverayne lord, falsely and traiterously delyvered unto the seid Henry, the kynge's ennemye ; and, after that, in the fest of Seint Marc the Evangelist, in the seid iiijth yere, at Heggelay-more in the seid shire of Northumberland, ayeinst oure seid soverayne lord rered werre, purposyng then and there his distruction."

ⁱ The present name of the place is the Linnels.

^j The place where the duke was buried is not known. Somerset was a great offender, having changed sides more than once, although he had been specially pardoned, whereby, as Edward IV. says, "Of verray gentilnes and the noble honour that oweth to be grounded in every gentilman, he shuld have been established in ferme feith and trouth unto his highnes," yet after all, "sodenly by secrete and pryvate weyes, toke his viage prively oute of the parties of North Wales, unto he came into the shire of Northumberland, where Henry late called kyng of Englund, the grete ennemye and adversarie of oure seid soverayn lord, kept traiterously and rebelliously the kyng oure seid soverayne lorde's castels of Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnewyke ; to the same Henry there adhered, and with hym confedered to the distruction of oure seid soverayn lord by bataill ; and to the same entent and effecte, at Exham in the said shire, the viij day of May, in the seid iiijth yere, rered werre ayenst oure seid soverayne lord."

vere le ville de Berwike ; et pristeront le Frauncoys hommes hors et auxi fuer' pris de Ros, Molyns, Hungerford, Fyndern, oue plusours autres chivalerz, esquiers, et autres hommes ; et lour testes fuer' coupes, s. Ros, Molyns, Hungerford, Fyndern, oue ij plusours a Novel-chastel-sur-Tyn, en un lieu appelle Sandhyll, et geront en les freres de Minors et Augustins. Et, apres le scremes avantdit, si le roy Henry fuit pris ou nemy, sont divers dites de ceo, mes la fuer' pris iij de son foloers oue son helmet, et ij de ces croves richemet^k arrais,^k et presentes a roy E. a Everwyk, die Mercurii, viz., xxij die Maii, anno iiij ejusdem regis. Et donques les autres seignours et chivalers, s. comes de Kyme, Gray, Nevel, et Ric' de Dunstable,^l oue plusours auters fugaver' dehors le dit champe apelle Hexham feld ; et comes de Kyme fuit prist in Rydisdall' longe temps apres, et son test coupe al Nouel-Chastel avantdit, et gyst en le freres Minors ;^m et le dit Humfra Nevel demurrust sur le l'ew de Derwent, deins le counte avantdit, en tabys south le terre, par le space de v ans, et puis il fuit pris en Holdernesse, et son test coupe a Everwike par le seignour de Werwyke et plusours auters.ⁿ Et puis apres en mesme le iiij an le roy E. avantdit, il alet a Durham oue son seignours, et il myt en le counte de Northumberlande le seignour de Werwyke, Mountague, Fauconbrige, Scropp, et plusours auters seignours, a seiser' le chastelz de Alnewyke que fuit repleite oue les Franches homes, mes la ne fuit s(ieur) de Brace ; et le chastel de Bambrught, en qil fuit le dit chivaler Sieur Raufe Gray ; et en le chastel de Dunstanbrught, les servantes les seignours avantdit prist le custodie, oue un home, qui out a nome Goys ; et en preines le chastel de Alnewike fuit seye oue les seignours avantdit, et fuit rescours par les homes de Escours, a q' le dit Herry, jadis roy, avoit deli-

^k Henry seems certainly to have been present at the fight. Hall says (ed. 1812, 260), "Kyng Henry was this day the beste horseman of his company ; for he fled so faste that no man could overtake hymn, and yet he was so nere pursued, that certain of his henxmen or folowers wer taken, their horses beyng trapped in blew velvet ; wherof one of them had on his head, the said kyng Henrie's healmest, some say his high cap of estate, called abococket, garnished with twoo riche crounes, which was presented to kyng Edward at Yorke, the fourth daie of Maie."

I shall speak elsewhere of queen Margaret and her adventure, or supposed adventure with the robber, which Monstrelet and Shakespere have handed down.

Croues, it is plain, ought to be *crones*.

^l Sir Richard Tunstall, chamberlain of Henry VI., and one of his most devoted adherents. He became a great man in the days of Richard III. who made him a K.G. The learned and amiable bishop Tunstall was his nephew.

^m Sir William Taylboys, titular earl of Kyme and lord of Redesdale. He fled to the fastnesses of his own wild country, but they were unable to protect him.

ⁿ See afterwards.

del chastel avantdit, en contrar' le volunte le seignours le roy Edward, et puis averont eux en realme de Escous;^o et pur c'est surpris que fuit fait all dit sieur roy, q' le seignour de Fauconbryge murrust a Durham, q' fuit nobyle chivaler; et puis apres le seignours entront en la en le chastel de Alnewyk; et puis preteront le chastel de Dunstanbrught et toutz ceux de la chastel; et le dit Goys avoit son teste coupe al Everwyk; et deliveront toutz les autrez. Apres qil preteront le chastel de Bambrught, le qil Sieur Raufe Gray^p garda encounter le roy Edward le IIII. apres Midsomer: et le dit Gray fuit carie a Doncastre, et la fuit deprive del honor del chivaler devant multes del pepyl le roy; s. ses gylt spores hewes de ses piez, et son espe, et tout son armour sur luy debrusse et pris de luy en le champe, et puis il decole. Et le cause de cel punissement de luy, en tiel maner, fuit par caus de son perjure et doublenesse q' il avoit fait all roy Herry VI. jadis roy, etc., et auxi al roy Edward le IIII., qi ore est; et cel decollation de luy fuit entre le jour de Saint Benet, le iiij an le roy avandit; et puis son test fuit emport a Londre et le Samady; s. le vigil de Mary Magdelene le an avantdit; ceo fuit mys sur le pont de London en haut sur un polle, en plain apparance, q' ceo poit esse view, q' Dieu de sa alme avoit mercy, etc.

^o This rescue of the French soldiers in Alnwick castle took place in January, 1462-3.

^p The head of the house of Grey. He was captured at Bamborough by the earl of Warwick, and was taken to Doncaster and executed there. The sentence upon him is a striking one in several respects.

"Sir Ralph Grey, for thy treason, the kyng had ordained that thou shouldest have had thy spurs striken off by the hard heeles, by the hand of the master-cooke, who is here ready to doe as was promised thee at the time that hee tooke off thy spurs, and saide to thee as is accustomed, that and thou bee not true to thy soverayne lorde he shall smite off thy spurs with his knife hard by the heeles;" and so shewed him the master-cooke, ready to do his office with his apron and his knife. "Moreover, Sir Ralph Gray, the king had ordained here thou mayest see, the kings of armes, and heralds, and thine owne proper coate of armes, which they should teare off thy body; and so shouldest thou as well be disgraded of thy worship, nobles, and armes, as off thy order of knighthood. Also, here is another coate of thine armes reversed, the which thou shouldest have worne on thy body, goeing to thy deathwards, for that belongeth to thee after the law; notwithstanding the disgrading of knighthood, and of thine armes, and nobles, the king pardoneth that, for thy noble graundfather, who suffered trouble for the kinge's most noble predecessors. Now, Sir Ralph Grey, this shall bee thy penance. Thou shalt goe on thy feete unto the townes end, and there thou shalt be laid downe, and drawne to a scaffold made for thee, and thou shalt have thy head smitten off; thy body to bee buried in the Friars; thy head where the king's pleasure shall bee" (Stow's Chronicle, ed. 1615, p. 418).

LXXXVII.—COMMISSION OF A SUFFRAGAN BISHOP IN HEXHAM-SHIRE.[?] [Reg. Archiep. Geo. Neville, pars i., 43 a].

Georgius, etc., venerabili confratri nostro Willelmo Dei gratia Cluavensi episcopo, salutem, et fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cura pastoralis tunc facilius et efficacius adimpletur, cum unius per alterum onera supportentur. De vestra igitur affectione sincera, quam ad nostri alleviationem laboris credimus vos habere, ac conscientiae puritate plenam in Domino fiduciam gerentes, ad confirmandum parvulos et adultos; ac calices et patenas consecrandum; vestimenta sacerdotalia et Levitica aliaque ornamenta ecclesiastica benedicendum, in jurisdictione nostra Augusteldensi ubilibet constituta, vobis tenore praesentium committimus vices nostras, quousque eas ad nos duxerimus revocandas. Data, nostro sub sigillo, in manerio nostro de la More juxta Rickmanesworth, Lincoln. diocesis, primo die mensis Martii, anno Domini millesimo cccclxvj^{to}.

LXXXVIII.—A WRIT FROM EDWARD IV., FORBIDDING SIR HUMPHREY NEVILLE, OR ANY ONE ELSE, TO INTERFERE WITH THE LIBERTIES OF ST. CUTHBERT.^r [Ex Rot. Pat. Laur. Booth, Episcopi Dunelm., part ii., No. 10.]

For soo muche as the kyng our souveraigne lord Edward the IIIIth, knowyng that diverses of his liege people, beeing of the bisshoprick of Duresme, by the untrue and false ymaginacion

^r It is amusing to hear archbishop Neville speak of his ecclesiastical cares, for they rested very lightly indeed upon his shoulders.

He was a grand gentleman, fond of luxurious tastes, and accustomed from his boyhood to the pomp and ceremonies of a court. He liked good eating, he was a little fond of magic, and could appreciate and desire the society of scholars. As a politician he was not successful; but I must speak of his achievements and shortcomings in another place.

Moor Park must not be confounded with the retreat of Sir William Temple and his amanuensis, Swift, but it was a place of note and fame. It was here that the archbishop intended to seize Edward IV., whom he had invited to a hunting-party; but the plot was discovered, and the storm broke with unrelenting fury over its designer.

^r *Le save-garde domini regis*, is the title of the document. I must say a few words about the person mentioned in it.

Sir Humphrey Neville was the son of Sir Thomas Neville, a grandson of Ralph, first earl of Westmerland. He was born at Slingsby in Rydale in 1439, so that at the period when this document was drawn up (1469-70) he was only thirty years of age, and he was full of that hot and wanton blood of which the Nevilles had so large a share.

In May, 1461, the archbishop of York made him bailiff of Hexham, and he held that office for a few months. In politics he was a stout Lancastrian, but in

and sturring of his rebelle and traitour Sir Humfrey Nevyll, and other evil disposed and untrue personnes, have made assemblies, gadringes, and commocions, ayeinst thaw fath and ligeance; oure sayd souveraigne lord, willing the rest and tranquillitie of hys sayd people, of his grace especial, commanndeth and chargeth, that noo manere of man breke Saint Cutberte's fraunchise, ne robbe, spoile, nor tak any goodes of any manere man within the sayd bysshoprick for the cause or occasion of the sayd rising, upon peyne of dethe, ner vexe ner trouble hem otherwise then accordeth with hys lawes and the sayd fraunchise, as thay wil avoid the lawful peril that therupon may enswe.

LXXXIX.—A REQUEST FROM THE SUB-PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM TO THE ARCHBISHOP THAT THEY MAY PROCEED TO ELECT A NEW PRIOR.^s [Reg. Geo. Neville, pars ii., 25 *a*.]

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Georgio, Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopo, Angliæ primati, et Apostolicæ sedis legato, Johannes Sup-prior, cæterique fratres, vestri devoti oratores, ecclesiæ de Hextildesham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, debita reverentia obedientiam cum honore. Vestra

the 3rd of Edward IV. he received a full pardon from the king. After the battle of Hexham he made his escape, and lived for some time in Derwent dale as a captain of freebooters, terrifying his neighbours, and especially the prior of Durham. The mark was upon him, for he was attainted, and his offences are thus described:—

“Where Humfrey Nevile, knyght, atteinted of treason—was and abode after the same atteyndre in prison in the Toure of London, in the kepyng of the constable of the same Toure, brake the same prison, eskaped fro thens into the seid shire of Northumberlond, and there made commotion of people ayenst oure seide soverayn lord; it pleased not for that the kyng oure seid soverayn lord, havynge respecte to his birthe, uppon his lowely and humble sute made unto his mageste royall, to resceyve hym to grace, and by his lettres patentes under his grete seall, to pardon unto hym all trespasses and other offences. The which and the grete and large bountie shewed unto hym right largely by oure seid soverayn lord, and also the trust that his seid mageste toke hym in, notwithstanding, the same Humfrey, as an unkynde and innaturall man, and fals to his liege mageste, traiterously adhered unto the seid Henry, late called kyng, and with hym, and in his fals and usurped quarell, fro the first day of Aprill, the iiijth yere of the reigne of oure seid soverayn lord, at Bamburgh forseid, tooke hoole and full parte, purposyng and ymagenyng there and then the distruction of his moost noble persone, alteration and alienation of the domination of his said realme, into the power and domination of the ennemyes of oure seid soverayne lord.”

Neville was caught in Holderness, some five years after the fight at Hexham, and was put to death at York, his cousin the earl of Warwick being the chief agent in bringing him to justice.

^s A specimen of the Latinity of the Convent of Hexham, of which little can be said. We learn, also, in what way the Sub-prior and Convent were wont to approach their founder. The tone is one of unusual servility, and is very different from that which was assumed in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

paternitati præstantissimæ notificavimus reverendum patrem nostrum Johannem Wellis, nuper Priorem, vicesimo septimo die mensis Decembris, viam universæ carnis feliciter fuisse ingressum. Ne ergo, vestrum collegium, in grave sui detrimentum, diu maneat a cephala, eidem paternitati vestræ humiliter supplicamus, quatenus vestra paternalis licentia gratiose nobis concessa, ad novum Priorem eligendum juridice poterimus procedere indilate. Valeat vestra paternitas reverendissima, ad vestri gregis solatium pariter et tutelam, in Christo Jhesu omnium Salvatore. Data in nostro locali capitulo, nostro sigillo communi sigillata, vicesimo octavo die mensis antedicti, anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} septuagesimo quinto.

XC.—THE ACCOUNT OF THE ELECTION OF WILLIAM BYWELL TO THE PRIORATE OF HEXHAM.[†] [Reg. Archiep. Geo. Neville, pars ii., 25—28.]

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Georgio permissione Divina Ebor. archiepiscopo, Angliæ primati, et Apostolicæ sedis legato, vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali, vestri humiles et devoti filii Sup-prior et Conventus monasterii B.M. Virginis et S. Andreae Apostoli de Hextildesham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, vestræ diocesios, obedientiam, ac omnimodas reverentias tanto patri debitas, cum honore. Cum propter diutinam vacationem ecclesiæ pastoralis solatio destitutæ in spiritualibus et temporalibus dispendia frequentius patiantur, sacrorum canonum conditores provida deliberatione sanxerunt et statuerunt, ut ecclesiæ cathedrales atque regulares ultra certa tempora vacare non debeant a jure præfinita, ne pro defectu pastoris gregem Dominicum lupo rapax invadat aut viduet, etiam in suis facultatibus grave in præmissis dispendium patiatur. Ea propter, ad vestram paternitatem reverendissimam deducimus per præsentem, quod vacante monasterio nostro prædicto per mortem naturalem fratris Johannis Wellis, ultimi Prioris ejusdem, qui vicesimo septimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo} septuagesimo quinto, in monasterio nostro antedicto diem suum clausit extremum, ipsiusque corpore eodem die in ecclesia nostra conventuali ecclesiasticæ, prout decet,

[†] *Decretum electionis novi Prioris de Hextildesham*, is the heading of the document, which contains an account, drawn up in a legal manner for the primate, of the election of a new Prior. This is the only instrument of the kind that we possess, and it is most instructive. Not only do we find a full description of the election, but we have a complete list of the canons, and many minute particulars which we may look for in vain elsewhere. The document will be properly examined in the Preface.

tradito sepulturæ; petitaque licentia a dicta vestra paternitate reverendissima eligendi alium Priorem dicto monasterio nostro sic vacanti, ut moris est, pariter et obtenta;^u nos sequentes frater Johannes Symson, Sup-prior monasterii antedicti, et ejusdem loci Conventus, videlicet, ad quos electio futuri Prioris pertinuit facienda, die Martis, videlicet vicesimo die mensis Februarii, anno Domini supradicto, in domo capitulari dicti monasterii capitulariter congregati,^v et capitulum sive Conventum ex causis subscriptis facientes, die electionis futuri Prioris prædicto monasterio assignando, et aliis subscriptis tractatum habuimus diligentem; præhabitaque deliberatione inter nos matura, prædictus frater Johannes Symson, Sup-prior monasterii antedicti, pro ac de prædictorum omnium et singulorum confratrum et concanonicorum, capitulum sive conventum dicti monasterii sic, ut præfertur, facientium mandato et expresso consensu ibidem sic facto, ne dictum monasterium nostrum suæ viduetatis incommoda diutius deploraret; diem Mercurii, videlicet, vicesimum primum diem mensis Februarii, anno Domini memorato, cum continuatione et prorogatione dierum extunc sequentium, si opus fuerit, ad electionem futuri Prioris dicti nostri monasterii, in domo nostra capitulari prædicta, favente Altissimo, celebrandam et faciendam, omnibus et singulis confratribus et concanonicis monasterii antedicti tunc præsentibus et absentibus, qui debuerunt, voluerunt, et potuerunt ipsi electioni faciendæ commode interesse, præfixit, statuit, et assignavit, præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus et circumspectis viris magistro Thoma Nevill, in legibus baccalario, et domino Roberto Watson, capellano, Dunelmensis diocesios, testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Adveniente vero dicto die Mercurii^w—omnibus et singulis qui debuerunt—electioni hujusmodi interesse, videlicet fratribus Johanne Symson, Sup-priore, Willelmo Bywell vicario de Stanfordham, Edwardo Ashton vicario de Ovyngham,^x Roberto

^u The consent of the archbishop is asked for in the preceding document.

^v The first step taken, after the archbishop's permission has been obtained, is to meet and fix a day for the election. The very *next* day is chosen.

Everything is done with the aid of a notary and legal advice. In addition, two persons seem to have been asked to be the witnesses of every step, Robert Neville, rector of Brancepeth, in the county of Durham, and Robert Watson, a chaplain in the same diocese.

^w On the day appointed, there is a muster of the whole convent. The Sub-prior and sixteen canons are present in person; two others are sick in the infirmary, and a third is absent on a pilgrimage, but they appear by proxy. In addition, three accolites, who were studying in the house, with a view no doubt of being advanced in time to the canonship, are allowed to take part in the proceedings.

^x Hudard Ashton was ordained deacon, on Sept. 23rd, 1424, being then a canon (Reg. Langley at Durham, 290 b).

Sparow,^y Willelmo Porter vicario de Wardall,^z Thoma Wardall,^a Johanne Barton elemosinario, Johanne Camby magistro de Ovyngham, Johanne May cellerario, Willelmo Gargyll tertio Priore, Johanne Byrtby presentore, Johanne Horsley bursario, Thoma Spence, Willelmo Lame, Thoma Soulby, Raulando Leschman,^b Willelmo Carrok magistro granarii, Willelmo Watson, Johanne Golland succentore, et Thoma Aschton, canonicis dicti monasterii de Hextildesham,^c et in eodem monasterio ordinem regularem Sancti Augustini expresse professis, et in sacris ordinibus legitime constitutis; ac Umfrido Hassewell, Willelmo Crawforth, et Johanne Story, accolitis,^d tum (ordinem) regularem Sancti Augustini in monasterio prædicto^e expresse professis, qui ex consuetudine laudabili in dicto monasterio ab antiquo usitata, in electione hujusmodi interesse habent; dictis die Mercurii et domo capitulari assignatis, invicem convenientibus et capitulariter congregatis, ac capitulum facientibus, Missa primitus de Spiritu Sancto publice et solempniter in ecclesia conventuali prædicta decantata, deinde Spiritus Sancti gratia per decantationem ympni, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, devote et humiliter in domo capitulari prædicto invocata; compertum et discussum fuit per nos, quod omnes et singuli confratres et concanonici in monasterio prædicto, ordinis Sancti Augustini expresse professi, ac jus seu vocem in nostra electione facienda habentes, fuerunt in dicta domo capitulari personaliter præsentés, nec aliquis nostrorum canonicorum seu aliorum vocem seu jus

^y He was ordained deacon in the diocese of Durham, Sept. 20th, 1421, and priest, 19th Sept., 1422 (Reg. Langley, 276, 277). He was then a canon of Hexham. At the time of this election (1476) he had kept his jubilee. Bywell, also, who was elected Prior, was ordained priest in 1425, and was now a very old man.

^z This should be Warden.

^a He, being a canon of Hexham, was ordained deacon on the 21st of June, 1435, in virtue of letters dimissory from Mr. Richard Arnall, sub-dean of York, and priest on the 22nd of September, 1436 (Reg. Langley, 233 b).

^b This person afterwards became Prior.

^c All the canons bear local names, and they were probably all of them persons sprung from the lowest part of the middle class.

^d The Lady-chapel at the east end of the church of Hexham was generally called the school.

^e On the day appointed, after hearing the mass of the Holy Spirit, and singing the hymn, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, the constitution of the Augustinian order authorizing the election of the new prior is read, and then the doors are closed against those who have no voice in the election.

A notary and some lawyers remain, as a matter of course, and to witness what took place there are called in Thomas Neville, rector of Brancepeth, a kinsman of the primate, and Robert Watson, a Durham clergyman.

One other person stood by, the Prior of the neighbouring cathedral of Carlisle, Thomas Gudebour. I should like to know what connection there was between him and Hexham. Gudebour was a great builder, and there is a peculiar similarity between the woodwork of this period at Carlisle and Hexham.

in nostra electione faciendâ habentium absens extiterat ab actu electionis infrascriptæ, fratribus Roberto Sparrow, et Thoma Wardall, confratribus et concanonicis nostris, qui tunc temporis, in infirmaria infra præcincta monasterii prædicti situata, gravibus infirmitatibus detenti extiterant, ac fratre Thoma Aschton, confratre nostro, qui (habuit) licentiam peregrinandi in remotis partibus, sufficienter hinc dumtaxat exceptis, qui vero fratres Robertus Sparrowe, Thomas Wardall et Thomas Aschton per suos procuratores, videlicet monasterii prædicti confratres et concanonicos, in scriptis sufficienter et legitime constitutis, ut per sua singula procurator coram nobis tunc exhibuit, evidenter apparuit, canonicè comparuerunt: perlectaque coram nobis constitutione generali—*Qua propter*, per circumspectum virum magistrum Willelmum Laybron, in utroque jure baccalarium, ac formis in eadem contentis nobis expositis et declaratis; præfatus frater Johannes Symson, Sup-prior et præsidens antedictus, vice sua et nostra, omnium et singulorum de conventu memorato, ac de mandato nostro, sibi specialiter facta, rogavit, requisivit, et monuit omnes et singulos excommunicatos, suspensos et interdictos, ac omnes alios et singulos qui de jure seu consuetudine electioni futuri Prioris dicti nostri monasterii faciendæ non deberent interesse, si qui tales ibidem præsentés fuerint, quod a capitulo et conventu recederent memoratis, ac alios jus et vocem in ipsa electione habentes libere eligere permitterent: idemque frater Johannes, tam nostro quam suo nomine, de mandato nostro, tunc ibidem publice protestabatur quod non erat sua, nec nostra, aut alicujus nostrum in præsentis electionis negotio faciendæ voces habentium intentio, vel voluntas, tales qui admitti seu interesse non deberent admittere, tanquam jus seu vocem in ipsa electione habentes, aut cum talibus procedere in negotio electionis memoratæ.

Quibus sic factis, et exclusis omnibus et singulis a dicta domo nostra capitulari sæcularibus et aliis personis quibuscumque, qui hujusmodi electioni nostræ faciendæ non deberent interesse, venerabili et religioso fratre Thoma Gudebiour, Priore monasterii B.M. de Carlell, et magistro Willelmo Laybron, in utroque jure baccalario, pro directione electionis nostræ in consiliarios assumptis, ac notario et testibus infrascriptis, ad interessendum nobiscum in dictæ electionis negotio per nos retentis, exceptis. Hiis peractis, statim, nullo alio tractatu interveniente, subito et repente Spiritus Sancti gratia vel quasi cooperante, et eo, ut credimus, inspirati, omnes et singuli confratres et concanonicus supradicti, nullo penitus discrepante vel contra-dicente, fratre Willelmo Bywell, confratre et concanonico nostro dumtaxat excepto, direximus oculos intentionis nostræ sive vota

nostra in præfatum fratrem Willelmum Bywyll,^f virum in spiritualibus et temporalibus providum et discretum, vita, et conversatione, ac moribus, et actibus virtuosis multipliciter commendatum, in ordine sacerdotali et ætate legitima constitutum, liberum, et de legitimo matrimonio procreatum; ac cum una voce et uno spiritu in nostrum et monasterii nostri Priorem consensimus eligendum.

Et mox postea, nos omnes et singuli canonici supradicti, fratre Willelmo Bywell antedicto dumtaxat excepto, præfato fratri Johanni Symson, Sup-priori, ad eligendum in communi, vice et auctoritate nostris, memoratum fratrem Willelmum Bywell in Priorem monasterii nostri prædicti, ac eidem monasterio providendum de eodem unanimiter, de expresso consensu et assensu ac voluntate omnium nostrum, nullo nostrum reclamante, dedimus et concessimus plenariam et specialem potestatem. Qui quidem frater Johannes Symson, Sup-prior antedictus, potestatem hujusmodi in se acceptans, præfatum fratrem Willelmum Bywell, in Priorem nostri monasterii prædicti, in scriptis, absque moræ dispendio aliquali, nomine suo et nostro, elegit in communi; ac eidem monasterio nostro providit de eodem, ipsamque electionem sub forma verborum infrascriptorum publicavit in communi, sub tenore qui sequitur, in hæc verba.

“In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Cum vacante, etc., (*reciting the death of Wells and the election of Bywell*). Idcirco, ego Johannes Symson, Suprior, præsidensque in hujusmodi electionis negotio electus, vice mea et consensu—

^f The election is an unanimous one, and the suffrages fall on William Bywell, vicar of Stamfordham. Bywell now retires, and, at the desire of the electors, the Sub-prior draws up their election in a formal way. Immediately afterwards they go into the church, and sing a *Te Deum*, whilst Bywell is prostrate all the while before the high altar, to which they escorted him. The bells then are rung, and the election is announced, first in a formal manner, and then to the outer world *in vulgari*. The canons then return to the chapter-house, and depute two of their number to announce, formally, his election to Bywell, and to obtain his consent. They go to him three times before he assents to their wishes. The story is charmingly told.

When this is over the Convent seek the archbishop's confirmation of their choice.

The notary and scribe who drew up the document was a person of the name of William Biller.

On the 9th of March the archbishop wrote from Bustelsham, the old house of the Montagues, and desired Mr. John Lilford, doctor of decrees, Hugh Suell and Ralph Makarall, doctors of laws, and John Rudd, bachelor of decrees, to examine the document.

It passed the test, and on May 18, 1476, the primate named John Stavelay as his candidate for the pension of five marks per annum, which was required at the hands of a religious house on the election of a new superior (Reg. Geo. Neville, part ii., 28 a).

confratrum meorum hinc præsentium, ac totius capituli sive conventus prædicti, præfatum fratrem Willelmum Bywell, invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, in Priorem hujus monasterii de Hextildesham eligo in communi, et eidem monasterio provideo de eodem."

Quibus hoc ordine expeditis, nos omnes et singuli confratres et concanonici supradicti fratri Johanni Barton, confratri et concanonico nostro, potestatem specialem et plenariam dedimus et concessimus ad publicandum electionem prædictam, sic, ut præfertur, de fratre Willelmo Bywell factam, clero et populo in vulgari.

Quibus sic factis, absque intervallo, eundem fratrem Willelmum Bywell, electum nostrum, in ecclesiam conventualem ejusdem monasterii ad magnum altare ibidem deduci fecimus, *Te Deum Laudamus* solempniter decantantes.

Qua decantatione sic facta, ac campanis nostris solempniter pulsatis, orationeque in hac parte consueta per præfatum fratrem Johannem Symson, Sup-priorem, super eundem electum nostrum, coram summo altari prostratum, perlecta, prædictus frater Johannes Barton, vice et auctoritate nostris, ut præfertur, dictam electionem sic, ut præmittitur, de eodem fratre Willelmo Bywell factam, in ecclesia nostra conventuali prædicta, palam et publice, mora postposita, clero et populo publicavit in vulgari; nosque Sup-prior et Conventus monasterii antedicti, ad domum nostram capitularem antedictam statim redeuntes, ac capitulum sive conventum ibidem facientes, religiosos viros fratres Johannem Barton et Johannem May, confratres et concanonicos tunc ibidem præsentis, nostros veros et legitimos procuratores ac nuntios speciales, communiter et divisim, nostro communi et unanimi consensu et assensu, ordinamus, fecimus et constituimus, ad præsentandum pro nobis et nomine nostro ac suis, præfato fratri Willelmo, electo nostro, electionem de se in Priorem dicti nostri monasterii, sic, ut præfertur, factam, ac eundem fratrem Willelmum electum nostrum requirendum suppliciter et instanter, ut electioni ipsi de se factæ suum præberet consensum pariter et assensum.

Et mox postea, eodem die—præfati fratres—ipsam electionem—eidem electo nostro, in quadam alta camera infra infirmariam dicti nostri monasterii situata, personaliter constituto, prout nobis postea retulerunt, nomine nostro præsentârunt; ipsumque electum nostrum cum instantia requisiverunt, ut electioni ipsi de se factæ suum præberet consensum pariter et assensum. Quibus dictus frater Willelmus Bywell, electus noster, respondit et dixit se velle super deliberare priusquam electioni prædictæ ex arrupto præsumeret consentire.

Postea vero, circiter horam undecimam ante meridiem diei antedicti,—procuratores antedicti ad præfatum electum nostrum in camera memorata accesserunt, et ipsum electum nostrum iterato cum instantia requisiverunt, ut electioni ipsi annueret et consentiret. Qui quidem respondit se velle super hoc aliquantulum deliberare, usque post communem horam prandendi ejusdem diei. Subsequenterque procuratores nostri præfati præfatum electum in camera prædicta accesserunt—demumque consensit tam timide quam devote sub hac verborum forma, non audens ut asseruit, Divinæ resistere voluntati.

“In Dei nomine Amen. Ego Willelmus Bywell, canonicus monasterii B.M.V. et S. Andreae Apostoli de Hextyldesham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, Ebor. diocesios, ac ordinem regularem in eodem expresse professus, in Priorem dicti monasterii vacantis electus, Divinæ non audens resistere voluntati, electioni ipsi de me factæ, in honore B.M.V. et S. Andreae Apostoli, in quorum nomine dictum monasterium dedicatum existit, expresse consentio in hiis scriptis.”

Vestræ igitur paternitati reverendissimæ humiliter et devote supplicamus, quatinus ipsam electionem canonice et concorditer de præfato Willelmo electo factam et celebratam, dignemini confirmare, cæteraque facere et exequi quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali, ut vobis, Deo propitio, sub suo regimine constitutus pastor ydoneus, in hiis quæ ad Prioris curam et regimen pertinent, prodesse valeat utiliter, et prodesse ad regimen gregis Dominici vobis commissi. Vestram paternitatem reverendissimam conservet Altissimus per tempora prospera diutius et feliciter in Domino duratura.

XCI.—AN INDULGENCE IN BEHALF OF THE GUILD OF ST. CUTHBERT IN THE CITY OF DURHAM.^g [Reg. Archiep. Laur. Boothe, 114 b.]

Item apud Scroby, ultimo die mensis Novembris, anno Domini supradicto (1479) dominus concessit quadraginta dies

^g An indulgence which calls to mind archbishop Booth's old connection with the see of Durham. This privilege is in behalf of a guild that worshipped at the altar of St. Cuthbert in the beautiful Galilee of Durham cathedral.

There are three other concessions during this year to charitable purposes within the diocese of Durham recorded in the archbishop's register (112-14).

Oct. 20, 1479, indulg. 40 dierum ad constructionem et re-edificationem Wolsyngham brigge.

Nov. 1, 1479, indulg. 40 dierum ad sust. gildæ S. Katherinæ Virginis ad altare ejusdem Virginis in eccl. B.M. in Northbale infra castrum Dunelm.

Nov. 26, 1479, indulg. 40 dierum ad sust. gildæ S. Annæ apud Auckland in capella ibidem fundata et situata.

indulgentiæ, omnibus vere pœnitentibus, contritis et confessis, infra provinciam Ebor., et aliis quorum diocesani hanc indulgentiam ratam habuerint pariter et acceptam; qui in subsidium et sustentationem fraternitatis sive gildæ in honore gloriosi confessoris Cuthberti in civitate Dunelm., provinciæ Ebor. prædictæ, fundatæ—aliqua de bonis sibi a Deo collatis contulerint—pia subsidia caritatis, aut Missas vel alia Divina servitia ad altare Sancti Cuthberti in Galilea infra ecclesiam cath. Dunelm. prædictam pro animabus fratrum et sororum dictæ fraternitatis sive gildæ, cum ab hac luce migraverint, celebraverint, celebrarive fecerint, vel celebrata audierint; aut pro eisdem animabus Orationem Dominicam cum Salutatione Angelica pia mente dixerint, aut tempore exequiarum, vel eo tempore quo corpus aliquorum fratrum aut sororum dictæ fraternitatis sive gildæ traditum fuerit ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, circa illud cereos, torcheos, sive aliud lumen quodcumque portaverint, vel portari fecerint; vel ad sepeliendum illud operam dederint pariter et interfuerint, quadraginta dies insuper, etc.

XCII.—A GRANT OF AN ANNUAL PENSION FROM THE LAST PRIOR OF HEXHAM AND HIS CONVENT TO EDWARD HOLGILL.^h [Ex Lib. in Curia Augment., i., 44 b.]

Edwardus, permissione Divina, Prior monasterii sive prioratus de Hextyldysham, ordinis Sancti Augustini, de diocesi Ebor., et ejusdem loci Conventus, omnibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit salutem in Domino sempiternam. Sciatis nos præfatos Priorem et Conventum, ex mero motu, ac de nostris unanimi concensu et assensu ac voluntate, dedisse, —pro nobis, et successoribus nostris, Edwardo Holgill, ad terminum vitæ suæ, unum annum redditum, sive annuitatem, quinque marcarum bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ—durante vita sua—ex manerio nostro de Salton, etc., in comitatu Ebor. Data in domo nostro capitulari, quinto die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo octavo.

^h A retaining fee from the last Prior of Hexham to a person of the name of Edward Holgill. He was probably a relation of William Holgill, who was precentor of York and archdeacon of Carlisle.

After the dissolution of the house Holgill produced his patent, under the convent seal, in the court of Augmentations on the 24th of April, 1537, and it was allowed. We are told that the monastery was at that time in the king's hands, having been suppressed and dissolved by act of parliament.

Holgill had received the pension for the preceding year from the hands of the receiver of the revenue of the Priory.

XCIII.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP LEE TO CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, BISHOP OF DURHAM, DESIRING HIM TO ORDAIN THE CANONS OF HEXHAM.ⁱ [Ex Reg. Tunstall, apud Consist. Cur. Dunelm., 4 b.]

Too the right reverende fadre in God, mye veray good lorde, my lorde of Duresme, is good lordeshipp.

My veraye good lorde. Aftr mye hertiest commendacion, I have a litle lordeshippe adjoininge too youre diocese, nyar, as I am enfourmed, too Duresme than too Yorke, called Hexham. I praye youre lordshippe that if the Prior of the monasterie of the saied Hexham sende too the sayme for orders anye of his brotherin, that you wolbe contente, there qualitis beinge conveniente for suche orders as theye demannde, too admitt them among youre owne. I shalbe glad too doo licke pleasor for you whan I maye. And thus faire you hertlye well. From Stockwell, the xxiiijth daye of March, 1531.

Yor lovinge broder,

EDWARDE LEE, Ebor.

XCIV.—A SET OF INJUNCTIONS GIVEN BY ARCHBISHOP LEE TO THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF HEXHAM.^k [Reg. Archiep. Lee, 97 a, b.]

Item, decimo nono die mensis Martii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quarto, commissio erat directa

ⁱ A friendly letter from archbishop Lee to bishop Tunstall. The primate evidently had not much idea where Hexham was.

I find from Tunstall's register that he ordained the following canons of Hexham (11, 21, 76 b).

Sept. 23, 1531, John Leighton sub-deacon; deacon and priest 24th May, 1532. This person was living in 1581, being then eighty years old, when he gave evidence at Hexham in a tithe suit about Walwick grange, etc. (MSS. Hodgson). He made the will of his brother, Robert Leighton, vicar of Long Horsley, in 1584. The vicar possessed "one ould writtine Bible," and "one writtine Cronicle." Possibly these had come from Hexham (Eccl. Proc. of Bishop Barnes, appendix, 128).

May 24, 1532, Andrew Hetherington and Thomas White, canons of Hexham, priests.

March 29, 1533, Wm. Gybson, canon of Hexham, priest.

^k These injunctions may be regarded as almost a last attempt by archbishop Lee to reform the monastery of Hexham, in which he had so great an interest. The mutterings of the coming storm were sounding in his ears. One class of offences is alluded to in these injunctions with a painful earnestness.

About the same time archbishop Lee sent out injunctions to the dean and chapter of York and St. Mary's abbey, and to the monasteries of Esholt, Wartre, Nunappleton, Sinningthwaite, and Helaugh. The last five had good cause for fear.

magistro Willelmo Strangweys, decretorum doctori, ad visitandum monasterium sive prioratum de Hextildesham, Prioremque et Conventum ejusdem.

Edwardus, permissione Divina, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Angliæ primas, et metropolitanus, dilectis in Christo filiis Priori et Conventui monasterii de Hexham, nostræ jurisdictionis, immediate, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum dilectus in Christo filius magister Willelmus Strangweys, decretorum doctor, ad visitandum monasterium vestrum prædictum commissarius noster sufficienter et legitime deputatus, quædam reformanda et corrigenda ibidem invenerit, de quibus nos sufficienter certificavit, unde nos paterno affectu, uti nostro incumbit officio pastoralis, præmissa corrigere et reformare, tam ad animarum vestrarum salutem, quam dicti vestri monasterii utilitatem, et religionis augmentum, in eodem cupientes, infrascriptas injunctiones per vos futuris imperpetuum temporibus observari, tenore præsentium, volumus et mandamus.

In primis, injungimus, tam Priori, quam omnibus et singulis canonicis et fratribus dicti monasterii, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, quod ipsi omnes et singuli regulam Sancti Augustini, quam professi sunt, inviolabiliter observent, et quod fratres ipsam regulam temere violantes districte secundum eandem puniantur.

Item ne fratres aliqua ignorantia a transgressione dictæ regulæ se excusare possint, sed, ut eam perfectius memoriæ commendent et observent, Priori dicti monasterii injungimus, quod dicta regula singulis diebus in domo capitulari seu refectorio ibidem in præsentia omnium fratrum legatur.

Item, Priori et fratribus dicti monasterii injungimus, quod omnium mulierum suspecta consortia evitent; nec præfatus Prior aliquam mulierem claustrum, dormitorium aut aliquam aliam domum infra dictum monasterium, præter ecclesiam, nisi sint parentes aut sorores, in quibus nulla sinistra suspicio possit esse, ingredi permittat: ulterius eidem injungentes Priori, quod ipse nullo modo admittat feminas ad consortium vel colloquium nisi præsentibus duobus fratribus et concanonicis suis, qui possint audire et videre quid dixerint aut fecerint. Et illud idem volumus per canonicos ejusdem domus observari, quod ipsi similiter nullam feminam ad consortium vel colloquium suum admittant, nisi præsentibus duobus fratribus et concanonicis, qui possint de hujusmodi colloquio et consortio laudabile testimonium perhibere, alioquin tam ipsum Priorem, quam canonicos prædictos, hujusmodi nostram injunctionem et monitionem violantes, criminis incontinentiæ reos reputabimus, et pro talibus deinceps reputamus per præsentem, nisi sint parentes, sorores, aut aliæ

proximæ consanguineæ, in quibus nulla sinistra suspicio possit esse.

Item injungimus Priori dictæ domus quod januæ claustrî, statim completorio finito, singulis noctibus claudantur, et obserantur, et claves custodiantur per Priorem dictæ domus, vel alium discretum fratrem per eum ad hoc deputandum : et ita clausæ servantur usque horam sextam diei proximo sequentis in æstate, et horam septimam in hieme.

Item injungimus Priori dictæ domus quod ipse nullo modo, etiam cum consensu Conventus, corrodia, pensiones, aut feoda deinceps concedat, aut grangia sua ad firmam dimittat, absque nostra aut successorum nostrorum speciale et expressa licentia sub nostro aut eorum sigillo obtinenda.

Item Priori prædicto injungimus, quod ipse, saltem semel in anno, coram Conventu seu aliquibus de senioribus et prudentioribus dicti monasterii ad hoc a capitulo deputatis, de receptis omnibus et expensis, ac statu dicti monasterii et sua administratione, plenariam reddat rationem.

Item ut omnis proprietas a canonicis dictæ domus prorsus excludatur, Priori dictæ domus injungimus super proprietariis bis in anno diligenter faciat inquisitionem. Et quoscumque tales invenerit, secundum canonicas sanctiones et regularia instituta corrigat et castiget, prout canonicam in hac parte effugere intendit ultionem.

Item canonicis dicti monasterii omnibus et singulis injungimus, quod nulli ipsorum absque licentia Prioris petita et obtenta septa monasterii egrediantur.

Item Priori dicti monasterii injungimus quod ipse nullatenus canonicis suis absque certa et honesta causa septa monasterii egrediendi licentiam aliquo pacto concedat.

Item prædicto Priori injungimus quod prædictas injunctiones nostras singulis quindenis distincte et aperte, in præsentia omnium fratrum, faciat legi, ut hoc modo facilius et perfectius easdem observare et perimplere possint, suisque memoriis melius mandent.

Quas injunctiones omnes et singulas vobis, Priori et Conventui, præcipimus, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, quatinus vos respective tangunt et concernunt, inviolabiliter observetis, uti debitam in hac parte pœnam effugere et evitare volueritis. Datæ in manerio nostro de Thorpe juxta Eboracum, ultimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quinto.

XCV.—A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP LEE TO MR. SECRETARY CROMWELL, DESIRING HIM TO SPARE THE MONASTERIES OF HEXHAM AND ST. OSWALD'S, GLOUCESTER.^l [MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra, E, iv., 286.]

Right honorable. Aftre my hertiest commendation, accordeng to your requeste made to me in your letters, I have, furthw^t, upon the receipte of the same, sent commawndement to certayne monasteries beeing nie to Yorke, where I was than; and nowe I have given commaundement to all archdeacons to warne all monasteries of lesse yerclie valewe than ij^cli, being w^tin their archdeaconries, that theye shall no thing imbecille, ne alien; and, if theye have, that theye shall agayne call suche thinges aliened or imbecilled to their handes. Some that were noted to have received somme goodes of suche monasteries I called and warned, that they shold in no wiese meddle w^t anye suche goodes; and that if they had anye suche, that they shold restore them; and, ferthermore, if anye suche goodes shalbee offred to them, that they shold give me warneng. And forbicause most resorte for suche propose is to the cite of Yorke, I have warned the maiour of Yorke, and oother of his brodren therof, and speciallie the maister of the mynte, upon their peril and daunger, that theye receive no goodes of anye suche monasterie. And, ferther, herin I entend to doo from tyme to tyme, as I shall see neede, and dailie doo warne suche as doo resorte to me, that they meddle not w^t anye suche goodes, that by them this commawndiment maye bee the more published, as I trust it shalbee nowe by th'archdeacons officially, wiche bee nowe all abrode, and have speciall commawndiment to sett furthe this propose.

Sir, I entierlie praye you to bee good to me for ij places of the patronaige of the archbushoppes of Yorke, that if you shall thinke upon such considerations, as I shall alledge, that I have reason to sue for them, that you woll helpe me w^t your good word that theye bee not suppressed. The t^one of them, named Saincte Oswalde's,^m is not of foundation a monasterie of reli-

^l The act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries had now passed, and was in full operation in Yorkshire, and archbishop Lee was actively, but I believe rather unwillingly, employed in repressing any sympathy with the tottering monasteries, and preventing any evasion of the act. Every precaution was being taken to prevent the sale of any church-goods.

^m The archbishop begs that two monasteries, peculiarly connected with himself, might be spared. St. Oswald's at Gloucester, and Hexham.

St. Oswald's might be regarded almost as a private possession of the archbishops of York. It, together with Selby abbey, was given to Thomas, the first Norman primate, by William Rufus in exchange for Lincoln and Lindsey (*Fasti*

giouse menn, but is *Libera capella archiepiscopi*. No man hathe title in it but the archbusshoppe; the prior therof is removable at my pleasure and accomptable to me, and the archbushoppe maye put ther, if he woll, secular prestes; and so wold I have doone at my entre, if I had not ther founde oone of myne acquayntaunce whom I judged meete to bee there undre me. And, moreover, th' archbushoppes of Yorke had it given to them by William Rufus in exchaunge for recompense aswell of landes as jurisdiction taken from them at the commeng in of William Conquerour, as apperethe in my registres and oodre old bookes. And in the same it apperethe that the saied chapell enjoyethe all privilaiges lieke as all oother the kinge's free chapelles, for it was some tyme *Libera capella regia*; and for the defense of the saied privilaiges and jurisdiction ther, my predecessours have alwaies had writtes from the king agaynst all disturbers, bicause it is no oodre but *Libera capella*, and some tyme was the kinge's.

The toodre is called Hexham, upon the Borders of Scotland, and was some tyme *sedes episcopalis*; and manye holie menn, somme tyme busshoppes ther, bee buried in that churche, saintes of name; and wiese menn that knowe the Borders thinke that the landes therof, althoughe theye were x tymes as moche, can not contreveile the damaige that is lieke to ensue if it bee suppressed; and some waie there is never a house between Scotland and the lordshippe of Hexham; and menn feare if the monasterie goo downe, that in processe all shall bee wast moche wthin the land.ⁿ And what counfort that monasterie is daylie to the contre ther, and speciallie in tyme of warr, not onlie the contre men doo knowe, but also manye of the noble men of this realme, that hathe doone the kinge's highnes service in Scotland. I doubt not but that the land of that monasterie is bettur than twoo hundred pound by yere, as liekwiese th' archbushoppe's landes war moche bettur xiiij mares by yere, and

Ebor., i., 151-2). In the reign of Henry II., Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, consented to make St. Oswald's free and independent *ut libera capella regia* (*ibid.*, 242). Of course the plea of archbishop Lee was unsuccessful; the monastery was suppressed, and fell. Some massive walls still mark out the site. The registers of the archbishops of York contain many documents relating to this house.

ⁿ The archbishop now pleads for Hexham, and adduces a strong argument for its preservation. It was a kind of great *diversorium* on the way to the Borders, and the king's soldiers, as well as travellers in general, were hospitably entertained there, and there was no other place near where they *could* be received. If the house was suppressed, all inducements to till the ground would be taken away, and the country would soon lie waste.

I am inclined to think that Lee was temporarily successful, and that there was a short respite for Hexham. The next document tells a different tale.

nowe it is, *communibus annis*, undre ij^{cl}i. I entierlie praye you, if you thinke that I have reason to sue for these ij, that you woll helpe me to save them. And, as for Hexham, I thinke it is necessarie to bee considred, as I thinke theye that knowe the Borders woll saie.

Sir, accordeng to the kinge's commawndiment, I have generallie given commawndment that no prechers shalbee suffred, that w^tougte discretion preache novelties; and as you right wieselie considerd, doo rather sowe scedes of dissention than doo anye good; and somme suche as I have herd to use suche preacheng I have discharged; and yet they preach, but I make processe agaynst them; and some of them saie theye woll get licence of the king to preache.^o If theye obteigne anye suche licence, I tha . . . ame discharged for them that have suche licence; but I trust that you woll suffre no suche licence to passe, but that I shall knowe therof; and what your pleasure is than, if theye preache suche novelties, I praye you I may knowe by this bearer. Somme saie theye have licence of my lord of Cantorburie, but I trust theye have no suche; and, if theye have, none shalbee obeyde here,^p but onlie the kinge's and youre's. And thus in my hertiest maner fare you well. From Cawod the xxijth of April, 1536.

Yor owne ever assured,
EDOUARDE Ebor.

XCVI.—THE MISDEMEANOURS OF THE RELIGIOUS PERSONS OF HEXHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND. [From the MS. Collections of the late Rev. John Hodgson.^q]

First, whereas Lyonell Gray, Robert Collingwod, William Grene, and James Rokeby, commissioners for the dissolucion of the monasteries within the countie aforesaid, the xxviith day of

^o In the Public Records, Strype, Ellis, etc., there are several letters relating to Lee's conduct in reference to preachers, but as another work is before me, I shall reserve them for it.

^p The old jealousy between York and Canterbury here breaks out.

^q We now come to the dark days of Hexham, and this account of the resistance offered by the canons to the progress of the king's visitors is as interesting as a romance.

Archbishop Lee's plea for the preservation of the monastery was unsuccessful; at least if the operation of the act, as far as Hexham was concerned, was delayed, this privilege was only a temporary one, and on the 28th of September, 1536, four of the royal commissioners come up Tynedale towards Hexham to take possession of the monastery. This outbreak then occurred, which may really be considered as the commencement of the Pilgrimage of Grace, for the rising did not begin in the South for some days. The document itself must now take up

the month of September, in the xxviiijth yere of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry the VIIIth, associate with theyre ordinarye company, was ridyng towards the said monastery of Hexham, there to execute the king's most drad commaundement of dissolucion, beyng in theyre journey att Dilston, iij miles frome the same monastery, were credably enformed that the said religios persones had prepared them with gonnez and artillery mete for the warre, with people in the same hous, and to defend and kepe the same with force, assentyd that the said Lyonell Graye and Robert Collingwod sholde with a fewe persones repare to the same monastery, as well to view and se the nombre of persones kepyng the same hous, as to desyre the Subprior and Coventt of the same thankefullye and obediently to receyve the king's commissioners coming nerehand to entre into theire hous, with dewe intertenement, there to execute and use th'effectt of theire dewties of dissolucion, according to the king's most drad comaundement. The said Lyonell and Robert, accordingly, did enter into the said toun of Hexham, riding towards the said monasterye, did se many persones assembled with bills, halbartes, and other defenceable wepyns, redy standing in the strete, like men redy to defende a toun of warr; and in theire passing by the strete, the common bell of the toun was rongen; and, streight after the sound of itt, the grete bell in the monastery was likewise ronge, wherby the people forceably assembled towards the monastery; where the said Lyonell and Robert found the yats and doores fast shitt. And a chalone, called the maister of Ovingeham, belongyng to the same hous, beyng in harnes, with a bowe bentt with arrowes, accompanyd with divers other persones all standing upon the leades and walls of the hous and steple. Whiche maister of Ovingeham answeyrd theis wordes hereunder written, "We be xx^{ti} brethern in this hous, and we shall dye all, or y^t shall ye have this hous." The said Lyonell and Robert aunswereyd

the tale. I shall speak on this subject in the Preface, so that it will only be waste of space and idle repetition to dwell upon it here.

This paper is taken from the MSS. of Mr. Hodgson, the historian, who found the original in one of the public offices in London. I have not been able to discover the original, and it is with very great regret that I cannot give more documents connected with the rebellion at Hexham and its suppression, for such documents must undoubtedly be in existence. All the papers referring to domestic affairs in England in the reign of Henry VIII. are being arranged, and are consequently inaccessible at present to the general enquirer. Through the great kindness of Mr. Brewer I have been enabled to give several of these documents, especially that which follows. When the Calendar now being made by Mr. Brewer is published, a perfect revolution will be made in the domestic history of England in the time of Henry VIII., and, from what I have seen of the muniments themselves, it is almost impossible to make a catalogue of any part of them unless the whole are systematically arranged before anything is done.

with request and said, "Advise you well, and speke with your brethern, and shewe unto them this our request and declaracion of the king's gracios writings, and then gyff us aunswere fynallye." And soo the same maister departed into the hous: after whos departure did come into the same place v or vj of the chalons of the house, with divers other persones, like men of warr, in harnes with swords gyrde about them, having bowes and arrowes and other wepyns, and stode upon the steple hede and leades in the defence of theyre hous, the said Lyonell and Robert beyng withoute. Aboute whome did come and accongregate many people, both men with wepyns, and many women, and stode there a grete space, assuryd by the said maister of Ovingeham that they shold remayn peasably there unto there aunswere were made, and soo to departe withoute bodely hurtt.

The said maister of Ovingeham, beyng in harnes, with the Sub-Prior,^r being in his chalones apparell, nott long after did repare agayn to the said Lyonell and Robert, bryngyng with them a writing under the king's brode seall, and sayd theis wordes hereafter written, by the mouth of the Sub-Prior, "We doo nott doubte bott ye bring with you the king's seall of auctorite for this hous, albeitt ye shall se here the king's confirmacion of our hous under the great seall of king Henry the VIIIth. God save his grace.^s We think itt nott the king's honor to gyff furthe oon seall contrarye to an other, and afore any other of our landes, goods or hous be takin frome us we shall all dye, and y^t is our full answeere." And soo the said Lyonell and Robert retornyed and mett the rest of the comissioners approachinge nere the toun. And so, all togeders, reculed bak to Corbrigg, wher they leyed all y^t night.

Uppon the morowe next after did come oon Thomas Elrington of Esperscheles, esquier, James Bellingeham of Hexham, gentelman, and Roger Laweson of Hexhamshire, yoman, who were within the toun of Hexham whatt tyme the said Lyonell and Robert were in the toun; and they did remayn there after the recule of the said Lyonell and Robert, for the forther declaracion of the said chalons demeanors, do informe and saye, thatt, immediately after y^t the commissioners departed the toun, the chalons, beyng all in harnes, associated with a grete companye of tennants and servants belongyng to the said monasterye, to the nombre of lx persones and moo, did issew furthe of the monastery in defenceable arraye, by ij togeders, all in harnes, and so did walke frome the monasterye to a place

^r It may be asked, what had become of the Prior?

^s It would appear from this, perhaps, that archbishop Lee's request for the preservation of the monastery had been granted for awhile.

called the Grene, towards where the commissinors did mete; and there stode in arraye with theyre wepyns in theyre hands, unto the comissioners were past oute of the sight of the monasterye, and soo retorned into the monastery agayn.

LYONELL GRAYE,
ROBT. COLLYNWOD,
WILLIAM GRENE,
JAMES ROKEBY.

XCVII.—THE CONDUCT OF SIR THOMAS PERCY, KNIGHT, SIR INGELRAM PERCY, KNIGHT, HIS BROTHER, AND JOHN HERON, ESQ., OF CHIPCHASE, IN NORTHUMBERLAND, AT THE TIME OF THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.^t [From the original in the Public Record Office.]

J. H. C. A breif remembrance of the demeanor of Sir Thomas Percy, kny^t, in the county of Northumbreland, in the tyme of the late rebelyon, 1536.

1. First, howe the saide Sir Thomas Percy behavid hym sellf in Yorkshire, in setting forward, as mych as in hym was, the Est Rydyng, and w^t such nombre as he culd make; howe

^t This document, which has never been printed before, is, on the whole, the most interesting and valuable of those that occur in this Appendix. It describes the spreading of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Northumberland in the autumn of 1536, and tells us, to a certain extent, of the conduct of the canons of Hexham.

Sir Thomas Percy was a younger brother of Henry earl of Northumberland, the wooer of Anne Boleyn, a K.G., and warden of the East and Middle Marches. Sir Thomas was a bold and discontented man, and would be quite ready to join the insurrection of the commons, although he complains himself that he was forced into it. The mob was anxious for leaders of repute, and the name of Percy would be a very tower of strength. Here are his own words, as taken down from his lips on the 10th of February, 1537:—

“Sir Thomas Percy, knight, examined, saith, as hereafter doth ensue.

“Beyng at my ladie’s house his mother, in Yorkeshire, he harde by a noyse goyng abrode, and can remember no person by name, that he shulde here yt of else, that they were up in Lincolnshire; but, at the firste, nother he nor any other there, did beleve the same. And, within three days after, he harde (as he dothe remember) of one Stringer, that brought a tegg from Wresill to my sayd lady his mother, that Aske had ben at Wresill and Holden, and there stired up all the commens, and cried at the gates of Wrysyll (as the said Stringer reported), ‘Thousandes for a Percy.’ Than, within a day or twayne after, this examinat prepared hymself to avoyd, and to stele away from his sayd mother’s house home to his owne house, and toke with hym but a man or too and his boy; and because he wolde not be knowen, he toke one of his servannte’s cootes on hym, and lede his male horse hymself. And, being ij or iij myles in his way, he mett w^t too men, wherof th’one was called Percey, a man with a redde face, who asked this examinat whether he knewe where Sir Thomas Percy was. And this exa^t answered hym that he harde say that he was at my lady his mothers. Than sayd the said Percy to this exa^t, that the commons were then assembled at Malton, and that they hadd layd watche in every towne to take Sir Thomas Percy; and

gorgyusly he rode thorowe the kynge's highnes cyte of York" in complete harnes, w^t fethers trymyd, as well as he my^t dek hym sellf at that tyme; which did shewe well he did nothyng constraynyd, but of a willyng malicys stomak, agaynst his most naturall and dred soveraign lord; and what wrytynges he made in his name upon payn of dethe, as dyvers placardes, preceptes and other, signyd w^t his hand; and made entrey opon landes belongyng to other the kynge's highnes trewe subjectes; and howe many actes he there did agaynst his dewty of allegyans, the hole contrey there can bere witnes; but in the county of Northumbeland, after that Sir Raif Ellerker and Robert Bowes was sent frome the comons at Dankester" to the kynge's magesty, partly of his doynge hereafter followithe.

2. The sade Sir Thomas imediatly after the metyng at Dankester, as sade is, he w^t all spede repayrid to Northumbreland to his hows at Pridhowe;" to whome at his first comynge resortid the most notable offenders both of Tyndale and Hexhamshire that had done most harm to all the trewe inhabitantes of the contrey; and w^t hym as famylyer as thay had beyne his own howshold servanntes: and, specially, John Heron of Chipches and his freyndes, Edward Charlton, Cuddy Charleton, Geffray Robson, Anthony Erryngton, w^t such other;" whiche

they said they wolde have hym by noone, or else they wolde leave my lady his mother never a peny or peny worthe of goodes. Which this examinat hering retourned by and by to his said mother's house to Semer agayn. And than he shewed my lady his mother that he was stopped so that he coulede not passe home, wherupon she wept and sore lamented."

Soon after this the commons came to Semer and carried him away with them, and Percy entered with heart and soul into the insurrection. In the ensuing document there is an account of what he did in Northumberland, which seems to have been drawn up by Sir Reginald Carnaby, against whom Sir Thomas was bitterly incensed. Sir Thomas appears to have been most active in stirring up the county, and his connection with it, as well in an official position as through the influence of his family, was close and strong.

Lord Northumberland was sick at Wressel castle whilst all this mischief was going on. He set his face against it as far as he could, and his mother, the countess, was greatly afflicted at the share which her children took in the rising. She had a greater cause for sorrow in the following year, for her eldest son died in his bed and his brother upon the scaffold.

The issue of the insurrection is well known. It failed, and on the 20th of June, 1537, Sir Thomas Percy and several others were hanged at Tyburn. Some of the best blood in the North of England was shed that day.

" Aske and Sir Thomas Percy entered York in triumph on the 16th of October, 1536.

" This was at the end of October. Sir Thomas Percy was leader of the first division of the rebel army that encamped near Doncaster. It consisted of five thousand men, who were under the protection of the well-known banner of St. Cuthbert.

" Prudhoe castle on the Tyne, about ten miles below Hexham.

" These freebooters will be mentioned afterwards. Among the papers in the Public Record office there is one with the title, "The saying of Thomas

was a great encoragement to all malifactors and evile doers, and a discomfort and great desolacon to all pore trewe people that had sufferd oppressyons affore by the afforsade persons and there complices.

3. Item, now^tstanding the sade Sir Thomas had naither auctoryte by the kyng's magesty nor yet by my lord of Northumbreland, then his highnes warden of the Est and Mydle Marche, he toke upon hym as leutennant of the Mydle Marches, and all to th'yntent that, undernethe color of that office, he my^t move and styr the kyng's people, and to muster thame at his pleasure for the fullyng of his malicys mynd agaynst his most . . . dewty of allegyans.

4. Item, immediate after his sade commyng, he and his brother Sir Ingram Percy appoyntid a metyng at Rothebery, wⁱⁿ the sade county of Northumbreland, comaunding all the gentlemen of the contrey to be there for the establishment of Tyndale and Riddesdale; and that the pore folkes which were by thame robbid and spoilid shuld be lykewise recompensyd, or els to have such remedy provided for thame as my^t best be devisyd; which supposid to the hole contrey to be trewe and of a fathfull meanynge, a great part of th'yⁿhabitantes of Northumbreland, as well gentlemen as other, resortid thither; where thay always lookyng for som gode directyons to be takyn in the premyssez, notw^tstanding that the hede and cheife offenders of Tyndale and Riddesdale was there present that had done so many great and opyn robberyes and spoilyes, yet there was none of thame ones rebukid w^t word of displeasor for these ill doynge, but rather cherisid and mych made of; and none other ordre takyn, saif a maner of an abstynens for xx^{ti} days, which was also in wordes and nothyng in dedes; for in the same tyme thay as well comyttid robberyes as affore, and, in the end, such gentlemen as affore at the meting at Alnwick affore Sir Ingram was nat sworn there, wer imforsid to take there othes.

5. Item the sade Sir Thomas spak w^t parson Ogle, and, first, after lovyng maner movid hym that he wold delyver a casket w^t mony of Sir Raynold Carnaby's, which he supposid was in the sade parson's kepyng; and the same beyng to hym denyed by the sade person, the sade Sir Thomas gaf hym great wordes and manacid hym to do hym displeasure; and, likewise, he movid one John Ogle^y of Ogle castell to delyver hym suche

Errington of Parkshaw." I have not seen it, but it refers, probably, to some seditious speech.

^y The will of this gentleman is in the Durham Wills, I., 247. It was made in 1565.

It was customary on the Borders for the gentry and yeomen to have their

plate of Sir Raynold Carnabye's as was in his custody; and by caws he saide nay, in lyke maner he departid w^t hym at opyn diffyans, w^t such cruell wordes as he thought goode; and all to have had redy mony whereby he thought he my^t maynteyne the better his noughtyly and wrong begon quarell.

6. Item the said Sir Thomas, in suche offices and leaces as Sir Raynold Carnaby had of th'erle of Northmbreland, and to hym made sure by act of Parliament, as Langley, Corbreg and Ovyngham dam, he pot in such of his servantes and freyndes as he thought mete; and not onely cawsid thame to occupy the sade offices, but allso all suche corne and cattell w^t howshold stuf, as belongid to any of thame that had the occupacion of the sade offices for Sir Raynold Carnaby affie, to be takyn and occupied at his servanthe's pleasor, and yet so contynewithe.

7. Item, he culd nat be content herew^tall, but made opyn proclamacions alongst the water of Tyne, that who so ever culd take any man that bare the name of Carnaby,^z or any servant of theres, and bryng the body of hym unto the sade Sir Thomas, the brynger of hym shuld have all the goodes of the person so taken, and who so ever mayntenyd, or reset, or accompanyd any of thame, there goodes, landes, and bodys to be forfett and at his pleasor.

8. Item he sent certen servanntes of his to one Willm Swyneborn hows callid Captheton, in the sade county of Northmbreland, who had certen apparell and other stuf of the sade Sir Raynold Carnabee's, his father's and brethern, in kepyng, beyng pot in trust therew^t, all by reason he had married his syster;^a the valewe of which was above cc li.: all which his sade servanntes toke by fors away w^t thame, which dorst nat be denayd unto thame by the sade Willm Swyneborn, by such menaces as was made unto hym, as to born his landes and such other displeasurs, and so the same was holy by thame conveyd to his hows of Prudhowe; which stuf as yet ys there remaynyng.

9. Item, the sade Sir Thomas sent his prest to Halton,^b

valuables and cattle in different places, for protection. If a man had a herd of fifty beasts, he probably kept them in six or eight places. If one farm-yard was harried, the chances were that the other five or seven were safe.

^z The hate of Sir Thomas Percy and his brother for Sir Reginald Carnaby was very great, and a reason for it will soon occur. I shall give an account of Sir Reginald among the bailiffs of Hexham in Vol. II.

^a Clare, daughter of William Carnaby, of Halton, Esq. Capheaton is the western part of Northumberland, and is still the residence of the Swinburnes.

^b Halton castle or tower is to the north-east of Hexham, across the Tyne, some two or three miles from Corbridge. It was the old seat of the family of Carnaby. Dodsworth, the antiquary, saw their evidences, and made numerous extracts from them.

the dwellyng place of Sir Raynold Carnabee's grandfather, and said he wold for his maister ther take entrees and possessyon, for he saide all that was the Carnabee's landes shuld be his, seing Sir Raynold Carnabe was fled and agaynst the comons.

10. Item, he was dyvers tymes at Hexham on market-days, and opynly in the abbay^c demaunded the inhabytantes there what help or ayd he my^t have of thame in the quarell of the commons; whiche his wordes encoragid many ewill disposed persons to be wors mynded agaynst the kinge's magesty than thay wold have beyn, but onely by his provocacon.

11. Item, he promessid to have aided the comons w^t v^c Northumbreland speres; which whan he had made all the meanes he culd, and myght nat be able to fullfill his intended porpose, he was so asshamyd of hyme sellf, that he sent his prest to the comons w^t his excuse, and was nat by reason thereof at the metinge last at Dankester.^d

12. Item, the sade Sir Thomas cam to the castell of Harbottell in Riddesdale, and was w^t John Heron of Chipches there one ny^t, and wold have met as leutenant of the Mydle Marches w^t the officers of Scotland; which thay, perceyvying his usurpid auctoryte w^towt any speciall grannt frome the kyng's highnes or his warden, refusyng to mete hym, he, disapoyntid of his porpose as voyd, rode to Alnwik to his brother Sir Ingram.

13. Item, the sade Sir Thomas made forthe dyvers lettres to the gentlemen of the contrey, and toke apou him as leutenant, and comanded thame in the kyng's name, after a colorable sort, many tymes, to mete for the stay of the contrey, which at no tyme he mynded, but onely for the fullfylling of his own mynd.

14. Item, whan he perceyvid that the contrey men shuld perceyve and knowe that he did wrong, and that he had none auctoryte to occupy as leutennant; and that th'erle of Northumbreland,^e knowing his demeanors, had apoyntid my lord Ogle

^c This must have been after the beginning of the month of November. The outbreak at Hexham took place on the 28th of September. The house was probably in rebellion for many weeks. Then came the amnesty under which the canons would try to shelter themselves; but in the month of February, 1537, Hexhamshire was again on fire, and the attack was made upon Carlisle. After this martial law was proclaimed in the district, and the house of Hexham fell, never to rise again.

^d This took place at the end of November. Percy, therefore, had been in Northumberland for a whole month.

^e Northumberland, in spite of the remonstrances and threats of his brothers and the commons, remained stedfast to the king. He made Robert lord Ogle vice-warden, and Sir Roger Grey and Sir John Widdrington lieutenants of the Marches. Lord Ogle was connected by marriage with Widdrington, and all

and other the most worshipfull of the contrey to bere office, which wold do there devore to serve the kynge's highnes fathefully, accordyng to there most boundon dewty; than, whan as proclamacons was made at Newcastle, Morpethe and other market townes, declaring there auctoryte, the sade Sir Thomas cawsid lykewise proclamacons to be made in the same places in his name, by reason whereof such dyvisyon was in the contrey, that the pore men culd nat knawe to whome thay shuld sewe for justice, or to have remedy for offences comyttid.

15. Item, the sade Sir Thomas Percy, whan as the lord Ogle beyng admyttid as vice-warden had proclamyd a warden cowrt to be kept at Morpethe^f for the wellthe of the contrey in executyng justice, he, w^t all the fryndes he culd make, made assembly to gether, and his brother Sir Ingram, in like maner, to have stoppid the kepyng of the sade warden cowrt by fors; whereof whan the lord Ogle had wo(r)d, by counsale of his freyndes, not willyng to make any troble in the contrey, to forther of the kynge's highnes pleasor were knowen; and specially so sone after that the comons were staid after the late rebellyon, did pot of and differ the kepyng of the sade cowrt at that tyme; whiche he was lothe to do, but onely for fere of the kynge's magestye's displeasor.

16. Item, the saide Sir Thomas Percy cawsyd his servanntes to take forthe of Lekynfeld^g park, in the county of York, dyvers fayr geldynges of Sir Raynold Carnabee's, which yet unto this day ar reteynyd in his hand, and usid at his pleasor.

17. Item, the sade Sir Thomas Percy culd not be content w^t his wrong doynges in the tyme of the sade rebelyon, but also, sens the kynge's most gracyus pardon grantide, he still occupyethe all suche offices as he wrongfully entred unto of Sir Raynold Carnabye's; and also kepithe still in his handes all such stuf as he toke of the sade Sir Raynolde's, his father and brethern, w^t there horses in like maner, and dothe occupy the same at his pleasure.

18. Item, sence the pardon granntid, allso, what thynges hathe beyn by hym procurid to be done agaynst his dewty of allegyans, in cawsing newe othes to be made in Northumbreland, as, many other, opon inqueryes had, there is no dowbtes but the same woll appere whiche as yet ys nat com to light.

were related to Carnaby. In these days men moved and acted, for the most part, in families. Lord Ogle's grandson married one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Sir Reginald Carnaby.

^f This was on the 17th of January, 1537, as will be seen in the letter which follows this document.

^g Leckonfield, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, was one of the Percy estates. Carnaby seems to have had a lease of the park.

*Sir Ingram Percy's doynges in the tyme of the sade
insurrection, 1536.*

19. First. The said Sir Ingram Percy^h beyng dischargid of the vice-wardenry at Mydsomer last, which he gaf up wyllingly to my lord his brother being warden, and sade he wold no more occupy, yet, notw^tstanding the same, whan as he knewe of the rysyng and great insurrection of the comons, he beyng at Alnwik castell, one of the cheif strenkithes and greatest hold of the Borders, he toke apon hym, as hede and reowler of the contrey of Northumbreland, and sent for all the gentlemen there to be affore hym at the sade castell of Alnwick: which his comandment the inhabytantes of the contrey supposyng yt had beyn for the stay of Tyndale and Riddesdale, which than was lately brokyn, as willyng to the reformacon of the sade contreys, thay all which had warnyng repayrid thither.

20. Item, at the commyng of the gentlemen, thay all desirus to here what directyons shuld be takyn for the wellthe of the contrey, as well for the stay of the brokyn contrey of Tyndale, Riddesdale and Hexhamshire, ass allso for the defens of the comons of the byshoprik of Duresme and ther complices,ⁱ beyng the kynge's rebels at that tyme, the sade Sir Ingram, in the opyn audyens of tham all, toke a lettre forthe which one John Lumley,^j brother-in-lawe to John Heron of Chipches, had bro^t frome the comons; which lettre he cawsid to be red; and allso certen articles for that porpose devisid; accordyng to the contentes whereof he compellid every man there to be sworn. And, notw^tstanding dyvers and many perswasions made to hym to the contrary by the gentlemen there, which did owe there fathfull dewty to there most dred soveraign lord the kynge's magesty, yet, say what thay wold, no remedy but all there must swere or els do wors, and the most part of the sade gentle sayng his mynd, never after repayrid unto hym standing for that tyme ing inclosid in the sade castell of Alnwik, will thay or nat, sworn thay were.

21. Item, the sade Sir Ingram daily, as myche as he myght,

^h Sir Ingram was the younger brother of Sir Thomas. Although he was deeply implicated in the insurrection his life was spared, but he died in 1538. His will is printed in the *Coll. Topogr.*, vi., 273-4.

ⁱ St. Cuthbert's banner had been sent for by Robert Aske, and had been obtained. The bishopric was well represented in the ranks of the insurgents. Lords Neville and Lumley were there, Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Thomas Eure, and many others.

^j I am unable to discover the position which this gentleman occupied in the pedigree of Lumley. George Lumley, the heir of that noble house, was in the insurrection, and was executed at Tyburn.

w^t all his possible powr, movid and stirred the gentlemen of Northmbreland to be of the comons' part agaynst the kyng's highnes, insomyche, as bicaws Sir Raynold Carnaby and his freyndes wold nat be sworn, he wold nat suffer thame to remayn w^t in the contrey, but onely in such strong holdes as he culd nat com at thame to do thame harm.

22. Item, the sade Sir Ingram, bycaws he had not auctoryte under the kyng as vice-warden, by reason whereof he culd nat have such stroke in the contrey as he wold have, he found meanes that the abbot of Alnwik, and other freyndes that he made, went to th'erle of Northumbreland, than being at Wressill, and thay enformyng hym that the sade Sir Ingram was trewe unto the kyng, and that if he were officer in the contrey he wold rewle yt according to the kyng's highnes pleasure, aswell in defens of the commons, as repressyng the mysdemenyd persons there, he, upon there informacon, supposing the same to be trewe, wrote a lettre to Sir Ingram Percy his brother, desyryng hym to take apon hym as vice-warden and shiref of the shire of Northumbreland under hym for that yere, and also leutenannt of the Est Marche, w^t the fees accustomyd: which lettre to hym delyvered, he a good space afterward rode to my lord his brother, being than at York; and bicaws he supposid no man durst take upon hand to occupy those rowemes but he, seyng he was in such favor as he was w^t the commons, he made playn aunswer to my sade lord that he wold nat medle w^t the sade offices, oneles he had vij^c markes for the vice-wardenry, and c markes for the leutenannce; which his faschon persavyd to my sade lord, his brother he was dischargid as well as of all other offices that he culd discharge.

23. Item, the saide Sir Ingram, at his sade beyng at the cyte of Yorke, opynly to my lord his brother spak such malicius wordes as were abhomynable to any trewe man to here; and specially, tochyng my lord Cromwell, such shameful reportes as were to mych to be hard; wisshyng hym, beyng of the kyng's most honourable counsale, to be hanged as they and he my^t loke unto; and if he were there present, as he wisshid to God he were, he wold pot his sword in his belly; w^t such other, as not onely my lord his brother hym sellf, I dowbt nat, woll testify, but allso dyvers of his servauntes beyng there at that tyme.

24. Item, the sade Sir Ingram, after his brother Sir Thomas Percy was comyd forth of Yorkshire frome the comons, than he and his saide brother appoyntid a newe meting at Rothebery in the said county of Northumbreland, where was by thame bothe promysid fathfully to all the contrey thay wold take an order for Tyndale and Ryddesdale: whereof thay all being glad,

which was pore folkes, to have there goodes restorid agayn, as thay thought. Thither cam dyvers gentlemen, and for the most part of the hedes of the evil doers of Tyndale and Riddesdale was there, yet w^towt any ponyshment, or other rebukes, was let go home; and nothyng by the saide Sir Thomas and Sir Ingram done, saif onely certen gentlemen, which affore was not sworn at Alnwik, than thay were sworn there.

25. Item, the saide Sir Ingram, w^t the lordship of Alnwik, and all that he myght make, cam, accompanyd w^t Sir Humfray Lysle,^k kny^t, Robert Swynnowe and Johne Roddom, gentlemen, to the hows of Thomas Forster, who had dyvers tymes accompanyd Sir Raynold Carnaby, as well in his hows, as in dyvers other places, by reason the saide Sir Raynold had marid his suster,^l he beyng abowtward to have besegid his hows, supposing Sir Raynold Carnaby had beyn there. Than the saide Thomas Forster, knowing his porpose, cam and spak w^t hym, shewing hym y^t was nat so; and he, desyryng to serche his hows, the saide Thomas Foster was content; and when the saide Sir Ingram was w^{tin}, and knewe Sir Raynold Carnaby at there, than he said to Thomas Forster thees followyng; "By Godde's hart, he wold be revengid of Sir Raynold Carnaby;" and whan Thomas Forster desyrid to knowe what offenc the saide Sir Raynold had done unto hym, and wherein he had offended hym, he saide, "Sir Raynold Carnaby hathe beyn the distruction of all our blode, for by his meanes the kyng shalbe my lorde's heyr;^m and nowe he thynkithe a sport, and to ryde up and down in the contrey, all we beyng sworn and he unsworn, and this I pray yowe shewe hym, for sewrly I wolbe revengid of hym:" and so, after many manaces and great thretnynges made, he rode to the castell of Alnwik, and thought to have cast down a hows of Thomas Gray'sⁿ callid Newstede; and by certen mocyons of men in his company did forbere the same at that tyme.

26. Item, in his way homeward he toke possessyon of a town callid North Charlton, which Sir Raynold Carnaby had late

^k Sir Humphrey Lisle went with the Percies, although he was lord Ogle's brother-in-law. The Lisles, however, at this time seem to have been bankrupts in reputation and fortune, as some very severe reverses had recently come upon their house. The Northumbrian gentry, as a whole, went with the king in the insurrection.

^l The house was Adderstone, near Bamborough. Dorothy, Mr. Forster's sister, married Carnaby.

^m The extraordinary settlement of the Percy estates is well known. Sir Thomas was the next heir in proper descent. We can now understand why he and his brother were so bitter against Carnaby.

ⁿ Probably (Sir) Thomas Grey of Horton, who married a daughter of Ralph lord Ogle.

purchasid, and comannned every man there to bere record that he had takyne possessyon of Sir Raynold Carnabye's landes there, for the use of his brother Sir Thomas; and, in likewise, sent his servanntes to take possessyon of all the rest of Sir Raynold Carnabee's landes in that contrey.

27. Item, the saide Sir Ingram sent to Lyonell Gray,^o porter of Berwik, and bad hym be w^t hym such a day, and be sworn, as he was, unto the comons; or els he wold seas all the goodes he had; for which caws, the saide Lyonell Gray refusyng his pleasure, knowing the same to be contrary the kinge's magesty, the most part of his cattell, by dryvyng and remov- yng frome one place to an other, for fere of the saide Sir Ingram, was in poynt of utter los and distruction: and likewise, as he sent to the saide Lyonell Gray, so he did to Sir Roger Gray, and Sir Robert Ellercar, beyng the kyng's servannt, who w^t the hole contrey there can testyfy the same at large.

28. Item, the saide Sir Ingram, all the tyme of the saide insurrection, made musters and assemblyes of men at his pleasor, and all for the annoisons of the kinge's trew subjectes that wold nat be sworn, which cawsid the pore men of the contrey that thay dorst nat do as thay wold have done, and accordyng to there dewty of allegyans to our most dred soveraigne lord the king.

29. Item, bicaws one Edward Bradeforthe, being Sir Raynold Carnaby's servannt, wold nat pay unto the saide Sir Ingram all the rentes of his maister's landes, he cawsid xvij^{em} of his servanntes to lye in wate of hym betwixt his parishe chirche and his hows; and so toke hym by fors, or had hym to the castell of Alnwik, where he laid hym in the stokkes ij^o ny^{tes} and a day, and kept hym in hold thre days longer; and wold have had hym to have beyn sworn to hym and have forsworn his m^r.

30. Item, yt was reportid he sent to Berwik to have had great ordynaunce there to have besegid the castell of Chilyngam, where Sir Raynold Carnaby, Sir Robert Ellercar, and dyvers other, that were unsworn, lay.

31. Item, the sade Sir Ingram toke apon hym, as shiref of Northumbeland, and kept shiref-turnes at Alnwik, makyng officers under hym Sir Umfray Lisle and such other as he thought mete, and sade opynly there shuld no man there rewle but his brother and he.

32. Item, he sade, in the chappell w^{tin} the castell of Alnwik, to Sir Thomas Percy, "Brother, I am affraid the kyng agre w^t his comons;" whereunto Sir Thomas aunsswerid that

^o A brother of Sir Roger Grey of Horton. He married Eleanor Forster, the aunt of Sir Reginald Carnaby's wife. Hence the animosity against him.

y^t wold nat be so, for he was promysid by thame that bere the cheif rewles amongst the commons that thay shuld never agre w^towt his knowlege; and, for the more sewrty, he was sewr thay wold never agre w^towt thay had a pardon grannted for all offences done; “wherefore let us do that we thynk to do whils we may, and that betymes.”

33. Item, whan as my lord warden sent certen lettres to the lord Ogle, than beyng vice-warden, and to Sir Roger Gray and Sir John Woddryngton, beyng leuetennantes of the Marche, for to se the contrey in goode order, bothe w^tin the county of Northumbeland; and to se due redres to be made anempst the part of Scotland under his charge; the saide Sir Ingram cawsid servanntes of his in the kynges highway to ly in wate if any such lettres shuld com. And so toke a servannt of my lord warden’s, and examynynd hym, and certen of his lettres toke from hym by fors, and opynynd thame. And if the lettre, which he bro^t to the lord Ogle and to the other afforenamyd, had beyn found upon hym, he had beyn in jeoperdy of his lyf. And so upon his othe, he takyng upon hym he had no lettres to the lord Ogle, was sufferd to depart; which handlyng of the warden’s servannt, or of any other person w^t the warden’s lettres beryng the kynges auctoryte, was never seyn, for his lettres hathe always beyn in the lewe and place of a salvconduct, bothe in Yngland and Scotland.

34. Item, the sade Sir Ingram, by chans metyng a tenannt of Sir Willm Ogle’s,^p demanndid of hym, “What newes?” and he, namyng hym sellf to be the lord Dacre’s tenannt, sade he culd tell no newes, but that he and his neighbors was robbed and spoilid and utterly undone; praying to God to send remedy. He made aunsswer, that the pore man was well servyd, for the lord Dacres, his m^r, first was a trator to the kyng and after to the commons;^q which his wo(r)des did well shewe what mynd he ought to the kynges magesty.

The crafty devyse and subtile way conceyved by John Heron of Chypches^r in the countie of Northumbreland, otherwyse callyd Litle John Heron, to have the inhabitantes of Tyndall and Hexhamshyre to breyke; and all to bring to pas his evill intended porpose in the begynnyng of the late rebyllyon.

35. The said John Heron, on Sondag the xvth of October,

^p Of Cockle park, near Morpeth, a brother of lord Ogle.

^q William lord Dacre was tried for high treason and acquitted in 1535, and, with this warning before him, he refused to join in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

^r We now come to the most interesting portion of this paper: the connection

came to the dwelling place of Willm Carnaby, called Halton, in the said countie of Northumbreland, abowte x o'th cloke afore none; and, aftir dyverse communycacons had, and, specially, consernyng the apprehension of the chanons of Hexham and theyre complices than as rebelles keping by strenkyth the monast(er)y of Hexham against the kinge's highnes comyssions, he advised the said William Carnaby, as his frend, that he shuld take some stay with th'inhabitanteres of Hexham and Hexhamshyre for a certayne space, declaringe unto hym many inconveniences which myght happyn in case he dyd not; and shewing, further, what strenkyth they were of, and in a reidy-nes, and howe he, and his frendes, nor other contrymen for that purpose was not assembled togyther. And, yf he thought

of the canons of Hexham with the rising. This is told in so graphic a manner that we may well regret the story is so short. It is so simply and plainly given that it requires no comment.

The royal commissioners, it will be remembered, were driven away from Hexham on the 28th of September, and from that time to the 15th of October the canons seem to have held their monastery by force of arms. In the meanwhile the Pilgrimage of Grace had begun in the South, and the news and details of the rising would be carried by many an eager post into the North. The tidings would be received with joy in Tynedale, not that the freebooters cared much about religion, but they would regard with delight the prospect of fighting and plunder, and they would have an opportunity of paying off old scores. John Heron of Chipchase then steps in: the narrative must now carry on the story.

This John Heron, about whom such things were written down from the lips of the Carnabies, was a gentleman of name and fortune, who lived at Chipchase castle on North Tyne. Wily as a fox, full of resources, prompt and dashing, he was just the person to be a captain among freebooters, and he had very great influence in Tynedale and Redesdale.

After the tumult was over, orders were given that Heron should be arrested and punished, but he was so powerful a person that the council at Berwick, fearing for the peace of the district, desired to have him bound over to good behaviour in the large sum of two thousand marks.

In April, 1537, Heron was in a sad scrape. Roger Fenwick, keeper of Tyne-dale, was murdered, and Heron was charged by one Jerrye Charleton, *alias* Jerrye Toppinge, with being concerned in it (State Papers, Hen. VIII., v., 142). The case against him was very slight, but he seems to have been alarmed and fled into Scotland. On the 6th of November, 1538, he was present at a Border meeting at Baiting Bushe, and lord Wharton wished to seize him, but, upon second thought, he gave up the attempt (*ibid.*, v., 140-1).

The duke of Norfolk seems to have been anxious to secure Heron's son, another John, as a pledge for his father. The duke desires him to be brought "with an hode on his hedde, and so secretly kepte by the waye that no man shold knowe hyme unto his delyveraunce" (*ibid.*, v., 102). This shews that there was some chance of a rescue, but it does not appear that the bird was ever caught.

In 1540 the Privy Council write to Henry VIII., throwing a slur upon the evidence against Heron for the murder of Fenwick, and recommending that nothing should be done to him, to ensure the peace of the district. Interest was everything, and Heron was to be made safe. On the 17th of August, 1540, the register of the Privy Council shews that it was intended to appoint Heron keeper of Tynedale, which he refused unless he had Redesdale also; and on the 30th it was resolved to appoint him to both (*ibid.*, v., 203).

good, the said John Heron said he wold be a laburer hym self to bring the same treaty abowte, and stay to be takyn for a tyme, that nayther party shuld do other harme. Uppon which his mocion, and the said Willm Carnaby, supposing all to be devysed of a trewe harte and faithfull meanyng, desyred hym to take opon hym the said busynes. Which he, being glad of, though he made noo semblant, immediatly rode unto Hexham; wher he declared noo part of his sainges nor promyse unto the said Willm Carnaby, but devysed with the chanons of Hexham, and certeyne other of theyre sewrest freindes, for the defence of theyme against all other that wold be of the contrary parte: and shewing theyme he wold do that in hym was, for the savegard of theyme and theyre howse; which, he said, wold utterly be destroyed yf they loked not for remedy betyme. And, aftir meny reasons made amongst theyme, the said John Heron said, yf they wold grannt certeyne feis under theyre Convent seall to certeyne men of Tyndail, suche as he shuld apoint, somme fyve markes yerely, somme xls., he doubtyd nat, but by the helpe of his son-in-lawe Cutbert Charleton, who had maryed his doughter, and of one Edward Charlton,^s his uncle, with other suche frendes as they wold make, but all the hole contrey of Tyndall wold dye and lyve in y' quarell. Which wrytinges, according to his devyse, were made in a readynes, and not sealled than, by caus the chanons of Hexham desyred John Heron that he wold do a mesage to the said Willm Carnaby before they shulde joyne theym self w^t thevys; which they wold be loth to do, yf they myght any owerwyse sayf yer lyves. And his message was this, to desyre the said Willm Carnaby to send his son Sir Raynald Carnaby, who brought downe the kinge's highnes lettres, desyring hym to be meane and sewter for theyme of Hexhame that had offendit, and that they myght have y' lyves pardonid; and the abbey shulde be delyvert to the kinge's commysioners, to be ordered at theyre pleasure; soo that they myght there serve God, and remayne, thoughe they beggyd for theyre lyvings. Which y' desyre they prayed the said John Heron that he wold declare unto the said Willm Carnaby.

And soo he departed from Hexhame, and came to Willm Carnaby, and y' lay at his howse all that Sondag at nyght, not shewing hym in any point the chanons of Hexham mynd, nor any parte of his message, but y^t he could not have a perfite annswere, by caus dyverse of theyre trusty frendes were absent.

^s These persons will be mentioned afterwards. They were freebooters of note, and the government wished to apprehend them more than once (State Papers, v., 102), but securities were accepted for their good behaviour.

How beit, on the morow, he said he trusted he shuld have y' hole mynd, and according to his desyre.

Soo that nyght he, remayning there, devysed by his said son-in-lawes meanys, that warnyng generally was made all that nyght thorowe owte Tyndaill, that every man shulde attend and mete theyre keper Roger Fenwyke at Chollerford,^t two myle from Hexham, uppon payne of a noble, every man to forfet that was absent. Soo that nyght being past, on Monday in the mornynge (the xvjth day of October, the next day folowynge) the said John Heron said he wold ryde to Hexam, to see what annswere the chanons wold gyve hym; and soo dyd. At whiche his comynge, they were desyrous to knowe what word they shulde receyve from the said Willm Carnaby, they extemyng that theyre message had bene trewly shewid unto hym, which was all oyerwyse. John Heron said that he made the meanys he could to have theyre request granntyd, but it wold nat be, for yer was noo remedy, but Sir Raynald Carnaby wold have fowre hedes of the chanons, and foure of the town and shyre, such as he wold apoint, to send uppe to the king; and oyer favor they gat not of hym. Whiche when they hard, said better it was to defend theyre lyves as long as they myght than wilfully to kill theyme selves: and so prepared theyme selves and Tyndal men to make theyme as strong as they coulede.

Which being mete to gyther, according to the devyse of the said John Heron, and he seing every thing reidy as he wold have hade it, he came frome Hexhm to Willm Carnabi's hows agayne, and sat downe to dyner, saing these wordes, "It is a good sight to see a man cite when he is hungry;" and passyd forth the tyme to half dyner was done. And as he was at dyner, one Arche Robson of Tyndall came to one John Robson his cousyn,^u and told all howe Tyndall men was gethered, and by what warnynge; and which John Heron percey(v)ing, and thought the said Willm Carnaby wold have knowlege of it, he said that he wold speyke withe hym a parte; and soo, calling hym to an-oyer chamber besydes, said he could not fynd theyme of Hexham to will to make any stay, but they wold do yer worst, and bad hym defend hym self as well as he wold, for he knewe well they wold be at his hous streight way, and that Tyndall was part taker w^t theyme.

Which hering the said Willm Carnaby, he said that it was verey shorte warnyge, and not lyke a frend of hym done to knowe suche a purpose, and not to declare it to he had half dynid; but yer was noo remedy but take it as it was. Soo, the

^t This place is on the North Tyne, five or six miles from Hexham.

^u These two worthies occur again afterwards.

said Willm desyring hym of his counsaill, he said there was noo helpe but onely to goo to his hous of Chipchase, and there to be his self; for, yf he remeynid in the hous, all the goodes in the world wold not sayf his lyf. And that he was sure yf he taryed, he could not defend the hous, they were such a power; with many othir suche lyke terrible wordes; and all to th'entent to have t'hous left void, without defence; by caus he wold have had Sir Raynald Carnabe's money and plait, which he knew was there; as manifest^(l)y hereafter shall apere; and soo the said Willm Carnaby toke his horse, and rode with the said John Heron toward his hous of Chipchase.

In the meane tyme, the Hexhamshyre men, and Tyndall togyther, being assemblyd at a place callyd Sanct John Ley, neght unto Hexham, it fortun'd a servannte of Syr Raynald Carnaby's to be ryding, and chained amongst the Tyndall men; who seing y^r maner, and perceyveing y^e purpose, with fayre wordes gotting hym forthe of theyre handes, supposing to have bene at the hous of the said Willm Carnabe's, for to defend the same afore theyr comyng, he toke a more nere way thyther; and by a venture dyd see hym and John Heron ryde togyther towardes Chipchase, as is afforsaid: and soo made a tokyn that he shuld come towardes hym, he said unto hym secretly in his eare theis wordes, "That traytor theyf that rydyth with you hath betrayed you, and it woll cost you your lyf yet; yf ye folowe counsaill, I shall warrannt you;" and soo advised hym to speyke to the said John Heron, and to desyre hym with as fare wordes as he couth, to tary bak, and to kepe of theyme behynde hym as he myght do, by caus he was of theyre acquaintance and alied amongst theyme, the said servant of Syr Raynalde's shulde guyde hym to Chipchase. And soo, by that meanys, John Heron taryed bak, supposing he had rydden to his hous of Chipchase. And by caus he wold have bene sure he shulde not have scaped, he afterward sent his son George Heron to attend uppon the said Willm Carnaby, which in lyke case was conveyed. And as sone as they were forth of theyre sight, he rode anoyer contrary way towardes Langley, and escaped. Which yf he had not done by chans, he had bene sure then to have bene slayne by his enemys, and according to the mynd of the said John Heron.

Yet he not attaynyng unto that to whiche was his cheyf desyre, as to say the money and plate, he retorned from the said Willm Carnaby, as said is, and came to his hous of Halton and demanndet of his wyf yf hyr son Sir Raynald had any money. And she, menyng trewly, and gyffing good faithe to hym, said "Yea," and delyvered to hym the casket withe suche money as

the sayd Syr Raynald hade. Whiche when he hade it in his handes, one Arthur Errington, a kynnesman of the said Syr Raynaldes Carnabi's, against his will, dyd take it from hym; and he togyther w^t vij Tyndall men which had promysed to take his parte, rode away with it as fast as theyre hors wold bere theyme. And John Heron, seing his purpose was woid, that the casket was owt of his handes, made after with all the spede he myght; and put a kercher as a pensell uppon his spere point, and folowed aftir the casket; and all to th'entent that the rest of theyme whiche was brokyn in the forrey, and was seasing the goodes, shulde have takyn the said casket from theyme that had it. Which when he could not overtake, he retorned, and soo that nyght rode home.

Moreover, by caus he wold have had the hous without any defence of men, when as Thomas Carnaby, one of the sonnes of the said Willm, was in his said hous at Halton, the said John Heron came unto the said Thomas, and said, his father com-mandit hym of his blyssing that he shuld not tary in the hous. And soo by fare wordes intysed hym to departe from the hous lykewyse. And yet he couth not come to his desyre, for alwayes some men remayned in the hous, and y^{ey} not leveing his mater; soo, on the morowe, beyng Tewesday, he came unto the hous agayne, where the said Willm Carnaby, being absent, and all his chyldren, one Lewes Ogle, the lord Ogle's brother, being y^r keaping the hous, he movid hym, in all that he coulde, to leve the hous woid; saing he wold not tary there tyll nyght, yf he knew and perceyved as moche as he knewe, for ten thousand poundes; with suche lyke ferefull wordes not a fewe: which whan he could not bringe abowte, he rode home, and never came thither after.

And, syth that tyme, all the insurrecon induring, howe by his devyse his brother-in-lawe John Lumley, who hath maryed his wyffe's syster, brought a lettre from the commons to Sir Ingram Percy at Alnewyke, by reason wherof all theyme that were sworne in Northumbreland toke there othe; and that he keypth the castell of Forde^v by strong hande; and howe he hath dayly accompanied with theyme whiche was cheyf spoylers of the pore inhabitanntes of Northumbreland, the hole contrey can testyfie; which is to long nowe to be recyted.

^v The well-known fortalice in the northern part of Northumberland which had been for a long time in the possession of the Herons. In my father's *History of North Durham* there is an account of the struggle between the Herons and the Carrs for the castle. In one of the affrays the mayor of Berwick was killed.

XCVIII.—A LETTER FROM SIR JOHN WIDDRINGTON, KNIGHT, TO SIR REGINALD CARNABY, KNIGHT, ABOUT THE COUNTY MEETING AT MORPETH.^w [MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, iii., 266.]

Ryght wurshipfull cousyn, I recomend me unto you ; and to sertyfye you of suche newes as ar with us, ye shall perceyve that Syr Thomas Percy and Syr Ingram Percy his brother, on Wedinsday the xvijth day of January, caused to be made a crye at Morpeth, that all the hole contrey of Northumbreland shuld be there on Saterday nexte after, in theyre best defensable array ; and to bring with theyme iij dayes vitaill ; and whiche of theyme that had any billes of complaynt, to gyf theyme in, and they shuld have redresse. The next day after, my lord Ogle and I caused a proclamacon to be made that no man shulde be there, after no suche maner as in great nombres ; but of every towne two at the most, which shulde be sufficient enoughe to take informacon of the complayntes. And the caus whye we caused the said proclamacions to be maid was, we were not in certeyne to what intent the said Syr Thomas and Syr Ingram caused the cry to be maid, as is afforsaid, in moveyng the people to come in suche a great nombre. Moreover, I wrote lettres to the said Syr Thomas and Syr Ingram Percy, and to all other gentilmen in the contrey, that thay shulde not make any assembly of the kinge's people to further of the kinge's pleasure were knawen ; as they wold aunswere ; which all the gentlemen of the contrey toke verey well. Howe be yt, on the next day aftyr, came to Morpeth Sir Thomas Percy, and with hym John Lomley and John Swynborne, and noo moo gentlemen ; and dyd noothing ; whiche seing, the pore comon people was not content ; wherfore on Monday next after, the hole commons rose, and said thay wold byrne all Ryddisdaill and Tyndaill.

^w This letter must be regarded as supplementary to the preceding paper. The thieves of Tynedale and Redesdale were a great curse to the remainder of Northumberland, and the Percies could find no better excuse for bringing the county together.

Sir John Widdrington, of Widdrington, was one of the greatest gentlemen in Northumberland. He was at different times deputy-warden of the Middle Marches and keeper of Redesdale. There are two lists of the principal persons in the county printed in Hodgson's *Northumberland* in which the character of Widdrington is differently described : "Sir John Widdrington," in the first list, "is a true man, and of good will, but lacketh experience, and will lightly be counselled ;" at the time of the second list he has gained the experience which he lacked before, and is set down as "a true man, and a good housekeeper." Like many of his neighbours, he was not averse to an affray, as on one occasion, in 1552, he assaulted Mr. Brandling, M.P. for Newcastle ; but the scandal blew over, as Widdrington was high sheriff of Northumberland in 1559.

Sir John had a large estate in Hexhamshire, and was connected with the Carnabys as well in interest as in blood.

Howbeit with long debating with theyme my lord Ogle and I stayed theyme, soo that they wold be content to rest as they were to the feast of Candilmes next commyng. Wherefore I wold desyre you to make reformacon hereof to the kinge's most honorable counsaill, soo that provision may be hade for the same for the welth of the contrey, as they shall thinke mete; which shalbe grett comforth to us all, as knowith God, who kepe you. At Wydrington, the xxiiijth day of January.

Yo^r assuryd,

JOHN WEDDRYNTON.

In dorso. To my ryght worshopfull cossin, Sir Ranolld Carnaby, knyght, be this delyvered.

XCIX.—A LETTER FROM THE COUNCIL FOR THE MARCHES TO HENRY VIII.* [MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, i., 138.]

Pleasith it your moost royall majesty to be advertissed, that where as we doe conceyve that yo^r majestie haith graunted and assigned by your moost gracious lettres pattentes, certane anuyties unto Cuthbart Charlton and Edward Charlton of Tyndall; we consultinge and debaytinge amongst our selves, having respect unto the great and heynows robberyes and slowthes commyttede by the same personnes; and how that thei, not onely beinge the chief stirrers of the rest of the cuntrees of Tyndalle and Riddisdail to doe and commyte such enormities, as thei laity have employed, to the waistinge and decaye of a great parte of the cuntrey, and utter undoinge of the noubre of foure or five hundreth of your grace's true subjectes, inhabitants upon the fronters of yo^r grace's realme, doith gather that the bistowinge of yo^r grace's saide pattentes unto theym of any anuytie or rewarde, should not onely incourage theym to rejoice of their former mischevous actes; bot also give exampill to othir personnes, who ells would not mynde any such myschief, to commyt sembleable trespaces towart your majestie, and the hurt of yo^r subjectes. And consideringe, likewies, that thoes two prencipall personnes (the rest of the cuntree beinge contented to take ooth upon theyr kepars, now after this laite

* A letter to the king from the council of Berwick, speaking of three Border gentlemen whose exploits, especially in connection with Hexham, have just been given. The council wishes to arrest Heron, but to let the two Charltons go.

The Charltons held offices under the king on the Marches.

About the time of the date of this letter the attack was made upon Carlisle. No immediate attention, therefore, if any, could be paid to the recommendations of the council.

buysye tyme, to be true towart your grace in every condicion) dyd refuse to doe the same, oneles thei had ben reserved to be partakers with the house of Hexam in the tyme of the rebellion of the same: to the mayntenance wherof against your majestie thei dyde take othe, and is reteigned with a yerely fee of twentie nowbilles a pece for the assistinge therof accordinglye, as we are credible informede by Roger Fenewike^y their kepar. And, likewies, thei have now refused to lye enny pledges for restitucon for any gooddes by theym wrongfullie takin of any yo^r grace's subjectes, and that also thei (as we are informed by their said kepar) have confiderat theym to the evilldoers and mysrewled personnes of Liddisdaill, Gedwourth forrest, Hayrlawwooddes, and the wattir of Eske in Scottlande, to perceive and be mainteigned in the premissez. We doe, accordinglye, thinke, that without th'apprehencion of theym, and th'execucion of condigne punishment towart theym, thei shall not onely theymeselves compass many inconvenienciez, to th'inquietin of theis partes of yo^r grace's realm, and impoverishinge of yo^r subjectes; bot, also, other personnes, regardinge their light escaipe, shall take in hand, and be of lyke boldnes, to doe and commyt such lyke rebellions in contempte of yo^r majestie. Wherfor, moost gracious soveraign, we thought that of duetie we were boundon to advertise yo^r majestie in this bihalve, and to declayr and oppyn unto yo^r majestie, how that if it shall stond with yo^r grace's pleasor to have the said Charltons apprehendit and punished, conforme to theyr demerettes, than it shalbe verray necessarie, in our oppynnyons, that provision be maid for a gareson of thre hundreth soldiors, to be layd upon the fronters, against Tyndall, agayne such tyme as it shalbe yo^r grace's pleasour that the said personnes shalbe aprehendyt and takin, for the resistinge of such inconvenientes, as of likelihoods shall ensue by the residue inhabitants of the same.

And, wher, moost gracious soveraign, we dyd conceyve that yo^r pleasor was that John Heron, should by yo^r grace's servannte Sir Antony Brown, knight, at this tyme directed from yo^r hieghnes into thes parttes abowt diverse yo^r grace's affaires, be apprehendit, and takinge, and conveyed unto yo^r grace by wattir, we, reasonyng and revolvinge the same, dyd determyn it for the best, for many consideracons, as well for the bringinge in of Riddisdaill, as other exployttes and polices, that the said John Heron should be suffered to go at libertye, and be boundon with sufficiantte souerties in the somme of two thowsand merkes, to make his apperannce befor yo^r grace at a day prefixed; and

^y He was killed two months after this, and Heron and the Charltons are said to have been cognizant of the murder.

so we trust that the said John Heron shall present hym selve unto yo^r grace at the returne of the said Sir Antony toward yo^r majestie.

And, over this, wher, we conceyve yo^r grace haith by yo^r lettres pattentes granted the kepinge of Riddisdaill unto George Fenewicke, we not onely supposinge that the alteracion of officers so swiftly shuld greatlie have hyndered the conformytie of the inhabitants of Riddisdaill to good ordors and justice, bot also thinkinge that yo^r grace's lievetenannte for the tyme beinge of yo^r Myddill Merchies for against Scoteland, can not directly excercise his office for the weell of the cuntree, oneles the rewill of the men of Riddisdaill be reserved unto hym with the castell of Harbottyll to lyv and remayn at, have avysed maister Brown accordinglie; and to stay yo^r said moost gracious lettres patenttes in this behalve in his handes, to the farder knowlege of yo^r most gracious pleasor in the same may unto hyme be directed. And what so ever shall stonde with your moost gracious pleasour to command us in the premissez, we ar and shalbe, as your truc and faithfull subjectes and servanntes, at all tymes redye to accomplish your grace's moost drad commandement.

Besechinge the Hollie Goost ever to preserve your moost royall majestie. From yo^r grace's castell of Barwicke, this xiiijth day of the month of Februarye, at ten of the cloke befor noon.

Your grace's most humble and obedient subjectes and servanntes,

THOMAS CLYFURD,	WYLLM EURE,
JOHN WEDDRYNGTON,	CUTHBERT RADCLYFF,
ROBERT COLLYNGWOOD,	JOHN HORSLEE.
LYOLL GRAY,	

In dorso. To the Kinge's Majestie.

C.—AN ANONYMOUS LETTER TO SIR CHRISTOPHER DACRE, DESIRING HIM PEREMPTORILY TO AID IN REPELLING THE INTENDED ATTACK UPON CARLISLE.^z [From the Chapter-house Books in the Public Record Office, vol. ccxv., 119.]

Cousyne Dacres, I knowe not whether ye receyved my lettre that I sent to youe yesterdaie or not; and therfore this shalbe t'advertise youe that theise commons beyng nowe assemblyd,

^z A vigorous and striking letter from some unknown person, possibly from a Clifford or a Wharton.

It speaks of the intention of the insurgents to attack Carlisle. This assault

and, as I hyre saye, drawing towardes Carlizle, I doubte not ye woll gather unto youe such company as ye may trust unto; and with them, after your accustomed maner, use theise rebelles, of such sorte that ye may deserve the kynge's most harty thankes; and therby to do good to youe and yo^r nephewe, my veray frend, for whom I loke every houre. I woll not instructe youe what ye shall doo, for ye knowe bettre than I. Spare for no reasonable wages, for I woll pay all; and spare not frankelie to sleye plentye of thes fals rebelles; yoyne trewlie w^t all that woll serve the king like trewe men, and forgeyte all malice. And, now, mak myne old sainges trewe, that is to saye, "Sir Christofer Dacre is a trewe knight to his soveraigne lord, an hardy knight, and a man of war." Pynche now no curtesye to shedde blod of fals traytours. And be ye busy on th'one syde, and ye may be sure the duke of Norff. woll comme on th'other. Finally, now, Sir Christofer, or never. From Richmond, the xvth daie of February;

Y^r loving cousyne, if ye do well now, or els enemy *for ever*.

CL.—A LETTER FROM HENRY VIII. TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.^a
[From Mr. Lemon's State Papers, vol. i., 537.]

Right trusty and right entierly beloved cousin, we grete you well. Lating you witt, that we have as well receyved your

was made and repulsed about this time. The insurrection was put down mainly through the efforts of Sir Christopher Dacre, and Henry VIII. was sincerely grateful to him. This letter, therefore, was perhaps needless. It was evidently written under strong excitement, for those were days of terror and alarm, and no one knew what side his own brother or friend would take. We can readily understand why no name was put to the letter.

Sir Christopher Dacre was the brother of William Lord Dacre.

^a A letter from the king to the duke of Norfolk, thanking him and others for the vigour and gallantry with which the insurrection in Cumberland and Westmerland had been repressed.

An attack was made upon Carlisle about the middle of February by an undisciplined multitude, discontented with the religious changes of the day. It was repelled by Sir Christopher Dacre, whose loyalty, as it will appear from the last document, had been somewhat doubted. The rebels fled, and Sir Thomas Clifford chased them; but, through carelessness, his forces met with a reverse. The duke of Norfolk now hastened to the scene, but the enemy dispersed as he approached, and there was nothing left for him to do save to play the part of the executioner.

Many of the northern monasteries were concerned in this affair, and the vengeance of the king and his lieutenant fell heavily upon them. It is a matter of great regret to me that, owing to the state of the documents in the Public Record Office, I am unable to give the full history of this rising as I could have wished. Mr. Froude has sketched it very summarily, and it is evident that there are many papers connected with it which I should have liked to print. This very document is taken from the printed volume of the State Papers.

letters of the 16th of this monethe, declaring the newe assemblee made in Westmerlande, with your prudent determination for the repression of the same, as your other letters of the 17th of the same instaunt, sent unto us by our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Sir Rauf Evers, knight, declaring the valiaunt and feithfull hart and courage of our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Sir Christofer Dacres, knight, and his most thankfull and acceptable service doon unto us, in the overthrowe of the traitours and rebelles of the said assemble, whiche also made an assaulte upon our citie of Carlisle; with the good service doon, also, unto us, in the chace of the same, by Thomas Clifford; and, semblaby, the perfite aredines, greate forwardnes, and herty good wylls, of all the nobles, gentlemen, and honest men of our countie of Yorke, and of all other quarters in those parties, to have served us in your cumpany, for the repression of the same rebelles (if they had taried togethers, tyll you might have com to them); with your determination for the punishment of that attemptate in suche sort, as all others shall have cause to beware by th'exemple therof. For answeere wherunto you shall understand, that in your earnest setting forward for the repression of the said traitours, and the semblable folowing of the same, bothe with your owne spedy preparations, and by your earnest and harty letters written to our said servaunt, Sir Christopher Dacres, you have doon unto us suche thankfull and acceptable service, as we shall never putte in oblivion; but in suche wise remembre the same towardes you, as you shall have good cause to rejoyce of your doing in that behaulf. And suerly it is moche to our contentation to here and understande, by the relation and advertisement of sundry of our servauntes, and good subgiettes of those parties, bothe how earnestly you doo advaunce the truthe, and declare, on th'other parte, the greate usurpation of the bisshops of Rome in this realme; and also howe discretely, plainly, and truly you painte and set forth those personnes, that call them selves religious, in the colours of their hypocrisie, that the ignoraunt people may perceyve, howe they have been abused in them, and the rather leave the supersticions in to the whiche they have, of long tyme, trayned them; and we doubt not, but the further you shall wade in th'investigation of their behaviours, the more ye shall deteste the greate nombre of them; and the lesse esteeme the punishment of suche, as you shall fynde, in wyll or deade, culpable in thinges, that may towche us, or the commen quyet of our realme.

Secunde, we desire and pray you, on our behalf, to give our moost harty thanks to all our good and feithfull servauntes

and subgiettes, that were ready to have served us under you, at this tyme; assuring them, that we doo not only accepte and take their good endeavours therin, for a perfite amendes for all folyes and negligences passed before the graunte unto them of our pardon; but also that, in all their reasonable causes and pursutes, we shall soo remember their service, in this mater, as shalbe to all their rejoyces and comfortes. And as concerning our faithfull servaunt, Sir Christofer Dacres, as we have given unto him our moost harty thankes, by our letters, which you shall receyve herwith, so we shall not fayle, within brief tyme, soo in our dedes to recompence his feithfull harte and service, whiche he hathe, in this enterprise, manifestly declared, that other true hartes shal take courage therby, in semblable thinges, to folowe his steppes, and good exemple.

Thirde, we doo ryght well approve and allowe your procedinges in the displayng of our baner:^b and forasmoeche as the same is now spredde and displayed, by reason wherof, tyll the same shalbe closed again, the cours of our lawes must geve place to th'ordenaunces and estatutes marciall; our pleasure is, that, before you shall close upp our said baner again, you shal, in any wise, cause suche dredfull execution to be doon upon a good nombre of th'inhabitauntes of every towne, village and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them uppe in trees, as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heddes and quarters in every towne, greate and small, and in al suche other places, as they may be a ferefull spectacle to all other hereafter, that wold practise any like mater: whiche we requyre you to doo, without pitie or respecte, according to our former letters; remembring that it shalbe moche better, that these traitours shulde perishe in their wilfull, unkynde, and traitorous folyes, thenne that so slendre punishment shuld be doon upon them, as the dredde therof shuld not be a warning to others: wherof shall ensue the preservation of a greate multitude; whiche, if the terroure of this execution shuld not lye in the eye of their remembraunce, might, percase, upon light rumours, tales, and suggestions of evyll personnes, fall into the pytte of like mischief. And when you shall have doon suche execution, as is before specified, then we be content, that, upon your discretion, ye shall close uppe our said baner, both for th'advancement of ordinary justice, between partie and partie, and for the due punishment of other malefactours, according to th'ordre of our lawes: for whiche purpose we have, also, herwith sent unto you the commissions

^b This implied the proclamation of martial law, so that those who were taken *in flagrante delicto* might be taken and condemned at once.

for Westmerland and Cumbreland, to be putt in execution and experience, when you shall see cause, and thinke mete.

Fourth, our pleasure is, that you shall, with diligence, sende uppe, in perfite suretie, unto us, the traitours, Bygode,^c the fryer of Gnasborough, Leche, if he may be taken, the vicare of Penrithe, and Towneley, late chauncelour to the bisshop of Carlisle, who hath been a greate promoter and procurer of all thise rebellions, and oon Doctour Pykering, a chanon of Birdlington, or as many of them, immediately, as you have, or can gette, and the rest aftre, as they may be apprehended.

Sixte, we desire and praye you to have good respectes to the conservation of the landes and goodes of all suche, as shalbe now atteynted; that we may have them in sauftie, to be yeven, if we shalbe so disposed, to suche personnes, as have truly served us; for we be enfourmed, that there were amonges them diverse freeholders and riche men, whose landes and goodes, well loked unto, woll rewarde other well, that with their truthes have deserved the same; not doubting, but you have alrede putte such ordre for this poynte, as shall apperteyn.

Finally, forasmoche as all thise troubles have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of those parties; we desire and pray you, at your repaire to Salleye,^d Hexam, Newminster, Leonerdecoste, Sainte Agathe, and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistence, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens th'appointement at Dancastre, you shall, without pitie or circumstance, nowe that our baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons, that be in anywise faultie, to be tyed uppe, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible exemple of others; wherin we thinke you shall doo unto us highe service.

^c These were some of the chief conspirators.

Sir Francis Bigod of Mulgrave castle began the second insurrection near his house at Settrington on Jan. 12, 1537. Froude says of him very truly, "If the king had selected a leader for the insurgents who would give a death-blow to their cause, he could not have made a better choice." He was tried at London, and found guilty on the 17th of May, and suffered death for his rashness.

^d William Trafford, abbat of Sawley, was hanged at Lancaster on the 10th of March, 1536-7. The Prior of Hexham suffered also; we know not what was the fate of the heads of the three remaining houses, but they would not escape.

Froude says that seventy-four persons were executed in the towns of Westmerland and Cumberland.

CII.—ARTICLES AGAINST THE ABBAT OF HOLM CULTRAM FOR HIGH TREASON.^e [MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, iii., 287.]

At the first insurrecon. Against the abbott.

Item, y^t the abbott sent to W. Alambe y^t he schuld send to James Hountter, to warn all abowt hym to be at Wayttynghow, upon payn of hayngyng, to met ye commons there.

* The Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram in Cumberland was founded in the twelfth century by Henry, prince royal of Scotland, and at the Dissolution it had a large income and great influence.

When the Pilgrimage of Grace began, the abbat of Holm and the canons of Hexham were equally active in promoting it, and their energies were again exerted in behalf of their religion when an attack was made upon Carlisle in Feb., 1537. I now give the charges that were preferred against the abbat of Holm. They shew the extent and the progress of the insurrection in the North, which brought Norfolk down on his career of vengeance, and swept away monk and canon.

Among the Chapter-house papers now in the Public Record office there is a paper which I should much like to see, "Examination by abbat Yerbye of Holme as conseryng the dethe of abbott Deveys late abbott of Holme Coltram." Hereby there probably hangs a tale.

"Abbat Yerbye" is no doubt the person referred to in this paper. Lord Wharton, writing in August, 1537, speaks of "the laytt abott of Holm," and it may be safely inferred from this that his treason had brought him to his end, when Norfolk began "to tie up" the religious persons in the North. Wharton, in the same letter, tells Cromwell that "on Graym moncke of that monestere" wishes to buy the abbacy. This is probably the informer whose words are here given. He wished to step into the shoes of his late superior, whom he had brought to the scaffold.

Graham, however, seems to have been unsuccessful, as on the 5th or 6th of March, 1538, the abbey was surrendered to the king by abbat Borrowdale (Nicolson and Burn, ii., 177).

On this occasion, or before it, the inhabitants of Holm Cultram sent the following petition to lord Cromwell, begging for the preservation of the monastery (Ellis's Letters, first series, ii., 90):—

"Too the right honorable and our singler good lorde mye lord prevye seale.

"Mooste humbly besechith your honorable lordship, your poore orators and beedemen, beynge eightene hundred houselynge people in the nombre, th'inhabitants of Holme Coltrame within the west border of the North parties of this realme of England, that it might please your lordship to be a meane for us to our sovereign lorde the kynge is highenes for the preservacion and standyng of the churche of Holme Coltrane before saide; whiche is not onely unto us our parishe churche, and little ynoughe to receyve all us your poore orators, but also a grete ayde, socor, and defence for us ayenst our neighbors the Scotts, withe out the whiche few or none of your lordship's supplyants are able to do the king is saide hieghnes our bounden duetye ande service. Ande wee shall not onely praye for his graciouse noble estate, but also for your lordship's prosperite, with increase of honor longe to endure.

"Your humble and poore beedemen,

"TH'INHABITANTS OF THE LORDSHIP OF HOLME COLTRAM."

The abbat was appointed the first rector of the parish, and the fabric of the church remained as it was for some time.

There are two very fine chartularies of Holm Cultram among the Harleian MSS., and there is a third in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

Item, the abbot was mayde commyssyoner to Carlell from ye commons, and rode towert Carlell as ner as he durst ; and send to them y^t was within y^e cetee, and askytt delyver of ye towne to ye commons.

Item, the abbott rode to Pereth to ye commons y^t rod to Yorke, and ther the said abbatt gayve them xls to ther expensys.

Item, the said abbot spake with one Hewe Williamson at the last insurreccion, the day afor the commons lade seges to Carlell, and askytt hym, “ Qwhat newys ? ” and the said Hew answer and said to hym agayne, “ There was never sayke a gatheryng to ye Brodfeld as there was y^t day afor,” and the abbot answeyrtt and sayde, “ All myghty God prossper them : for, yffe they sped not, this abbo ys lost : ” and upon the saying, he sent for ys subprior, and commandyt hym to cause the brether to goo daly wth procession to sped tham ye commons jornay.

The articles of brakyng of ye kynge’s grace injunccions, as ther after folloys :—

Item y^t the abbot hays broght dyvers woman in the inwart parts of o^r monisterii to dyn and suppe agains o^r injunccions.

Item y^t the said abbott hays sold withoute eny lycens of ye kynge’s grace, or of his vitorrs, as myche platt as com to houndreth pound and more.

Item the said abbot hays gyffyn o^r covent seyll agayns ij or iij of y^e breders myndes, agayns o^r monisterii profett.

Item ye said abbatt gayffe to ye abbott of Byland, for helpyng hym to ys promocion, a salt of gold and sylver to waloo of xx^{ti} markes and more.

Item ye the abbot haithe sold o^r joelles of o^r kyrke.

Item y^t said abbot hays lattyn o^r demaynes agains ye kynge’s grace injunccion.

Item the abbot seing the kynge’s grace pardon was gyffyn, cawsytt hiis tennandes, a gaynes ther wyll, to muster afor hym in the kyrke, and ther he wald hayve them to ryddyng to ye Brod Fell to ye commons ; and y^e denyett hym and said they wald not go excepe he went with them hiis selffe ; and befor them all the said abbot commandytt Cudbert Musgrave, of ye commons nayme, to take the tennandes and go to the Brod Fell ; and so bothe Cudbert and all tennandes denyett ye abbatt commandment and wald not go : and y^{is} aforsaid I will refere me to tennandes quether it was so or nay. And y^{is} commandment and mettyng was the day be for the commons laid seges to Carliell.

Item all the sterryng of ye tennandes within the Holme lordschoppe was ewer by ye commandment of ye abbot, bothe

att the furst insurreccion, and also at ye last, qwhen he cawsed them to come to ye abbay; at ye last insurreccion qwhen he commandyt them to ryde to ye Brod Feld wth Cudbert Musgrave.
per THO. GRAYM^f monic'.

JOHN AUSTAN sayth that upon Fryday next after Shref-twsday, the tennantes of the lordeshep of Holm beyng in the churchē affore the abott, upon warnyng gyffen to tham by Robert Yerby, servant the sayde abott, then and y^r dyd commande on Cuthbert Musgrave, deputy offecer there, that the sade Cuthbert shoulde goo w^t a sorte of men of the lordeshepe of Holm to the Brayde Felde to the commons, and y^r to discharge the sayd abott and other of y^r beyng there, wyche Cuthbert Musgrave denyed, and sayd he wolde not gow, and the abott and he was att grete argument abowt the sam, and so departyd, and non of tham went.

JAMES PARKYNG sayth that on M'ceall a monke, beyng fost^r, sent hys servant to the sayde Jaymes, beyng grave of Blake Dyke, that he shoulde warn all the tennantes of Holm w^{tin} hys offes to be affore the abott the sayde Fryday att the churchē, were the sayde abott dyd commande the saide Cuthbert Musgrave to take a sort of men with hym to the Brayde Felde, and to dyscharge the saide abott by the sam hys beyng there and hys brethren w^t the sayd commons; wyche the sayd Cuthbert denyed; and so the abott and he was in muche argument y^r fore; and the sayde Cuthbert wolde not goo, and so thay departyd. Item the sade James sayth that the sayde monke's servant dyd

^f This is the person in whose behalf Sir Thomas Wharton wrote the following letter which I copied in the Public Record office. It appears that after the death (execution) of the abbat of Holm, his chief accuser wished to step into his place, and was ready to bribe, or do anything, to secure his object:—

"In my ryght humbly maner, plesyth hyt your honorable lordshyp to be advertysyde that accordynge to my right boundon deuty, I have attendyt the assyces in Cumbrelande, wher dyvers henyus ryottes ande oyer unlawfull demenors er laytly down. Ther is on grett ryott foundon to be downe by the comandment of the byschoppe off Kerlesle. Hyt may further pleyce your lordshyppe to know yt sayth the dethe of the laytt abott of Holm ther was labores mayde unto me to sew for on Graym moncke of that monastere, wych wolde, besydes hys fyrst frutes to be payde to the kynges hyghnes, bestow so hys preferment to be as abbott ther, fowre hundreth merkes. Wych to me spokyn, I dyd intercede my sellffe to sertefye y^r lorde shype y^r off, humble besuchyng you in the saym, to be hys gude lorde, prayng your lordshyppe to gyffe further credence to y^{is} berer, andr iver whylles I leyffe for yo^r lordshypp's most abowndant gudenens to me shewyde, I shall conteneu with my prayer, and servyce at yo^r commandement, as our Lorde knawyth, who preserve yo^r lordshyp with long lyff ande muche honore. At Kerlesle, the xvijth day off August.

"Your lordshype's, att commandment,

"THOMAS WHARTON.

"*In dorso.* To the ryght honorable my lorde Cromwell."

gyffe hym warnyng agayne upon the morow, wyche was Setter-day, to warn all the tennantes wthin hys offes to come to the abay, for watt intent he knowyth not, and y^r the tennantes was all together, and shortly after there metynges thay departed hom to there howssys.

CUTHBERT MUSGRAVE, gent. and deputy offecer y^r, sayth that the abott in the churche dyd command hym, the day place and tyme affore sayde, to goo wth sertayn men wth hym to the commons upon the Brayd Felde; wyche the sayde Cuthbert denyed, and wold not goo; and that y^r was myche argument between tham, and so thay departyd and non went.

THOMAS CURWEN,
THOMAS WHARTON,
JOHN LAMPLEUGH,
EDWARD AGLIONBY,
RYC' BERKES.

CIII.—THE COPY OFF THE LETTER OF TYNDAL MEN.⁹ [MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, iii., 241.]

Worshupfull masters, this ys oure awnswers beinge the heddes men of Tyndell, yt ys so that we ware calld be fore the duk of Northfolke's graces for suche mysorder as we have done in the layt rabyllione within our soverane lorde's reallme, and

⁸ Some of my readers, who are not familiar with Tynedale and its past history and inhabitants, will read with some surprise this extract from a survey of the Marches made in 1550 by Sir Robert Bowes. It is highly illustrative of the present document:—

"North Tyndall is plenished with wild and misdemeaned people. They stand most by fower surnames, whereof the Charltons are the cheife. And in all services on charge imposed uppon that countrey, the Charltons and such as be under their rule be rated for the one half of that countrey. The Robsons for a quarter, and the Doddes and Mylbornes for another quarter.

"Of every surname theire be sundrye famylies or graves, as they call them, of every of which theire be certeyne headsmen that leadeth and answereth for all the rest. And doe lay pledges on them when neede requiereth for good rules of the countrey, and theire be some amonge them that have never stollen themselves, which they call true men. And yet such will have rascalles to steale either on horsbacke or foote, whom they doe resset," etc., etc. (Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. ii., part iii., 229).

In this document the "fower surnames" are fully represented. They had been "up" in the insurrection, and had not forgot to plunder as well as to fight. A reckoning comes with the duke of Norfolk, who dares not to meddle with them to any great extent, but seems to have taken pledges for their good conduct, and the restitution of a third of what had been carried off.

Norfolk's forbearance sits badly upon him. He who had "tied up" priors and canons and gentlemen, would not like to be thwarted by a few freebooters. His true character comes out in August, 1537, when he says,—

"I am veray desyrouse to bryng Tyndale in better order then it is. The tyme

ther was comandyt to mayk restetucyone of the thred part of all suche goodes as we had by oure othese, and to fynde oure fallons geuffe forthe by the comyschoners, and that we have not downe we shall do. Also the saide comyshoners hathe geven forthe a nother decre, the whyche we may not byd marvelling what ys the cause theirof. This byll mayd the xvij day of Marche.

Allso all condycons mayd before the duke of Northfolkk we will full fyll and do to the utermost. Allso if they be any that be obstakyll to do the same, we bynde use by this oure wryting to had hym and forcyfe hym. By us,—

THOMAS CHARLTON,
GYLBERT CHARLTON,
GERRET CHARLTON of Wark,
GERRE CHARLTON of the Boure,

JOHN ROBSON of the Pawston,
JAFFRAY ROBSON,
ARCHE ROBSON,

UMFRAY MYLBORN,
RYNYONE CHARLTON,
HENRY ROBSON of the Hall-hille,
HENRY YARRO,
JOHN WILKINSON,

HENRY DODE,
ARCHE DODE,

Copia Vera.

doth faste comme uppon, to chastise the rebelles and ill-disposed persones of Lydersdale and Tyndale. I have put myself in order to ryde Northwardes, to be in aredynes, if the king of Scottes woll ryde uppon Lydersdale, to do the like uppon Tyndale, so that no default, I trust, nor lacheousnes, shalbe fownde in me" (State Papers, ed. Lemon, v., 101). And yet he soon had enough of it, for he says beseechingly, "I pray youe geyte me licence after Michaelmas daie to retorne hens, if my short life be worthye any lengthing" (ibid., 106).

In 1538 Sir Reginald Carnaby writes in alarm to his brother Thomas about the Tynedale men, and says, "They fere no man," and expresses his desire to get hold of a few ringleaders, and "justify" them. The freebooters soon after this kidnapped Sir Reginald himself, so that they did not "fere" him (*North Durham*, xvi). Norfolk, before this, wished that Carnaby "was in Paradise," for he "is soe fered of his person that he dothe nothing but kepe the house" (State Papers, v., 104).

The way used for keeping these freebooters quiet was, as I have said before, the taking pledges from them,—a very useless device, for, as the Northern council said in 1539, "the taking and laying in of pledges nothing prevails towards reformacon—their adherents and kynesfolks at home steal and robb just the same in their absence" (*North Durham*, xvi).

Some of the Tynedale men who sign this paper were notorious personages.

In 1537 Rynny Charlton, with John Charlton and John Dodd, was charged with the murder of Roger Fenwick, keeper of Tynedale (*North Durham*, xvi). "Jerrye Charleton, *alias* Jerrye Topping," made John Heron of Chipchase the guilty person (State Papers, v., 142), but his evidence was rejected, as the informer was "known to be a thef and commen malefactour" (ibid., 203). This same "Jerrye," or "Gerre," was concerned in the kidnapping of Sir Reginald Carnaby in 1538 (ibid., 133), and he was busy in 1528, when cardinal Wolsey interdicted the churches in Tynedale (State Papers, iv., 417).

Archie Robson and John Robson are mentioned in a preceding document in

CIV.—A LETTER FROM SIR REGINALD CARNABY ABOUT THE
TYNEDALE PLEDGES.^h [MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, iii., 198.]

Pleasithe yt y^r grace, on Tewesday last the xviijth of this monthe, at Hexham, cam in affore Sir Cuthbert Radclif, one of the comyssyoners appoyntid by yo^r grace for restytucon of th'ynhabytantes of Tyndale, whose names ar hereinclosid; and there, whan they were in hand for takyng of the spoylers othes for the iijd part of the goodes spoylid, the compleanors shewid M^r Radclif they culd not be content willyngly that the spoilers shuld have the othe; which concidered, the sade S^r Cuthbert thought he culd procede no forther to he knewe yo^r graces pleasor, wherein I dowbt not he hathe at lenketh advertisyd yo^r grace or this tyme. Edward Charlton and Cuthbert cam bothe in, and under assurans, and thay spak veray reasonably, and said thay wold be glad to mend w^t the first of there contrey, and what way were takyn w^t the rest thay wold not fale to followe the same. I perceyve by Edward Charlton and Cuthbert there is somewhat that stykkes in their stomakkes what so ever thay say, for thay ar allways in a dreddure and fere for ther lyves. I was in handes w^t Edward for lowsyng his pledge, and he desyred me to move w^t yo^r grace that his pledge that ys there w^t yo^r grace my^t be lows, and he to lay his son in pledge for hym here w^t me at Hexham, for there is no mo of his name soffyshent that woll pledge for hym, but aither hym sellf or his son or one Henry Charlton his son-in-lawe; for there is dyvers of the Charltons that was in his band that dar nat nowe pledge for hym; but assone as his pledge comythe home, thay woll lay a pledge for thame sellfes. He wold be glad to lay in one of his tennantes, and that me thynk is nat mete. I thynk his son shalbe more able pledge for hym, thoughe he be but xiiij yeres old, than aithar he that ys nowe w^t yo^r grace, or yet any of his tennantes, and his father more lothe to lose hym; and if yo^r grace at yo^r comyng in to this contrey mynd to do any

connection with John Herou and the intended attack upon Halton tower. Another Archie Robson was hung for robbery in 1528, having been one of a party which carried off the "parson" of Muggleswick in Durham (Vol. II.).

Two of the men, whose names are given, went to York as pledges. "John Robson of the False stayn, who promysed my lord of Northfolke, as I understand, that he woold do myche agaynst the rebellys; th'odir ys Gybbe of Charleton, who made lyke promyse, as I here say" (State Papers, v., 123). They were boarded at a serjeant's house, and had to shew themselves daily to the sheriffs of York.

^h Sir Reginald "takes in hand" two of the three captains of Tynedale who have been already mentioned. In August, 1537, Norfolk mentions his intention to arrest the two Charltons and John Heron's son (State Papers, v., 102).

thyng to the sade Edward, his son to be takyn and nat refusyd in my mind, yt woll gyf him occasyon of les suspect; wherein, and in all other as shall best stand w^t yo^r grace's pleasor, I shalbe redy accordyng to my most boundon dewty, to the best of my lytle po^r, to full fill the same; humbly besichyng yo^r grace, if I wryte otherwyse than y^r grace thynkes I shuld, or that yo^r grace woll devise som better way to take in dyspleasor w^t me in shewyng my poor opynyon, for yf I culd devyse any better way I shuld lak no goode will; as o^r Lord knowethe, who ever preserve yowr noble grace. At Hexham the xvijth of Ju . .

Yowr grace's, w^t his most humble and lowly service,

R. CARNABY.

In dorso. To my lord leutennante's right noble grace.

CV.—A PETITION ADDRESSED BY SOME CUMBERLAND MEN TO THOMAS LORD CROMWELL.ⁱ [From the Chapter-house Books in the Public Record Office, vol. ccxv., 74.]

My lorde: We most hartely besuche your good lordshepe to advertise and remembre our sute, and, of your goodnes, to accept o^r fathfull mynde, w^t like service, to the welthe of the realme, to the uttermost of our powor. Our fader, zit being on live, duelde upon Eske this lx yeres, where as he has servid the king and the wardens in his nam w^tout rebooke, where to this ho^r was never rente demandid of him. We, being his children, has don the uttermost of o^r powor to folow his fute steps, as here after your lordship shall perceyve the very trueth. A certaine Inglshe man, being rebald, w^{ch} had slane xiiij Inglshe men, and after that come to Carliell upon a nighte, and brak a marchande's shopp, and took xl li worth of waire. The which rebald we tuk, and sett his hede on the wailles of Carliell. Besid this, at the insurrextionn, whan the commons had taken the kinge's sargand, we reskewed him, and brought him to Carliell agan. Mo^over, what tym the commons maid the sault to Carliell, the on halff of us went in the castell for sauffgard of the same, and the other halff of us went in the contrey for defens herof. And, after that, we com to gether and put the rebellers to flyth, and tok vij score of them w^t on of cheffe captayns namid Thomas Tebald, wherof we have displeasor of the countrey. Trusting that the king wilbe so good unto us by

ⁱ A characteristic letter from a Cumbrian family desiring to pay no rent to the king. They recite their services during the insurrection and at other times as if they had been a host of men. The letter is endorsed, *Certayne Northerne men*.

means of yo^r good lordship to lat us sytt as free as o^r fader has don befor us. Not doubting but we shalbe as able to do the kinge's grace and yo^r lordshipe as good service as any of our powor wⁱn the realme. Most hartely desyring yo^r lordshipe of pardon of this o^r rude facionn, and yo^r answo^r w^t favores herin.

CVI.—A LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO THE LORD PRIVY SEAL.^j [MSS. Cotton, Caligula, B, i., 327.]

My veray good lorde. With most harty recommendacions, thies shalbe t'advertise youe that yesterdaie arrived here with me Butler, with the kinge's highnes lettres and yours, and a commission, with twoo bookes of indietementes, and twoo scedules; th'one of the names of such as shold be indicted, and th'other, of gentlemen to be impaneld uppon their indietementes. My lord, at the cummyng of the saide Butler was here with me so many sewters from all parties of this shire, that, witheyn twoo houres after, I sent furthe a great number of lettres to the most parte of the gentlemen of this shire, so that I doubte not to have the grettest apparannce that was seen at Yorke of many yeres, on Tewesdaie at nyght, and Wednesdaie in the mornyng; and woll sitte uppon those that be namyd in the scedule on Wednysdaie by ix of the clocke; and also uppon twoo monkes of the Charterhouse, for not knoweng of the king to be supreme hedde of the churche; unles they doo openly recannte from their false opinion, wich I thinke they wyll not do.^k

My lord, forasmoeche as ther is twoo billes of one effecte, I do thinke, and so do all that be of cownsail here with me, that ye meane to have twoo diverse inquestes; wich, if ye so doo, I

^j A letter from the duke of Norfolk to Cromwell about the trial of the rebels at York. We can easily understand why the duke was so unpopular when we read this letter, for it is very cold and heartless. The kinsmen of the prisoners seem to have been treated with studied cruelty when they were forced to appear at the assizes to sit in judgment on their relations.

The York grand jury disappointed the king by acquitting a conspirator of the name of Levening, whose guilt was flagrant, and it is probable that Norfolk's conduct would have made them equally lenient to others had not all kinds of devices been adopted by the royal party. It could scarcely be otherwise, when most of the jurors were allied to the accused persons, and thus Norfolk's plan recoiled upon himself. Levening, however, seems to have been the only person who escaped.

^k They had been members of the suppressed monastery of Carthusians at London, and had been sent to another house of the same order at or near Hull. They were charged with treason, and permission was given to put them to death. "Quæ desiderata et præoptata jussa completurus, adduxit eos foras in civitatem Eboracensem, ubi coram duce Nortfulciæ, in tempore, scilicet quinto Idus Maii, anno Domini 1537, tritici reddiderunt mensuram; suspensi erant in cathenis,

thinke ye do well, for they beyng so kepte that one of them shall not knowe what an other doothe, shall make them the more quicke to fynde the matier: and I have so provided that we shall lacke no nomber, if I wold have iiij inquestes.^l And I am at this tyme of suche acquayntance with the gentlemen, that I dar well adventure to put diverse uppon the questes that some hath maryed with the lorde Darce's sonne's dowghters,^m and some with Sir Robert Constable's: and I woll put John Aske thereuppon, who is eldest brother to Robert Aske."ⁿ

donec omnia ossa eorum ab invicem deciderent. Horum nomina fuerunt Joannes Rhochester et Jacobus Vuannert, ambo monachi sacerdotales et professi ex domo nostra Londoniarum" (*Hist. aliquot nostri sæculi Martyrum*. 4to. 1550. p. 60. *Illustria eccl. cath. trophæa, ex recentibus Anglicorum Martyrum, etc., erecta*. 12mo. 1573).

There is a "trophæum," as I understand, to commemorate these two monks in the cathedral at Toledo.

^l There were two grand juries at York, numbering twenty-five each. The foremen were Sir James Strangways and Sir Christopher Danby.

^m These were Bryan Stapleton of Carlton, Henry Babington of Dethick, Sir William Fairfax of Gilling, Sir Thomas Dawney of Cowick, and Sir Thomas Metham. Sir Thomas Metham was a grand juror. Sir Robert Constable's daughters married into the houses of St. Quintin, Gower, Pudsey, Cholmley, and Hussee. Sir Roger Cholmley and Sir Edward Gower were on the York grand jury.

I must refer my readers for farther information to the *Memorials of Fountains Abbey*, Vol. I.

ⁿ A very cruel resolution. John and Christopher Aske, the brothers of Robert, as Mr. Froude says, "determined rather to be hewn in gobbets than stain their allegiance," and they joined their cousin, the earl of Cumberland, and helped him to defend Skipton castle. Their brother Robert was a barrister of Gray's Inn.

John Aske, the head of the house, obtained a grant from the crown of the site of the two monasteries of Ellerton and Thicket, of which he was the founder. He did not long survive these great changes, for he made his will at York on the 20th of November, 1543, which, however, was not proved until the 28th of March, 1544-5. I could say much about the history and fortunes of his family.

His brother Christopher must not be passed over, and I cannot refrain from quoting the passage in which Mr. Froude pays so touching and so eloquent a tribute to his loyalty and gallantry (*Hist.*, vol. iii., 141-2):—

"Lady Eleanor Clifford, lord Clifford's young wife, with three little children, and several other ladies, were staying, when the insurrection burst out, at Bolton abbey. Perhaps they had taken sanctuary there, or possibly they were on a visit, and were cut off by the suddenness of the rising. There, however, ten miles off among the glens and hills, the ladies were, and on the third day of the siege (of Skipton) notice was sent to the earl that they should be held as hostages for his submission. The insurgents threatened that the day following Lady Eleanor and her infant son and daughters should be brought up in front of a storming party, and if the attack again failed, they would 'violate all the ladies, and enforce them with knaves' under the walls. After the ferocious murder of the bishop of Lincoln's chancellor, no villany was impossible; and it is likely that the Catholic rebellion would have been soiled by as deep an infamy as can be found in the English annals but for the adventurous courage of Christopher Aske. In the dead of the night, with the vicar of Skipton, a groom, and a boy, he stole through the camp of the besiegers. He crossed the moors, with led horses, by unfrequented paths, and he 'drew such a draught,' he says, that he conveyed all the

Doubte ye not, my lord, but the matier shalbe fownd according to the kinge's pleasure; and ye shall have the same with you by Frydaie at nyght, if Mr Tempest and Bowes comme yn tyme to instructe Chaloner and others of the evidence. Against whom I have sent this berer with a lettre, to cause them to make hast for that purpose. If they comme not in tyme, then I have no remedy but to deffier the sittying unto Frydaie; for on Thursdaie is no daye to sytte, consideryng it shalbe Assention

said ladies through the commons in safety 'so close and clean, that the same was never mistrusted nor perceived till they were within the castle;' a noble exploit, shining on the bypaths of history like a rare rich flower. Proudly the little garrison looked down, when day dawned, from the battlements upon the fierce multitude who were howling below in baffled rage. A few days later, as if in scorn of their impotence, the same gallant gentleman flung open the gates, dropped the drawbridge, and rode down in full armour, with his train, to the market-cross at Skipton; and there, after three long 'Oyez's,' he read aloud the king's proclamation in the midst of the crowd, . . . 'with leisure enough,' he adds in his disdainful way, . . . 'and that done, he returned to the castle.'"

As a fit appendage to such a record of such an exploit, I give some extracts from the will of this noble gentleman. He was living, when he made it, at Lonsborough, one of the Clifford estates, and his connection with that family was maintained till the last. He had probably been brought up in the illustrious household at Skipton, and his affection for it was marked by all the chivalrous earnestness of that age. We see that Aske had his bows and arrows, hawks and hounds, like the Yorkshire gentleman of his day; but he was a scholar too, and had written as well as read books on Venerie. Many would like to see his copy of the romance of Sir Percival, and to look at his "mappa mundi," and the piece of tapestry on which the legend of St. Eustace was wrought, with the wondrous hart. Although Aske had fought against the monks, he had not thrown aside their religion, and there are touches in the will of pious feeling and true Christian courtesy. The vicar of Skipton, who had ridden with him across the moors to Bolton, is not forgotten, and "Gray Hodgson" had perhaps played a part in the adventures of that night. There is little in the will to remind us of Aughton on the Derwent, the ancient abode of his ancestry, but the tower of the parish church there still bears an inscription in black letter shewing that it owed its origin to the piety and the munificence of Christopher Aske.

"July 19, 1538. Christoferus Aske, armiger (de Loundesburge). Assigno Johannem Aske armigerum, fratrem meum, successorem meum in manerio de Clevynge et Clevyngfelde, quæ habeo sub sigillo domus capitularis S. Johannis Jherusalem in Anglia, conditione quod inveniet unum presbyterum qui celebrabit missas et alia Divina servitia per spatium septem annorum post obitum meum in ecclesia ubi corpus meum contigerit fore sepultum, pro salute animæ meæ, et pro animabus patris et matris meæ, et animabus omnium benefactorum et antecessorum meorum; specialiter et mentaliter orans et commemorans pro animabus serenissimi viri, insignis memoriæ, Anthonii Clifforde armigeri, Laurentii Hamerton armigeri, Thomæ Parke clerici, et Thomæ Langton, nuper de Ricall, armigeri. Rogero Hamerton, filio Thomæ Hamerton, immediate post mortem Elisabethæ Hamerton de Halifelde, viduæ ac relictæ Johannis Hamerton armigeri, omnia bona, etc., in Halifeld pelc, et cornu deauratum quod quondam fuit Laurentii Hamerton.—Prænobili viro, domino Henrico comiti Cumbrie, unum magnum librum scriptum manu mea propria de Ordinibus Servic' Venationis et diversarum aliarum rerum. Domine Margaretæ comitissæ Cumbrie duas falcones et optimum leporarium meum vocatum Olyver. Prænobili domino Henrico Clifford unum magnum librum vocatum Opus Gentile, quem habui ex dono Briani Roelif armigeri, et cum Abbreviatione ejusdem manu mea propria conscripta. Roberto

daie. If ye be mynded to procede to th'arraynmentes on Mondaye or Tewesdaie, put all your thinges there in order against that tyme accordinglie, for I am owte of doubte of the fyndyng here, notwithstanding the shriff is now at Notyngham; but that shall not let, if he comme not. My good lord, I wold not spare to put the best frendes thiese men have uppon one of the inquestes, to prove their affections whether they wold rather serve his majestie trewlie and franklie in this matier, or els to favour their frendes: and if they wold not fynd, then they may have thanks acording to their cankerd hertes. And, as for th'other inquest, I wold appoynte suche that I shall no more doubte then of my selff.

Also, my lord, as I do perceyve by yo^r lettre that ye wold knowe whether suche persones as were put t'execution in Westmerland and Cumbreland were taken downe and buryed by my commawndment or not: undoubtedlie, my good lord, if I had consented therunto, I wold I had hanged by them; but, on my trouthe, it is not past viij or ix daies past sithe I herd furst therof, and then was here with me a servannt of my lord of Cumbrelonde's, called Swallowfeld, dwelling abowtes Perithe,

Aske, nepoti meo, unam togam de Luk velvet cum furrura de Jennettes. Johanni Aske, fratri meo, crucifixum meum aureum, valoris octo librarum et amplius. Willelmo Blakburne capellano, vicario de Skipton, unum equum vocatum Gray Hodgeson. To my suster Agnes Ellerker my litle chyne of golde weinge by estimacion about iiij^{or} markes or better. To my brother Monkton and my suster his wif, to either of them, a sylver spone of th'appostles. To my brother Grene my fawcon in his kepinge, and to my suster his wif a sylver spone of th'appostles. To my suster Bellingham ane other spone of the same sort. To my lorde Clifford xx^{ti} marces that he dothe owe me for my bay horse. To my thre nephes, Thomas Portington, Anthony Portington, and Christofer Monkton, all that is in my chambers left at Skipton castell and at Bolton; and to my cosyn Brian Roclif the clothe of the grete mappa mundi that is in the newe loge, and the Frenche boke of Sir Percyvall. To maister vicare of Skipton I give what booke not named that he will chose in my chambre at Skipton. To maister Leveret my sleveles cote of blake velvet. To my nephye Christofer Aske my bowe and my qwyver with prike shaftes at Awghton. To my servanntes William Layton and Cristofer Brianes my paytent of the landes of Fitzwilliam in Gargrave, to the here come at full adge. To Richard Aske, the waryner, a quarter of barlie malte, and to Frear Aske a quarter of whet, etc. To my lorde my m^r my yonge bay stonde horse. To my goode ladie of Cumberland my clothe of Sancte Eustace in the newe loge, besechinge theme bothe, wherever I displeased either of them, to forgive me: and with his lordshipe at this day I ame even of the receyte of all his londes this xvj yere, and hathe oute my quietus est, except of Vessy landes, and in that my buyldinges of his manner ther consideride, I have laide downe of myne owne purse nere a hundreth markes more thane ever I gate of his landes towards the same. To maister parson of Londisburghe a booke callid Expositio Brevionis in Epistolis Pauli. To my nephye Anthony Aske myne oyne hande swerde. I will that the townships of Loundesburghe, Estrope, Shupton, Wighton, Goodmadham, and Burnbye have delyverid to evere of them xld., unto the poorest peple and most nedy. To my nece Aske ij yerdes of blake sattan, and to my cosyne Anne Woddall, and to my nece Elisabethe, either of theme, a yerde of the same, whiche my said nece Elisabethe hathe in kepinge." [Pr. 26 June, 1540.]

by whom I sent such a quicke message to my saide lorde, bycause he hath the rewle in Cumbrelond as warden, and is shriff of Westmerlond, and hath neyther advertised me therof, nor hath not made serche who hath so highlie offended his majeste; and also commawndyng hym to serche for the same with all diligence, that I doubte not it shall evidentlie appeyre it was done against my will. Wheryn also I have sent as sharpe word unto Sir Thomas Curwen shriff of Comberlond, to Sir John Lowther and Sir Thomas Wharton, wich I did withyn an houre after I knewe of it. My lord of Cumbrelond, I here saie, is nowe towards London; unto whom I thinke it were necessarye to laye somme blame. I beleve they were not hanged in cheynes acording to my commawndement. In this shire and the Bushopricke they all hang styll in cheynes,^o notwithstanding that I have had no small intercession for many of them.

My lord, ye shall also, with thies, receyve such lettres and newes as I have of late had owte of Scotland, desyryng youe to have me most humblie recommanded to his majestie, and to make myne excuse, for not wrytyng to his highnes at this tyme; wich I do forbere to do, to th'entent to cause this berer to make the more hast to mete withe Tempest and Bowes.

And thus most hertly fare ye well. Fro Shryfhoton, the viij of May, at ix in the mornyng.

Yo^rs assewredly,

T. NORFOLK.

In dorso. To my veray good lord, my lord Pryvey Seale.

CVII.—A GRANT OF THE SITE AND DEMESNES OF THE PRIORY OF HEXHAM TO SIR REGINALD CARNABY.^p [Ex Rot. Pat., 30th Henry VIII., part iii.]

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod nos, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, et mero motu nostro, necnon in consideratione boni, veri, et fidelis servitii nobis per dilectum servientem nostrum, Reginaldum Carnaby militem,

^o Mr. Froude speaks of this :—"The flame was trampled out: and a touch of human pathos hangs over the close. I find among the records a brief entry that 'the bodies were cut down and buried by certain women.'" It was this that excited Norfolk's anger.

^p On the 29th of November, 1538, the king grants the site and demesnes of the suppressed monastery of Hexham to Sir Reginald Carnaby, who had certainly served him faithfully and well, however much he may have been disliked by others.

The grant comprised the church and all the conventual buildings and grounds,

ante hæc tempora impensi, dedimus, concessimus, ac per præ-sentes, pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, damus et concedimus eidem Reginaldo domum sive nuper monasterium Sancti Andreæ Apostoli de Hexham, alias Hextoldisham, in comitatu nostro Northumbriæ, ac totum scitum, ambitum, et præcinctum ejusdem domus sive monasterii; necnon omnia mesuagia, tenementa, curtilagia, domos, muros, ædificia, columbaria, orrea, mollendina, grangias, stabula, aquas, stagna, vivaria, ripas, ortos, pomaria, gardina, communias, boscos et subboscos, pasturam, solum, et terras quæcumque, tam infra scitum et circuitum ejusdem nuper monasterii, quam eidem domui sive monasterio juxta, prope, et contigue situata, adjacentia, et existentia: necnon unam domum vocatam Sanct Giles hospitall existentem prope dicto nuper monasterio in villa de Hexham in dicto comitatu nostro Northumbriæ, ac unam clausuram vocatam le Hospitall close, continentem duas acras pasturæ, et triginta acras terræ arabilis jacentes in campis de Hexham prædicta, cum pertinentiis; et, unam peciam pasturæ cum pertinentiis vocatam Cotefeld, jacentem juxta Hexham prædictam, continentem per æstimationem sexdecim acras terræ; aliam peciam pasturæ vocatam Cowfeld, continentem per æstimationem triginta acras terræ; ac unam domum sive placeam cum una clausura juxta Hexham vocatam Dotland parke, continentem per æstimationem centum acras terræ et bosci; ac certas terras arrabiles jacentes in campis de Hexham, vocatas terras dominicales, continentes per æstimationem sexaginta acras terræ cum pertinentiis; quæ Edwardus Gey, nuper Prior monasterii Sancti Andreæ Apostoli de Hexham alias Hextoldisham, canonicus Augustineus ordinis, ac Conventus ejusdem loci, in jure dicti nuper monasterii, quarto die Februarii, anno regni nostro vicesimo septimo, habuerunt vel habere debuerunt; et quæ ad manus nostras, ratione et prætextu cujusdam actus in parlamento nostro apud London, tertio die Novembris, anno regni nostro vicesimo primo inchoato, et deinde usque Westmonasterium continuato, et tunc ibidem tento, inter alia editi et provisi, devenerunt et devenire debuerunt, ac in manibus nostris jam existunt et existere debent. Quæ quidem domus, et monasterium, ac scitus ambitum, et præcinctum ejusdem domus sive monasterii, necnon mesuagia, domos, terras, tenementa, ac omnia et singula præmissa superius concessa et specificata, cum pertinentiis, sunt annui valoris

together with the adjacent hospital of St. Giles, and some lands, in addition. It is almost incredible to find that these were only valued at the paltry sum of 17s. 4d. by year. What miserable work this is, and yet this is only a single instance of the conduct of the surveyors of abbey lands.

The next document is a rental of the parcels here granted out.

septemdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum: habendum et tenendum prædictam domum et monasterium, ac prædictum scitum, ambitum, et præcinctum ejusdem domus, ac omnia prædicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa, et cætera omnia et singula præmissa, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentiis et commoditatibus quibuscumque, præfato Reginaldo Carnaby militi, hæredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum, tenenda de nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, in capite per servitium militare, videlicet per quindecim partes feodi militis: necnon reddendo inde annuatim nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, duos solidos legalis monetæ Angliæ nomine decimæ pro præmissis, nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, ad curiam nostram Augmentationum revencionum coronæ nostræ, ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli tantum, singulis annis solvendo, pro omnibus servitiis, exactionibus, et demandis quibuscumque provide petendis, solvendis, vel faciendis: et hoc absque aliquo fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in cancellaria nostra, vel in hanaperio ejusdem cancellariæ nostræ, vel ad usum nostrum, pro præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum reddendis, solvendis, vel faciendis, præterquam viginti solidos et quatuor denarios pro magno sigillo nostro, eo quod expressa mentio, etc. In cujus rei, etc. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, xxix die Novembris.

Per ipsum regem, et de data, etc.

CVIII.—A RENTAL OF THE DEMESNES, ETC., OF HEXHAM, IN THE XXVIIITH OF HENRY VIII.⁹ [From the Chapter House papers in the Public Record Office, B, i., 24, 75.]

The scite of the maner w^t demanez. First, the scite of the sayd late monastery, withe all maner of edificez, one doffecote, one graunge, j orceyerd, and j garthing, contenyng in all ij acrez, and is worth by yere, iiij s.

Item, the hospitall of Sanct Giles,^r adjonyng the sayd

⁹ The parcels are here given and valued, as contained in the preceding grant to Carnaby. The heading of the document is as follows:—

Hexham, nuper monasterium in comitatu Northumbriæ. A rental of the demanez of the sayd late monasterye made upon the survey ther takyn, the xliijth day of July, in the xxviij yere of the regne of oure soverane lord kyng Henry th'eight.

It appears from this that a regular survey of the abbey lands, with a view no doubt to the dissolution of the house, was made in July, 1536, two months before the outbreak in which the royal commissioners were repulsed. There is a copy of this document in *Misc. Lib. in Cur. Augment.*, vol. cccxlix., p. 210, and there is another in the possession of Mr. Beaumont.

^r I shall speak in Vol. II. of this hospital and its property.

monasterye, that is to say, j mes., with a cloose cont. ij acrez pasture, and in the felde of Hexam, in diverse places, xxx^{ti} acrez land arrable, and is worth by yere, xiijs. iiijd.

The profettes of diverse landes belonging the archebishop of Yorke, late in the handes of the sayd monasterye, that is to say, diverse landes arrable in the felde of Hexam, j cloose callyd Cotefeld, j close callyd Cowfeld, j close callyd Dotland park, which in all rentes unto the sayd archebishop xxiiijli by yere, and is worth yerely of increase nil.^s

Summa xvijs. iiijd.

Per me JACOBUM ROKEBY, auditorem.

* This was merely the remainder of a lease held under the archbishop of York. It is, to say the least, suspicious, to see Carnaby anxious for a lease, which, according to the estimate of his own appraiser, was worth nothing.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.


THE CHRONICLES.

- p. 10, note. There are several churches in the county of Durham dedicated to St. Andrew, but I cannot give a complete list of them.
- p. 21, line 12 from foot of page. For *sapientum*, read *sapient(i)um*.
- p. 22, note, line 4 from foot. For *cepit*, read *cæpit*.
- p. 28, note, line 12 from top. Omit "*The council of Edwine's-path took place, the end of which was that.*"
- p. 35, note, line 5 from top. For *cælis*, read *cælis*; so also at p. 40, first line from top; p. 44, note, line 24 from foot; p. 49, last line of text; p. 92, *bis*; iii, *bis*; vi, *bis*.
- p. 36, line 4 from top. Strike out the comma after *casula*.
- p. 37, note, line 8 from foot. For viii, read vii.
- p. 47, line 6 of text. For *incoavit*, read *inc(h)oavit*.
- p. 50, note, line 7 from top. Strike out "*Egelric or.*"
- p. 55, note, line 8 from top. Read *Jewish* law.
- p. 66, note, line 6 from foot. For *B ii*, read *B xi*.
- p. 76, line 4 from top. For *constabit'*, read *constabil'*.
- p. 80, note. For *Wardon*, read *Warden*. So also p. 116, note, line 1.
- p. 114, line 2 from foot. For *Rovencestris*, read *Rovencestreensis*.
- p. 131, line 4 from top. In the margin of the MS. are the words, "*Visio Galfridi archidiaconi de Turstino archiepiscopo.*" At line 7, instead of *patermi*, read *pater mi*.
- p. 173, note, line 7 from top. For *11th*, read *3rd*.

APPENDIX.

- p. iv, line 7 from foot. For *Ædificatiōe*, read *Ædificatiōe*.
- p. v, line 22 from top. For *omnis*, read *omnes*.
- p. vii. I have omitted to state that my copy of this document is that of Mr. Longstaffe.
- p. ix. For *Roger de Merlay*, read *Ralph*.
- p. xiii, last line but one of text. For *concellario*, read *cancellario*.
- p. xv, note, line 5 from foot. For *and* read *et*. So also at p. ci, note, line 14; p. cii, line 3 from top.
- p. xix, line 13 from foot. For *sivi*, read *sive*.
- p. xlvii. For iv, read iii.
- p. lxxviii, note, line 5. For *Augustinian*, read *Premonstratensian*.
- p. lxxix, note. The book drawn up at Helaugh park, and approved by the provincial (not the general) chapter, applied to discipline as well as to ritual.
- p. lxx, note, line 2. For *monks*, read *canons*.
- p. cxv, note, line 5. For *Robert*, read *Thomas*. Six lines lower down, for *accolites*, read *acolytes*.
- p. cxviii, note, line 2. Bywell did not retire.
- p. clxiii, note, line 19. For *Venerie*, read *venerie*.

END OF VOLUME I.

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